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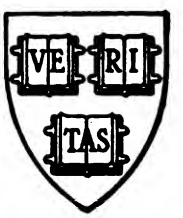

FROM THE BEQUEST OF
HENRY WARE WALES, M.D.
Class of 1838

FOR BOOKS OF INTEREST TO THE
SANSKRIT DEPARTMENT

H. H. The present Maharajah. Sir Rama Varma (Mulam Tirunal), G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., ascended the Musnud 19th August, 1885.

Photo by Z. D'Cruz.

M. E. PRESS.

THE
TRAVANCORE
STATE MANUAL.

To

W. T. Stead Esquire

with the Author's best regards

V. Nagamaiya

March 1908

THE TRAVANCORE STATE MANUAL.

THE TRAVANCORE STATE MANUAL

BY

V. NAGAM AIYA, B. A., F. R. Hist. S.,
Dewan Peishcar, Travancore.

IN THREE VOLUMES—VOL. I.

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PREFACE.

Under command of His Highness the Maha Rajah, the preparation of the State Manual of Travancore was decided upon some time ago, and I was appointed to it with the simple instruction that the book was to be after the model of the District Manuals of Madras. This instruction I have faithfully carried out and I am happy to report now that the book is completed and issued in three large volumes. Although I have allowed myself some latitude in forming my own conception of the design and scope of the work and devoted my best attention and energies to their exposition and elucidation, I still feel I might have done better if I had been left to myself, to work at it leisurely, spending "a laborious day upon each page," undisturbed by limitations of time and space.

The difficulty of compiling a work of this nature will readily enlist the sympathies of those who have laboured in similar fields, for as Sir Frederick A. Nicholson points out in his Report on Agricultural Banks, at which he worked for about 3 years :—

"The delay in submitting the report is due to many causes, principally to the immensity and complexity of the subject, to the difficulty of ascertaining and then of obtaining sources of information, to the discontinuity thereby imposed when a half finished study had to be broken off till the receipt of further information, to the extreme difficulty arising from the incessant demands of a Collector's work notwithstanding two periods of special duty. ... ... For the Madras Presidency statistics and information did not exist, and it is only through much enquiry and by the courtesy of numerous correspondents that information has been obtained."

Mr. H. H. Risley's portion of the Indian Census Report of 1901 covers, according to Mr. Gait,* 136 pages of that volume —

* In the Introduction to the Report on the Census of India (1903) Vol. I. pp. xvi and xvii, Mr. E. A. Gait, I. C. S., writes :—"The Office of Census Commissioner for India was held by Mr. H. H. Risley, C. I. E., from its creation in October 1899 until September 1902 when, unfortunately for the Census, his services were required for a higher appointment and his immediate connection with the operations came to an end. At that time the reports for a number of Provinces and States still remained to be received, and it had thus been impossible to make much progress with the General Report for the whole of India. Mr. W. F. Meyer, C. I. E., took charge of the office temporarily, in addition to his duties as Editor of the Imperial Gazetteer, and I succeeded him as Census Commissioner on the 23rd January 1903. In spite of the pressure of other work, Mr. Risley has himself completed the Chapter on Caste, and the portions of four other Chapters, as noted in the margin, are also from his pen."

V. N.

a circumstance which can hardly represent the magnitude of his labours or research during the 3 years he was in charge of the last Imperial Census. The Report of Sir James Thomson's Excise Committee, which was ordered by the Government of India to be submitted in 8 months *i. e.* by the end of April 1906, evidently took more time than was anticipated. It is not yet available to the public. More instances could be cited to prove that neither the quantity of matter written nor the time taken can serve as a correct gauge of the labour or research involved in an undertaking of this sort. This is the invariable experience of all past workers.

Now that the work is finished, no word of explanation or justification is needed save to remove misapprehension in certain quarters. The idea of writing a State Manual was first broached to me by Dewan T. Rama Row, C. I. E., one fine morning 14 years ago, *i. e.* even before I had begun to compile the Census Report of 1891. He said I must do the Census Report first and then take up the Manual. All this was, of course, to be done along with my heavy legitimate duties as Dewan Peishcar and District Magistrate of Quilon, which I then was. I agreed without a moment's hesitation though fully alive to the responsibility I thus took upon myself, for it was impossible for me to decline an offer so kindly made and with such flattering compliments by so estimable a chief as Dewan Rama Row. He immediately obtained His Highness' sanction and sent me official orders in the last quarter of 1891. He retired a few months later and with his retirement the matter was dropped, for nothing came of it during the six years of Mr. Shungrasoobyer's Dewanship, as he did not seem to care for it at all. Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar, C. I. E., complains of a parallel circumstance in the writing of his book,* for he says in his Preface :—

"The departure of Lord Connemara to England and pressure of other official work led to the preparation of this Memorandum being laid aside for some time, and I was able to resume the work only in the latter half of 1891. Since then

* 'Forty years' Progress of Madras' (1893).

I have been more or less engaged on it, but as the work has had to be carried on in addition to my other official duties, it has not been possible to finish it earlier."

The matter was however revived by Dewan Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Row, C. I. E., in 1901, and during his time I devoted to it, off and on, such leisure as the pressing duties of the Settlement Department permitted. It was only in December 1904 that I took it up as a full-time officer and it may be safely said that the best part of these three closely printed volumes is the result of assiduous and sustained labours carried on since.

In reporting completion of the manuscript of the book, I wrote to the Dewan in my letter, No. 387 dated 1st October 1905, thus:—

"In continuation of my letter No. 371 dated 26th August 1905, I have the honour to inform you that I have finished the State Manual of Travancore in which I have been engaged continuously for the past nine months and my services are available for any other work which His Highness' Government may be pleased to entrust me with."

I added:—

"I take this opportunity of expressing my grateful acknowledgments to His Highness' Government for entrusting this important work to me without any solicitation on my part—a work in which I have spent much thought and study during several years past though owing to more pressing duties I could not devote to it that attention which it deserved, except at distant intervals of business. It is due to us also to add that my extremely limited staff and myself have worked at it with energy and diligence."

To this letter the Dewan made no reply. The additional time thereby gained has however proved of much advantage to the work; not only were the proofs read carefully and well, but the old data, already collected, were verified, new data added where possible, some chapters were either revised or wholly re-written, additional matter put in, the manuscript throughout was touched up and the whole book itself satisfactorily finished and passed through the Press, with a full table of contents, a glossary of vernacular terms and an exhaustive index. In the letter referred to above, *viz.*, No. 371 dated 26th August 1905, I had observed:—

"I estimated the work to be completed in 6 months at the most, but that was as I explained to you in my letter noted in the margin (No. 313 dated 23rd May 1905) under the belief that I was to be allowed a staff of 10 clerks applied for

by me, the choice of clerks from the permanent Departments who would not run away as 7 or 8 temporary clerks did during the last 7 months, and that I was to be allowed also to expend the money saved every month by shortage of hands. You disagreed to every one of these 3 proposals. So it became impossible for me to finish the work in 6 months as originally estimated in my letter of the 11th November 1904. ... ... I believe I have been very moderate in applying only for 3 months' time from the 30th June last. Under the circumstances explained above, there was ample justification for my asking for 6 months' more time. But as I have already reported, I am most anxious to be done with this work as early as possible."

Mr. Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar, the talented compiler of the *Forty Years' Progress of Madras*, took 27 months to write his book—a volume of 340 pages, speaking of quantity alone, the subject-matter of which is admittedly one of a more homogeneous and less complex nature than that of a State Manual. And yet in his forwarding letter to Government, Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar wrote of the delay in the issue of his book thus:—

"The collection and reduction of the necessary statistics and the preparation of the second part of the memorandum took up more time than I had anticipated and I was able to complete the work only last May notwithstanding that I took privilege leave for three months in the beginning of this year for the purpose."

His achievement is a safe criterion to judge of the work of other labourers in similar fields, for to my mind the late Srinivasa Raghavaiyangar was a perfect embodiment of indefatigable industry, deep thought, wide reading, unostentatious independence and high literary skill. In these circumstances, no special justification seems needed for the unavoidable delay in the issue of the Travancore Manual, a work of an encyclopædic nature spread over a space of more than 1820 pages of letter-press—to say nothing of the continued strain, the anxious and unremitting attention or the huge preliminary studies it cost.

As for the plan of the book, it is enough to say that the mass of information collected has been thrown into 21 chapters and placed in 3 volumes for convenience of handling. Under these 21 chapter-headings almost every subject of importance and interest concerning the State has been brought in. For these chapter-headings several District Manuals of Madras have been consulted, particularly the revised ones of Bellary and Anantapur by

Mr. W. Francis, I. C. S., and it is enough to observe that the Travancore State Manual is fuller and more comprehensive than the Manuals of Madras. In order to do justice to the amplitude of information collected and the labour spent upon it, the size of the book has been enlarged into *three* volumes from what was originally intended to be one moderate-sized volume. It would be false economy, I thought, to throw away the results of great labour and research in order to save some printing space. Tediousness were, in my view, a much lighter fault under such circumstances, especially in a book of this nature; but terseness has been my ambition, though after the most conscientious endeavours to clip and prune I could not do more, on the present occasion, without keeping out matter which I really wished to retain. Even as it is, I feel the chapters on 'History' and 'Castes' are capable of further amplification, particularly the latter chapter, of which only the outer fringe, so to speak, has been touched in these pages. It is a never ending theme of value and interest, and the stores of information still available on it remain unutilised. A whole volume ought to be devoted to 'Castes' alone. The chapter on the 'Gazetteer' may well be amplified in a future edition.

In the writing of this book, my aim has been to present to an utter stranger to Travancore such a picture of the land and its people, its natural peculiarities, its origin, history and administration, its forests and animals, its conveniences for residence or travel, its agricultural, commercial, industrial, educational and economic activities, its ethnological, social and religious features as he may not himself be able to form by a 30 years' study or residence in it. If this is a correct view of the object of a Manual, I trust I may be permitted to entertain the hope that a fairly successful debut has been made, notwithstanding defects or shortcomings that may exist, especially as this is only a pioneer attempt in a novel direction. It is not necessary to prejudge here what a revision might give opportunities for, in the way of condensing in some directions or amplifying in others. If I get the chance myself at a not distant

date, I should probably do both and thus try to reach the ideally perfect Manual, perhaps a vain Utopian desire, which standard of excellence however, I know, is far from having been attained in the present performance.

In the 'History' chapter in which I have spent much thought and study, I have endeavoured to give faithful pictures of Parasurama's early colonists and their autonomous governments, their landed aristocracy, their peculiar tenures and permanent tenantry, of the later kings and ministers, of wars and conquests, of the dissensions of the Ettuvittil Pillamars, the Tampis and the Yogakkars, their mutual jealousies and intrigues, of the fortunes of the minor principalities which make up the Travancore of to-day and the events which led to their final absorption, of the chief forces that were at work during successive epochs which enabled a petty village near Eraniel to reach its present dimensions of a compact block of territory 7,000 sq. miles in area, of the European powers that successively bid for supremacy of trade on this coast and the ultimate success of the English East India Company, our early friendships with them and the staunch support which they in return uniformly gave us through all vicissitudes of fortune, ultimately resulting in a strong bond of political alliance and reciprocal trust and confidence, which assured to us internal security and immunity from external aggression, thus enabling us to achieve the triumphs of peace and good government, until step by step we reached the enviable height of being known as the 'Model Native State' of India—a title which we have maintained by wise rule and sound financial policy during successive reigns up to this day. And this has been no easy task as the narrative had to be woven out of a tangled web of falsehoods and mis-statements, of exaggerated versions and contradictory chronicles, inseparable from oral tradition, fragmentary record and a disorganised debris of scattered and confused materials. The difficulty of writing a history of events which took place long ago is great indeed, for as pointed out by John Morley, in his 'Life of Gladstone', "Interest grows less vivid; truth becomes harder to

find out; memories pale and colour fades". It is much more so in the case of a nation—the events of whose life and progress cover a space of many centuries and comprise multitudinous interests and concerns. The History chapter is dealt with in three sections, *viz.*, Ancient history, Early history, and Modern history—the last comprising a period of 10 reigns or 175 years, bringing the narrative down to the end of the year 1079 M. E. (15th August 1904), that being the last year for which full information was available on this and other headings when the book was written.

The labour involved in the task was truly gigantic, for it often entailed a wading through a mass of records of all sorts in order to get at a grain of information. The nature of the research may be judged from the following extract of my letter to the Dewan, dated 25th June 1903 :—

"As suggested in your D. O. of 1st Inst., I beg to submit herewith a revised list of records to be obtained from Fort St. George. I have cut down 79 numbers from the list of 336 papers originally selected, which itself was a selection from a total of about 600 papers relating to Travancore. In a matter like this where the granting of the application for records is entirely a question of pleasure with Government, there can be no argument; all that I can say is that an indulgent view should be taken of the application and that I should be given some latitude in the choice of records. It is possible that a good many of the papers that one has to read through in the preparation of a book or report may not be ultimately utilized. In the opinion of Milman, one of the biographers of Lord Macaulay, 'The historian, the true historian must not confine himself to the chronicles and annals, the public records, the state papers, the political correspondence of statesmen and ambassadors; he must search into; he must make himself familiar with the lowest, the most ephemeral, the most contemptible of the writings of the day. There is no trash which he must not digest; nothing so dull and wearisome that he must not wade through'. In the instance which the Resident refers to, *viz.*, 'note of the firing of the usual salute on the departure of the king of Travancore to the north', I should just like to know what the actual 'salute' fired was, if such information is available from that record. It is not of course absolutely essential for my book. It may even be put down as a mere antiquarian curiosity; but if so, it is a curiosity which is justifiable, * * * * I shall content myself with the papers that are placed at my disposal."

'Archæology', 'Fauna', 'Census and Population', 'Language and Literature', 'Economic Condition', and 'Legislation and Statute-book' are *new* chapters in this Manual, not found in the revised Madras Gazetteers. 'Local Self-Government' is a heading

which I have not utilised as we have nothing corresponding to it here just yet. The information under my other chapters *viz.*, 'Religion', 'Castes', 'Trade and Commerce', 'Arts and Industries', 'Land Tenures and Land Taxes', and 'Administration' deals with the matter comprised in Mr. Francis' chapters on the People, Occupation and Trade, Land Revenue Administration, Salt, Abkari and miscellaneous revenue and Administration of Justice. The other chapters are the *same* in both the books.

I have been much exercised in the matter of arranging the order of the chapters in the Manual. What I have ultimately decided upon, though slightly different from that adopted in the Madras Gazetteers, appears to me to be the most natural order. It is thus. The first 4 chapters deal with the lie of the land, its climatic conditions and its exuberant vegetable and animal life. The next 2 chapters deal with History and its chief basis for facts, *viz.*, Archæology. The whole of the second volume (chapters VII to XII) deals with the people as a whole in all their many-sidedness, *i. e.* their growth of numbers, their faiths, ethnography, language, education and health. The first 5 chapters of the third volume deal with the economic condition of the people such as agriculture and irrigation, trade and industries and the conveniences that exist for the same. Then come 3 chapters dealing with 'administration' more or less; and the book concludes with an alphabetical description of places of interest, so necessary for a stranger to understand a country aright. This arrangement I believe is the most natural one to adopt and has been finally resolved upon.

One encouraging circumstance in the course of writing the book has been the fact that some of the chapters were perused in manuscript by Messrs. G. T. Mackenzie, I. C. S., and J. Andrew, I. C. S., our former British Residents. Both of them expressed approbation of the work done. Mr. Mackenzie who took a warm interest in the progress of the Manual from the very beginning wrote to me on the 9th October 1903:—

"I have perused the Mss. of the first portion of the Manual and it seems to me to be excellent."

Again, he wrote on the 8th February 1904:—

"I return these draft chapters with many thanks; they are really very good"

Again on the 19th November 1904 (the day he resigned the Civil Service and left Travancore), he was good enough to write of the 'History' chapter thus:—

"I have now perused it and find it deeply interesting. I have corrected one or two clerical errors but otherwise there is nothing to alter."

Since then, one whole chapter and a portion of another have been submitted for His Highness the Maharajah's perusal. Mr. R. C. C. Carr, I. C. S., Bar-at-Law, the present British Resident, has now perused several chapters of the Manual. He wrote on the 8th April 1906:—

"I am much obliged to you for your kindness in sending me the advance copy of the second portion of the State Manual. It contains a great deal of interesting matter and I hope to study it shortly. I have already received the bound copy of Vol. I and am very glad to have it."

To my numerous helpers in this work I offer my grateful acknowledgments. No work of this magnitude can be satisfactorily performed except with the aid of a host of coadjutors; and I have had that aid from all sides—officers of Government, retired public servants, vakils, journalists, private individuals, land-lords, planters, bankers, merchants, agriculturists, *Vydians*, *Mantravadis*, Christian *metrans*, bishops and missionaries and numerous other correspondents of divers sorts. As was justly remarked by Sir J. A. Baines, K. C. S. I., I. C. S., in his preface to the Imperial Census Report of 1891,

"The Census deals with so many subjects each of which, in the present day falls within the province of a specialist that no single individual can safely trust to his own unaided capacity in reviewing them, but is forced like Moliere, *a prendre son bien on ill be trouve*, and I have done my best to acknowledge such depredations at the time I have found it convenient to make them."

The same may be said of my State Manual, for which if I have been compelled to make depredations, it will be noted that I have ungrudgingly acknowledged them in the body of the book itself, for such acknowledgment not only lessens the burden of my responsibility but also confirms my own opinions, thereby enhancing the value of the work achieved.

I must next express my obligations to Mr. C. V. Raman Pillai, B. A., the energetic Superintendent of the Government Press, for the help and co-operation he has willingly rendered in passing this huge work through the press, in spite of repeated calls on him for urgent work from other departments of the State. He has also prepared the index to the Manual which I entrusted him with, under orders of Government, on account of his special experience in it as the late Indexer to the Travancore High Court. I have to commend his work to the notice of Government.

A map of Travancore specially designed for this book by Mr. G. N. Krishna Rao, Superintendent of Survey is placed in the pocket at the end of the third volume. A few photographs are also inserted to illustrate the book; more should have been put in but for the cost. If time had permitted, I should have added a volume of appendix of papers made in this connection, containing monographs on several special subjects, *Sthalapuranoms* of temples and places of pilgrimage, accounts of noble families and the chiefs of petty principalities, extracts made from books, newspapers and magazines and documents examined in the course of these studies and other evidence relied on in the writing of the Manual, all of which will form a mass of valuable data, upon which to base more extended researches in the same direction in the future.

In conclusion, I beg to tender my respectful thanks to His Highness the Maharajah's Government for having vouchsafed to me the opportunity of performing so herculean a task—notwithstanding the many difficulties and obstacles I had at the outset. At one time it appeared to me, judging from the correspondence that took place, that I was engaged in a thankless work amidst inhospitable surroundings, and that though I had undertaken it years ago under favourable auspices, a change had come and I was evidently exhausting myself in an uphill work, which would give no satisfaction. The following extract of my letter to the Dewan, dated the 20th June 1905, will explain the circumstance. I wrote :—

"I do not wish to refer to the observation which you have more than once made in your letters about 'entrusting the work to other agency'. This is a matter entirely left to the pleasure of Government. I was appointed to the writing of the State Manual by His Highness' Government without any solicitation on my part; and three of your immediate predecessors who knew me and the public service thoroughly well for long years, concurred in thinking that the work should be done by me, as if they could not think of any other officer equally competent to do it, though for my part I did not show the least unwillingness to give it up, especially as I was so fully occupied otherwise. They evidently meant it to be done by me during intervals of business, as they all knew the quality of similar work I had done before, which repeatedly received the approbation of His Highness' Government."

This however was only a passing cloud and the situation soon improved. Now that the difficulties have all been surmounted and the work itself done and done to my own satisfaction more or less, there is but one feeling uppermost in my mind, and that is one of deep thankfulness and gratitude to Government for the opportunity afforded me to associate my name with a book of this nature, in which I trust Government will see ample evidence of earnest, assiduous and sustained labours on my part, for more than a year past.

It is hardly necessary to add that the views expressed and the suggestions made in these volumes, the result of years of patient study and observation, are wholly conceived in the interests of the State and the people; and as such I have no doubt they will receive careful consideration at the hands of Government in due time, for when carried out they will, I am satisfied, not only add to the credit of His Highness' enlightened rule but, in the wise words of Bacon, "make the estate of his people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times."

Trivandrum,
16th August 1906.

V. NAGAM AIYA.

PLAN OF CONTENTS.

VOL. I.

		Pages.
CHAPTER I.	PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.	
	SEC. A. PHYSICAL FEATURES	1—32
	SEC. B. GEOLOGY	32—54
CHAPTER II.	CLIMATE, RAINFALL, AND METEOROLOGY...	55—75
CHAPTER III.	FLORA	76—117
CHAPTER IV.	FAUNA	118—163
CHAPTER V.	ARCHÆOLOGY	164—208
CHAPTER VI.	HISTORY.	
	SEC. A. ANCIENT HISTORY	209—236
	SEC. B. EARLY HISTORY	237—332
	SEC. C. MODERN HISTORY.	
	MARTANDA VARMA	333—368
	RAMA VARMA	569—416
	BALA RAMA VARMA	417—454
	LAKSHMI BAYI	455—470
	PARVATHI BAYI	471—481
	RAMA VARMA (*Swati Tirunal*)	482—503
	MARTANDA VARMA (*Uttram Tirunal*) ...	504—537
	RAMA VARMA (*Ayilliam Tirunal*) ...	538—586
	RAMA VARMA (*Visakham Tirunal*) ...	587—603
	HIS HIGHNESS SIR RAMA VARMA (*Mulam Tirunal*—Present Maharajah) ...	604—648

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Physical Description.

Section A. Physical Features.

Name of the Country, page 1. Geographical Position, 3. Boundaries, 3. Shape and Area, 3. General Features, 4. Mountains, 11—Chief Plateaux:—Gudaramala, 13; Devicolam, 13; Anaycudoo, 13; Eravimala, 13; Perumalmala, 13; Anchanad, 13; Vattavada, 13; Kundala, 13. Passes,— Bodinaickanur, 14—Tevaram, 14—Kambam, 14—Gudalur, 15—Shivagiri Ghaut, 15—Achankovil, 15—Aryankavu, 15—Shanar Ghaut, 15—Aryanad, 15—Mottacchimala, 15—Tirukkurangudy, 16—Aramboly, 16—Yedamala, 16. Rivers, 16—The Periyar, 17—The Minachil River, 18—The Muvattupuzha River, 18—The Ranni or Pamba River, 18—The Kallada River, 19—The Manimala River, 19—The Achankovil or Kulakkada River, 20—The Attungal or Vamanapuram River, 20—The Itthikkara River, 20—The Killiyar, 20—The Karamana River, 20—The Neyyar, 21—The Paralayar or Kuzhitturayar, 21—The Kothayar, 21—The Pazhayar or the Vatasseri River, 21. Canals and Backwaters, 22. Coast Line, 26. Ports and Shipping Facilities, 27—Alleppey, 27—Poracad, 28—Quilon, 28—Tangasseri, 29—Anjengo, 29—Puntora, 30—Vizhinjam, 30—Colachel, 30—Cadiapatnam point, 30—Manakudi, 31—Cape Comorin, 31. pp. 1—32.

Section B. Geology.

Geology Proper, page 32. The Gneissic Series, 33. The Varkala or Cuddalore Sandstone Series, 37. Marine Beds, 42. Blown Sands, 44. Coral Reefs, 45. Soils, 46. Smooth-water Anchorages, 46. Economic Geology, 51—Plumbago, 51—Iron, 52—Limestone, 53—Granite, 53—Mica, 53. pp. 32—54.

CHAPTER II.

Climate, Rainfall, and Meteorology.

Climate, page 55. Seasons, 56. Temperature, 59—Diurnal variation, 59—Annual variation, 60. Rainfall, 65—Annual variation, 66—Periods of deficient rainfall, 66. Wind, 69—Variation of wind velocity, 69. Storms, 71. Earthquakes, 73. pp. 55—75.

CHAPTER III.

FLORA.

INTRODUCTORY, page 76. VALUABLE TIMBER TREES, 80—Teak, 80—Malabar Blackwood, 81—Ebony, 81—Sandalwood, 82—Anjili, 82—Thambagam, 82—Venga, 83—Thembavu, 83—White Cedar, 84—Red Cedar, 84—Ventekku, 84—Jack, 84—Irul, 85—Mayila, 85—Manjakadambu, 86—Ceylon Oak, 86—Manimaruthu, 86—Mango, 86—Malampunna, 86—Cheeni, 87—Pathiri, 87—Cotton Tree, 87—Karuntagara or Vaga, 88—Malakanjiram, 88—Iron-wood, 88—Nedunar, 88—Shurali, 88—Indian Copal, 88—Malavuram, 89—Kalasan, 89—Kollamavu, 89—Arayanjili, 89—Aval, 89—Venkotta, 89—Mukkampala, 89—Palagapayani, 89—Maruthu or Pumaruthu, 89—Kanakaitha, 89—Kar Anjili, 89—Mulluvenga, 89—Pambarakumbil, 90—Kattu Iluppa, 90—Puthankalli, 90—Karuva, 90—Kalpayin, 90—Shenchandanam, 90—Kattu Puvan, 90—Wynaad Shingle-tree, 90—Vellakasavu, 90. TREES YIELDING GUMS, RESINS AND DYES, 91. AVENUE TREES, 92. CYCADS AND PALMS, 94. BAMBOOS AND REEDS, 95. FIBROUS PLANTS, 97. MEDICINAL TREES AND PLANTS, 99—Vettila Kasturi, 100—Peruntutti, 100—Kuppameni, 100—Nayuri, 100—Vasamboo, 100—Adatoda, 101—Bilva, 101—Chittaratta, 101—Lemon grass, 101—Vilamicham, 101—Karuntumba, 101—Samudrachedi, 101—Perumarundoo, 101—Nirmulli, 101—Kattu Atthi, 102—Alpam, 102—Erukkalai, 102—Modakattan, 102—Seema Agathi, 102—Karuva, 102—Elumichai, 102—Sankhapushpam, 103—Nervalam, 103—Mavilangam, 103—Kuvamanjal, 103—Kasturimanjal, 103—Veliparuthi, 103—Karusalankanni, 103—Mullumurunga, 104—Devadaram, 104—Kammatti, 104—Karunochi, 104—Choratti, 104—Kazhanchi, 104—Narunindi, 104—Kodagapala, 105—Modirakanni, 105—Maravetti, 105—Vallarai, 105—Orelatamara, 105—Indian Jalap, Shevatai, 105—Kattumallika, 106—Kattamanakku, 106—Vembu, 106—Champaka, 106—Thottavadi, 106—Karuveppila, 106—Wild nutmeg, Jatikkai, 106—Sweet Basil, 107—Tulasi, 107—Nelli, 107—Kilanelli, 107—Pevetti, 107—Black Pepper, 107—Kodiveli, 108—Pomegranate, 108—Nagamalli, 108—Karinghota, 108—Sandalwood, 108—Belamodagam, 108—Ealettadi-maravara, 109—Senkottai, 109—Agathi, 109—Kandankathri, 109—Tooduvala, 109—Tanikai, 109—Indian Almond, 109—Kadukai, 109—Sirukanjori, 110—Nerunji, 110—Peppodal, 110—Narumpanel, 110—Chembara valli, 110—Ginger, 110—Jujube, 111. FLOWERING AND ORNAMENTAL PLANTS, 111—*Allamanda Cathartica*, 111—Samstravadi, 111—Mandarai, 111—Porasu, 111—Saralkonnai, 111—Chirutekku, 112—Sankhapushpam, 112—Kasturimanjal, 112—Murunga, 112—

Gloriosa superba, 112—Chemparuthi, 112—Adakodien, 112—Thetti, 112—Kattumallika, 112—Kattujirakamulla, 112—Manimaruthu, 113—Nedumchetti, 113—Champaka, 113—Indian Cork tree, 113—Vellila or Vellimadantai, 113—Lotus, 113—Sweet-scented Oleander, 113—Parijatakam or Pavazhamalli, 113—Alli, 113—Kaitha, 114—Venga, 114—Nandiyavatta, 114. CONCLUDING REMARKS, 114. pp. 76—117.

CHAPTER IV.

FAUNA.

PREFATORY NOTE, page 118. GENERAL, 119. MAMMALS, 120. BIRDS, 125. REPTILES, 134. FISH, 136. HYMENOPTERA, 138. DIPTERA, 143. LEPIDOPTERA, 143—Series I. Rhopalocera, 143—Series II. Heterocera Moths, 147. COLEOPTERA, 150. NEUROPTERA, 153. ORTHOPTERA, 154. RHYNCHOTA, 157 THYSANOPTERA AND THYSANURA, 158. MYRIAPODA, 159. ARACHNIDA, 159. CRUSTACEA, 161. pp. 118—163.

CHAPTER V.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

INTRODUCTORY, page 164. ARCHITECTURE, 165—Dravidian, 165—Jaina and Buddhistic, 165—Indigenous or Malabar, 165—Description of Sri Padmanabhaswami's temple at Trivandrum, 166. SCULPTURE, 169—Indigenous, 169—Buddhistic, 169—Jaina, 169—Brahminical, 170. COINS, 170—A. Indigenous, 170:—Gold Coins, 170; Silver Coins, 172; Copper Coins, 173; Zinc Coins, 173—B. Foreign Coins, 174:—Early Buddhistic, 174; European, 174; South Indian, 174; Ceylon, 175. INSCRIPTIONS, 175—Tables showing the inscriptions arranged according to their age, 176—to the Taluqs in which they occur, 176—to their character, 177—to their language, 177—to the materials on which they are inscribed, 178—to their subject-matter, 178—to their donors, 179—to their donees, 179—Vattezhuttu, 180—Kolezhuttu, 181—Old Tamil, 181—Copies of inscriptions and translations:—Plate A., 182—Plate B., 183—Plate C., 185—Plate D., 185—Plate E., 187—The language of the inscriptions, 194—Their date, 194—Locality, 194—Value, 195—Subject-matter, 195. FORTS AND MILITARY WORKS, 200—The Udayagiri Fort, 201—The Padmanabhapuram Fort, 202—Vattakotta Fort, 203—List of Forts in Travancore, 204. TOMBS AND MONUMENTS, 207. pp. 164—208.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY.

GENERAL REMARKS, 209. MATERIALS FOR HISTORY, 209.

SECTION A. ANCIENT HISTORY.

TRADITIONAL, page 210—Parasurama, 210—His vow of vengeance, 212—The destruction of the Kshatriyas, 212—His repentance and penance, 212—Erection of Keralam, 213—Scientific explanation of this tradition, 213—Designation and extent of this new land, 213—His *Yagam*, 213—The Aryan colonisation of Keralam, 214—Introduction of trees and plants in Keralam, 214—His innovations in the customs of the colonists, 214—The Nagas and serpent worship, 215—His gift of land to the Brahmins, 215—The Brahmins' inability to rule the land, 216—Parasurama crowns Bhanu-vikrama as king of Kerala, 216—The land of Parasurama, 216—Aditya Varma crowned king of Kerala, 216—Inauguration of the military system, 216—Founding of temples and shrines, 216—Laying down the *Acharams* to the new colonists, 216—Institution of schools of medicine, 216—Inauguration of the ceremonies *Mahamagham*, *Hiranyagarbham* and *Tulapurushadanam*, 216—Founding of more temples and places of pilgrimage, 217—Creation of a military order from among the Brahmins, 217—His quasi-religious military organisations, 217—Temples and worship, 218—His departure and curse, 219. THE PERUMALS, 219—Systems of Government followed after Parasurama's departure, 219:—An oligarchy in ancient Kerala, 219—How it is described in Keralolpatti, 219—An elective protectorate, 220—Its failure, 220—Keya Perumal chosen king of Keralam for twelve years, 221—His limited powers, 221—The Chola and Pandya Perumals, 221—Bhuta Raya Pandy Perumal, 221—Enmity between the Brahmins and the latter, 221—The story of his murder, 221—The rise of a new caste the Nambidis, 221—Other versions of this story, 221—Mr. Logan's explanation, 221—King's powers limited in ancient Keralam, 222—The separation of the northern *Gramams* from the southern, 222—Rearrangement of the southern Gramams, 222—Bana Perumal a new king, 222—The Mahomedan missionaries, 222—Conversion of Bana Perumal into the Islam, 222—The people perplexed at this, 222—Their absolving of this sin, 222—Bana Perumal set aside and another Perumal installed, 222—Criticism upon Bana Perumal's conversion, 222—Kulasekhara Perumal, 223—Accredited to be the same as the King of Keralam of the same name, who lived in the Eraniel palace in South Travancore, 223—Reorganisation of the Brahmins into a military guild, 223—A Kshatriya from Vijayanagar appointed king again, 223—The Kolattiri families, 223—Invasion of Kerala by a

foreign king, 224—The last of the Perumals, 224—General remarks on the Perumals and the Viceroys from the Chera, Pandya and Chola kingdoms, 224—Their identification and dates, 224—Mr. Logan dates the Perumal period down to 825 A. D., 225—His account of Cheraman Perumal's conversion, 225—Remarks on the distribution of Kerala by the last of the Perumals among his relatives and friends, 225—General inference from all the traditional and other accounts about the Perumals, 225. THE ANTIQUITY OF KERALAM, 229—Mention of the Cholas, Cheras and Pandyas and Mahendragiri in the Ramayana, 230—Of Cape Comorin, Janardanam and the Cholas and Keralas in the Mahabharata, 230—Of the Keralas and the Pandyas in the Raghuvamsa of Kalidasa, 230—Keralam mentioned in the Puranas, 230—Mention of the produce of the Malabar Coast in the Old Testament (1000 B. C.), 230—Of Kerala in Katyayana's and Patanjali's works, 230—Of an embassy to Emperor Augustus from the Pandyan Ruler in Strabo's works, 231—Account of Roman coins preserved in the palace of Travancore kings from of old, 231—Names such as Calabothros, Purali, &c., standing for the Ruler of Kerala and Kerala, as mentioned by the Greek writers Pliny, Ptolemy and others, 231—A Gupta inscription, Varahamihira's works, inscriptions, copper-plate documents and other Sanskrit works mentioning about Kerala, 232—Early European and Mahomedan travellers, 232—Native chronology according to tradition, 233—Taylor's date of the reclamation of Kerala, 233—The probable date, 234. CONCLUDING REMARKS, 234.

pp. 210—236.

SECTION B. EARLY HISTORY.

PART I. (UP TO 1100 A. D.)

INTRODUCTORY, page 237. EARLY DRAVIDIAN MERCHANTS, 237. THE EARLIEST TRADERS (B. C. 1000-300), 237—The Phœnicians, 237. EARLY GREEK ACCOUNTS (300 B. C.—150 A. D.), 238. SOUTH INDIA AND ROME (30 B. C.—540 A. D.), 241. THE EARLY MISSIONARIES, (345 A. D.—825 A.D.), 243. TRADE WITH CHINA, 244. THE EARLY MAHOMEDANS, 244. TERRITORIAL EXTENT, 246. NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS, 247. POLITICAL ORGANISATION IN MALABAR, 249. THE PEOPLE, 250. SANKARACHARYA, 250. pp. 237—250.

PART II. (1100—1400 A. D.)

RELATIONS BETWEEN TRAVANCORE AND MADURA IN THE 12TH CENTURY A. D., 251—Conquest of Vizhinjam by Rajendra Chola Deva, 251. THE BELLALAS DRIVEN OUT FROM KERALA, 251. TERRITORIAL EXTENT

OF TRAVANCORE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE 12TH CENTURY A. D., 251. SRI VIRA KERALA VARMA I. OF VENAD (1125), 252. SRI KODAI KERALA VARMA (1145-1150), 252. SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA (1161-1164), 252. SRI VIRA KERALA VARMA II. (1164-67), 253—A Travancore Princess married to the Pandian King Sri Vallabha Pandya, 253. SRI VIRA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA (1173), 254. SRI DEVADARAM KERALA VARMA (1192), 254. JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA KING OF NORTH TRAVANCORE, 254. SRI VIRA RAMA VARMA TIRUVADI OF VENAD (1196), 255—The Six Hundred, 255. SRI VIRA RAMAN KERALA VARMA (1209-1214), 255. SRI VIRA RAVI KERALA VARMA (1235), 256—The Manalikara Proclamation, 256. SRI VIRA PADMANABHA MARTANDA VARMA TIRUVADI (1252), 258. UMA DEVI, 258. JAYASIMHADEVA OF KERALA (1266-67 A. D.), 258. RAVI VARMA KULASEKHARA PERUMAL OF KERALA (1299), 259. SRI VIRA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA TIRUVADIYAR (1316), 259. ADOPTION OF TWO FEMALES FROM THE KOLATHUNAD FAMILY (1305) BY ADITYA VARMA, 260. THEIR INSTALLATION AS THE ATTUNGAL MUTHA TAMPURAN AND THE ATTUNGAL ELAYA TAMPURAN, 260. EXTENT OF TRAVANCORE (*c.* 1300 A. D.), 260. NANJANAD, 260—Its ancient history, 260—The Korava chiefs, 261—The extermination of this family, 263—The Mudaliyar rulers, 263. ADITYA VARMA TIRUVADI (1333), 263. SRI VIRA RAMA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA OF VENAD (1336-1342), 263. SRI VIRA KERALA VARMA TIRUVADI (1344), 264. SRI VIRA MARTANDA VARMA III. (1362-65), 264. THE RULE OF PARAKRAMA PANDYA IN NANJANAD (1373-1386), 265. SARVANGANATHA ADITYA VARMA II. PERHAPS A SUB-KING OF MARTANDA VARMA, 265. SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA THE SENIOR TIRUVADI OF TIRUPPAPUR (1383), 265—The Subjugation of Nanjanad, 266. SRI VIRA KERALA MARTANDA VARMA OF KILAPPERUR AND MARTANDA VARMA THE SENIOR TIRUVADI OF TIRUPPAPUR (1412), 266. CHERA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA (d. 1444), 267—Criticism upon Shungoony Menon's account of this king, 267. ACCOUNTS OF TRAVELLERS, 267—Al Idrisi, 267—Al Kazwini (1263-1275), 268—Marco Polo (1293), 268:—His account of Quilon, 269; Of Comorin, 269; Of Melibar, 270—Friar Jordanus of Severac (1324), 270—Friar Odoric, 270—Ibn Batuta (1324-25), 271 :—His description of Quilon, 271; Relations between Quilon and China at the time, 271; His description of Malabar, 272—Marignolli of Florence (1347), 273.

pp. 251—273.

PART III (1400—1600 A. D.)

STATE OF SOUTH INDIA, page 273. INTERNAL HISTORY, 275—Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur (1416-1417), 276—Sri Vira Rama Martanda Varma Kulasekhara (*c.* 1450), 276—Chempaka

Aditya Varma, (*c.* 1450) 276—Kulasekhara Nambirattiyar (*c.* 1468), 277—Sri Vira Rama Varma of Jayasimhanad (*c.* 1468), 277—Sri Vira Kodai Aditya Varma of Kilapperur (*c.* 1478), 277—Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma (1479-1512), 278—Aditya Varma and Udaya Martanda Varma (*c.* 1500), 278—Their Co-regents Jayasimha Deva II. (1486) and Sakala Kala Martanda Varma (1495), 278—Jayasimhadeva's tour to South Travancore and his giving concessions to the inhabitants of Parasurama Peruntеru, 279. ACCOUNTS OF TRAVELLERS FOR THE PERIOD, 280—Mahuan's account of the Port of Cochin, 280—Nicolo Conti, 280—Abd-er-Razzak (1442), 281. THE PORTUGUESE IN MALABAR AND TRAVANCORE, 281—First Portuguese Expedition to India under Vasco da Gama, 282—Second Expedition under Cabral, 282—Third Expedition under Vasco da Gama, 283—Gama's departure to Portugal, 283—Da Gama succeeded by Albuquerque (1503), 284—Albuquerque lands at Quilon, 284—Eupoli's account of the Portuguese at Quilon, 284—Albuquerque establishes a commercial depot and factory at Quilon, 285—Jealousy of the Moors, 285—King of Quilon's constancy against the machinations of the Zamorin, 286—Albuquerque recalled, 286—Almeyda and Quilon, 286—Factory and fort at Quilon, 288—Siege of the Quilon Fort, 289. STATE OF THE COUNTRY AND THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE, 290—Lucovica di Varthema's account of Malabar (1505), 290—Duarte Barbosa's account of Malabar and Travancore (1514), 291. HISTORIC NARRATIVE RESUMED, 294—Aditya Varma succeeded by his brother Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma (1535), 295—Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Ravi Varma, 296—Sri Vira Rama Martanda Varma of Tiruppapur and Siraivoy, a Co-regent of Bhutala Vira Udaya Martanda Varma, 296—Bhutala Vira Kerala Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad (*c.* 1544), 297—Advent of Francis Xavier (1543), 297—The invasion of Travancore by the Badagas, 297—The Badagas identified with the officers and soldiers of Vittala, a Prince of Vijayanagar King of Madura (1547-1558), 297—Travancore saved from the invasion by Xavier's intervention, 298—The Portuguese depredations in Travancore, 298—A compromise effected between Rama Varma the King of Travancore and Vittala, 299—Tala or Tovala, 299—Internal dissensions between the Senior Tiruvadis of Siraivoy and Jayasimhanad, 299—Sri Vira Unni Kerala Varma of Jayasimhanad King of Venad (1559-1561), 300—His Co-regent Sri Vira Aditya Varma (1559-1565), 300—Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma of Jayasimhanad King of Travancore (1567-1587), 300—A war between the Portuguese and the Queen of Malabar (1571), 300—King Ravi Varma (1578) a

regent of Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma, 300—Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma of Jayasimhanad (1595-1607), 301. pp. 273—301.

PART IV (1607-1729).

SRI VIRA UNNI KERALA VARMA, (1612-1623) page, 301. SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA (1620-1623) PROBABLY A CO-REGENT OF UNNI KERALA VARMA, 302. GIFT OF LAND MADE BY MUTHU VIRAPPA NAYAK TO THE BHAGAVATI TEMPLE AT CAPE COMORIN, 302. SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA OF TIRUPPAPUR KING OF VENAD (1628-47), 302. UNNI KERALA VARMA (1632-50), 302. VIZHINJAM GIVEN AWAY TO THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY (1644), 302. ADVENT OF TIRUMALA NAYAK, 302. THE YOGAKKARS AND PILLAMARS, 303. THE DUTCH, 306. DIVISIONS OF TRAVANCORE (1664 A. D.), 308. UMAYAMMA RANI (1678-1684), 310.—The Ettuvittil Pillamars, 311—A Mahomedan invasion, 312—Kerala Varma of Kottayam, 313—The Dutch, 314—The English, 314. RAVI VARMA (1684-1728), 314—Relations between Madura and Travancore—Nanjanad, 316—Raids in Nanjanad by the Nayak forces, 316—Extent of Nanjanad about 1694, 316—Document giving evidence to the political and social condition of Nanjanad at the time, 317—Travancore King pays tribute to the Madura Nayak, 318—Annihilation of a Madura army, 318—Another invasion of Travancore, 318—Nanjanad bearing the brunt of the attacks, 319—Revolt of the Nanjanadians (1702), 319—Their meetings, 319—Resolutions passed at these meetings, 319—General remarks on the Nanjanad raids, 323. UNNI KERALA VARMA (1718-1724), 324—Murder of the English factors, 324. RAMA VARMA (1724-28), 327. FORM OF GOVERNMENT, 329. STATE OF THE COUNTRY AND CHIEF EVENTS, 330. THE NEIGHBOURING KINGDOMS, 331. THE FOREIGN POWERS, 331.

pp. 301—332.

Genealogical Tree of the Travancore Royal House, page 332.

SECTION C. MODERN HISTORY.

MARTANDA VARMA (1729-1758), page 333—Accession to the throne, 333—Reorganisation of the Financial Department, 334—The Tampi Insurrection, 334—The Ettuvittil Pillamars, 336—Ministerial changes, 338—Amalgamation of Travancore with Attungal, 338—Extension of territory:—First conquest of Quilon, 338—War with Kayangulam, 339—Elayadathu Swarupam, 340—Kayangulam war continued—Dutch interference, 340—Annexation of Elayadathu Swarupam, 341—The Dutch War, 342—Battle of Quilon, 343—Treaty of Mannar, 344—Annexation of Quilon,

344—Annexation of Kayangulam, 344—Conquest of Ampalapuzha, 345—The Dutch Peace Conferences, 347—Treaty of Mavelikara, 348—The French, 350—Conquest of Minor States, 350—Final overthrow of the triumvirate and the Battle of Poracad, 351—Annexation of Karappuram, 352—The Northern insurrection, 352—The attack of the Zamorin, 353—Peace of Mavelikara, 353—Disturbances in the eastern parts of Travancore, 354—Battle of Calacaud, 354—The interference of the English, 355—Consolidation and Reform, 358:—Military, 358; Revenue administration, 359; State expenditure, 360; Public works, 360—State ceremonies, 361—A local knighthood, 361—Dedication of Travancore to Sri Padmanabhaswamy, 362—Adoption, 363—Death of Rama Iyen Dalawa, 363—Rama Iyen's private life and anecdotes, 363—Demise of the Maharajah, 366—Foreign policy, 367. pp. 333—368.

RAMA VARMA (1758-1798), page 369—His personal character, 369—Martanda Pillai Dalawa, 370—Treaty with Cochin, 370—The Travancore Lines—The Zamorin repulsed, 371—Reforms, 373—Shencottah, 373—Relations with the Nawab of Arcot and the English, 373—The dispute about the Districts of Calacaud, 375—The English, 379—First invasion of Hyder Ali, 380—The new ministry, 382—Second Invasion of Hyder Ali, 382—Death of De Lannoy, 384—The Maharajah's pilgrimage to Rameswaram, 384—Domestic Events, 385—Kesava Das, 385—The Pope's message, 387—Tippu's schemes against Travancore, 388—The new English alliance, 389—Purchase of Ayacotta and Cranganore from the Dutch, 390—Tippu's demands, 393—Tippu's attack on the lines—His defeat, 394—The attitude of the Madras Government, 396—Tippu enters Travancore, 397—The English declare war against Tippu, 398—Tippu retreats, 398—Treaty of Seringapatam, 399—Settlement of Malabar, 400—The expenses of the war, 400—The treaty of 1795, 401—Internal reforms, 404—Rajah Kesava Das, 407—Demise of the Maharajah, 407—Character and anecdotes, 408—Sir Madava Row's review of the reign, 410—Summary, 413. pp. 369—416.

BALA RAMA VARMA (1798-1810)—Accession, page 417—Maharajah's favourites, 417—Kesava Das's retirement and death, 417—Sankaran Namburi appointed Dewan, 418—The end of the ministry, 419—Velu Tampi becomes Dalawa, 420—His methods of Government, 421—Intrigues against Velu Tampi, 422—Major Macaulay and the Maharajah, 423—The mutiny of the Nayar troops, 423—Modification of the subsidiary arrangements, 424—Treaty of 1805, 425—Financial Crisis, 428—Velu Tampi's position, 429—

Cochin affairs at the period, 432—Velu Tampi's insurrection, 433—Velu Tampi's Proclamation, 434—Effects of the Proclamation, 436—Attack on the Subsidiary force at Quilon, 438—Attack on Cochin—Wholesale murder of Europeans, 438—The rebellion quelled, 440—Anecdote of Velu Tampi's flight, 441—His personal character, 442—His tragical end, 445—Lord Minto's minute, 446—A word of appreciation about Velu Tampi, 447—Wilson's opinion, 447—Oommini Tampi Dewan, 448—Domestic events, 449—Colonel Munro Resident, 449—Demise of the Maharajah, 450—Conclusion, 454. pp. 417—454.

GOURI LAKSHMI BAYI (1811-1815), page 455—Accession, 455—Colonel Munro Dewan, 458—Reforms, 460:—Judicial, 461; Revenue and Finance, 462; Devaswams, 464; Public Works, 464; Military, 465; Trade and industries, 465; Social, 465—Birth of the Princes, 466—Colonel Munro resigns his Dewanship, 466—Demise of the Rani, 469. pp. 455—470.

GOURI PARVATHI BAYI (1815—1829), page 471—Accession, 471—Ministerial changes, 471—Reddy Row Dewan, 472—Colonel Munro's retirement, 472—Reddy Row and Vencata Row, 474—Marriage of Princess Rugmini Bayi, 474—Reddy Row resigns, 474—Vencata Row becomes Dewan, 474—Missionary enterprise, 475—Education of the Princes, 476—The Nayar Brigade, 477—Vencata Row's administration, 478—Other events of the reign, 479—Regency closed and Rama Varma crowned, 480. pp. 471—481.

RAMA VARMA (*Swati Tirunal*, 1829—1847), page 482—Accession, 482—Birth, character and education, 482—The new Dewan, 483—Subba Row's Administration, 484—Reduction of the subsidiary force, 484—The first Gubernatorial visit to Travancore, 485—Reforms, 486:—Military and Judicial, 486; The First Code of Regulations, 487; Abolition of minor Duties, 488; Census of 1836, 488; The opening of an English School, 488; The Trivandrum Observatory, 488; Charity Hospital, 489; The Engineering Department, 489; Other reforms, 489—Resignation of Dewan Subba Row, 490—Ex-Dewan Vancata Row, 490—Ex-Dewan Subba Row again, 490—The Maharajah and General Cullen, 491—Reddy Row Dewan again, 493—The Maharajah leads a religious life, 497—Reddy Row resigns, 498—Krishna Row re-appointed, 499—Domestic events, 499—Europeans and Eurasians, 499—Demise of the Maharajah, 500—Character, 500. pp. 482—508.

MARTANDA VARMA (*Uttram Tirunal*, 1847—1860), page 504—Accession, 504—Early education and attainments, 504—Srinivasa Row's administration, 505—The new Dewan, 506—Madava Row appointed tutor, 508—Amelioration of slaves, 508—The London Exhibition of 1851, 509—Tinnevelly-Travancore boundary, 510—Financial strain—Demise of Parvathi Bayi, 511—Administrative divisions, 511—Attacks on the Administration, 512—Miscellaneous items, 516—Tribute to the Nawab, 517—The Pepper monopoly, 518—Adoption, 520—Death of Dewan Krishna Row, 521—Madava Row appointed Dewan, 523—Visit of Lord Harris, 524—Shanar converts and Hindus, —Disturbances in South Travancore, 525—Retirement and death of General Cullen, 531—Mr. Maltby, Resident, 534—Other events, 535—Demise of the Maharajah, 535—Personal traits, 536. pp. 504—537.

RAMA VARMA (*Ayilliam Tirunal*, 1860-1880), page 538—Accession, 538—Education and character, 538—The famine of 1036 M. E.—Financial state of the country, 539—Fiscal reforms—Abolition of the monopolies, 540—Freedom of interportal trade, 541—Judicial reforms, 543—Other reforms, 544—Subsequent progress, 548—Important political events, 550:—Sunnud of Adoption, 550; Visit of the Governor of Madras, 550; The Maharajah's first visit to Madras, 553; Visit of the Cochin Rajah, 553; Title of Maharajah, 553; The Seringapatam medal, 554; His Highness' appointment as G. C. S. I. and visit to Madras, 554; Visit of Lord and Lady Napier, 555; Palliport, 556; His Highness' third visit to Madras, 556—Retirement of Sir Madava Row, 556—Career of Sir Madava Row, K. C. S. I., 559—Sashiah Sastri—Dewan, 568—Reforms, 569—Criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects, 572—Important political events, 576—The Imperial Durbar and the presentation of the Imperial Banner (1877), 577—Sashiah Sastri retires, 578—Career of Sir A. Sashiah Sastri, K. C. S. I., 578—Nanoo Pillai, Dewan, 585—Domestic events, 585—Demise of the Maharajah, 585. pp. 538—586.

RAMA VARMA (*Visakham Tirunal*, 1880—1885), page 587—Accession, 587, Attainments and early career, 588—Dewan Nanoo Pillai retired, 590—Career of N. Nanoo Pillai, 590—The new Dewan, 594—Reforms, 594—Travancore-Cochin boundary, 597—Chief political events, 598—The Maharajah's personal traits, 599—The Maharajah's demise, 600. pp. 587—603.

SIR RAMA VARMA (*Mulam Tirunal*), page 604—Accession, 604—Early

studies, 604—Retirement of Dewan Ramiengar, 608—Career of V. Ramiengar, C. S. I., 609—T. Rama Row, Dewan, 613—Chief events, 613 Chief reforms, 616—Career of T. Rama Row, C. I. E., 623—S. Shungrasoobyer Dewan, 628—Chief events, 628—Chief reforms, 631—Career of Shungrasoobyer, C. I. E., 633—Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Rao, Dewan, 636—Chief events, 636—Progress, 640—Retirement of Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Rao, 642—Career of Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Rao, C. I. E., 643—Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, Dewan, 644—Summary of results, 644.

pp. 604—648.

LIST OF TABULAR STATEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Page.

Table showing the approximate distribution of surface drawn up by Lieuts. Ward and Conner 4

CHAPTER II.

Table I, showing the mean data of the meteorological elements for the twelve months of the year ... 57

Table II, giving means for the four seasons corresponding to the data of Table I 58

Table III, giving the diurnal oscillation of temperature at Trivandrum during the four seasons and for the whole year 60

Table IV, giving data of chief maximum and minimum epochs of the variation of temperature during the year ... 61

Table V, giving the mean diurnal range of temperature for the 12 months and for the year 61

Table VI, giving the mean actual daily and monthly temperatures at Trivandrum derived from the series of observations taken during the period 1856-1864 ... 62

Table VII, giving the mean hourly temperatures for each month and for the whole year 63

Table VIII, giving the data for the diurnal variation of the amount of vapour present in the air and also for the diurnal variation of humidity for each of the four seasons of the year and the average for the year in Trivandrum 64

Table IX, giving the mean monthly and annual rainfall at 36 stations in Travancore 68

CHAPTER V.

		Page.
1.	Statement showing the Travancore inscriptions arranged according to their age	176
2.	Statement showing the inscriptions arranged according to the taluqs in which they occur	176
3.	Statement showing the inscriptions arranged according to their character	177
4.	Statement showing the inscriptions arranged according to their language	177
5.	Statement showing the inscriptions arranged according to the materials on which they are inscribed ...	178
6.	Statement showing the inscriptions arranged according to their subject-matter	178
7.	Statement showing the inscriptions arranged according to the donors	179
8.	Statement showing the inscriptions arranged according to the donees	179

LIST OF DIAGRAMS, PLATES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Vol. I.

	Page.
H. H. The Present Maharajah, Sir Rama Varma (*Mulam Tirunal*), G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E. Ascended the Musnud 19th August 1885 A. D.	*Frontispiece.*
Thavally Palace, Quilon	7
The Minachil River view	18
Triparappu Falls	21
Entrance into the Kadinangulam Lake from the Canal ...	22
Sea and Temple view at Cape Comorin	31
Forest view at Pallode	76
Elephant at bath in the Karamana River	124
Plate A. Text (in Vatteluttu)	182
Do. (in current Tamil)	182
Do. (English translation)	182
Plate B. Text (in Vatteluttu)	183
Do. (in current Tamil)	183
Do. (English translation)	184
Plate C. Text (in Koleluttu or Malaiyamai)	185
Do. (in current Tamil)	185
Do. (English translation)	185
Plate D. Text (in Koleluttu)	185
Do. (in current Tamil)	185
Do. (English translation)	185
Plate E. Text (in old Tamil)	187
Do. (in current Tamil)	187
Do. (English translation)	191
Plan of the Udayagiri Fort	201
Do. Padmanabhapuram Fort	202
Do. Vattakotta Fort	203

Sri Padmanabhaswamy's Temple, Trivandrum ... 405
Five Maharajahs of Modern History—in one group ... 482
Golden Car Procession, Trivandrum 501
Lakshmi Bayi, C. I., Late Senior Rani, and Parvathi Bayi, Late Junior Rani 520
Statue of Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, K. C. S. I. ... 556
Napier Museum, Trivandrum 571
Residency Garden-party Group, Trivandrum 640

THE

TRAVANCORE STATE MANUAL.

CHAPTER I.

Physical Description.

SECTION A. PHYSICAL FEATURES.

"Were there, below, a spot of holy ground
Where from distress a refuge might be found,
And solitude prepare the soul for heaven;
Sure, nature's God that spot to man had given,
Where falls the purple morning far and wide
In flakes of light upon the mountain side;
Where with loud voice the power of water shakes
The leafy wood, or sleeps in quiet lakes."

Wordsworth.

Name of the Country.—This ancient kingdom of Travancore forms the southern-most portion of the west coast of India. The country from Gokarnam to Cape Comorin has been known by different names at different times, such as, Malayalam, Parasurama-kshetram, Karma-bhumi, Cheram, Keralam, Malanad, Malavaram and Malabar. This tract of land, according to the Bhoogola Purana—a Sanskrit work on the ancient geography of the Hindus—was 100 yojanas* long and 10 yojanas broad.

The word 'Malayalam' is its Tamil name and signifies 'mala' (hill) and 'azham' (depth) i. e., the hill and dale country, or the land at the foot of the mountains.

The word 'Parasurama-kshetram' is derived from the tradition that Parasurama, the great Brahmin sage† of the race of Bhrigu, reclaimed this land from the sea.

The name 'Karma-bhumi' signifies that the spiritual salvation of the inhabitants of this land depends entirely on good actions, as contrasted with the East Coast, or 'Gnana-bhumi' otherwise 'Punnya-bhumi',

* 1 yojana is equal to ten miles.
† See Ancient History, *infra*.

where a man obtains salvation by mere birth irrespective of his actions, as the land itself is said to be consecrated ground. So far is this believed in, that an orthodox Brahmin of the East Coast would not wish to die in Keralam, lest he be born an ass in the next birth.

'Keralam' is the name by which the country was known from the earliest times and one by which the native of the soil always loves to designate it. The word is supposed to have been derived from 'Keram' a contraction of 'Nalikeram', the Sanskrit name for cocoanut, as this part of India abounds with cocoanut palms. Another theory is that the country takes its name from 'Cheraman Keralan', a sovereign among the Perumals, who, raised to sway by the people's will, distinguished his government by a course of wisdom, moderation and benevolence. Both the derivations are however improbable as the country had its name long before the advent of this legendary Perumal, or the introduction of the cocoanut palm on this coast.

Alberuni seems to have been the first to call the country 'Malabar,' which is an Arabic corruption from Mala (Vernacular) mountain and Vara (Sanskrit) slope. Dr. Robertson, in his 'Historical disquisition concerning Ancient India', derives it from the word 'Mall', the name of a port (mentioned by Kosmos Indikopleustes), and says that the word means 'country of pepper'.

Fra Bartolomeo, who resided for a long time in Travancore, says that the country was called 'Malai-nadu'—the land of hills, which was subsequently corrupted into 'Mala-varom' or 'Malabar'. Other forms of the word are: Melibar, Manibar, Molibar, Malibar, Minibar, Minabar, Melibaria.

'Travancore' is the abbreviated English form of 'Tiru-Vithan-Kodu', once the capital of the kingdom and the residence of the court, but now a petty village 30 miles to the south-east of Trivandrum. Tiru-Vithan-Kodu is said to be a corruption of 'Sri-Vazhum-Kodu', i. e., a place where the Goddess of Prosperity dwells.

Travancore is also known by the names of 'Venad', 'Vanchi-Desam' and 'Tiru-Adi-Desam'. Venad is a corruption of 'Vanavanad' (the land of the celestials). Vanchi-Desam means either the land of treasure or the land of bamboos. Tiru-Adi-Desam is probably derived from 'Tiru Adikal', one of the titles of Chera kings. 'Tiru Adi' means 'holy feet' or 'the Royal feet' and represents the usual form in which the kings of the land were addressed. Even now the verna-

cular form of addressing the king is 'Adiyen Trippadom sevikkunnu' meaning 'I, a humble slave, serve thy royal feet'.

'Malankarai' is another name used exclusively by the Syrian Christians; the Syrian Metropolitan still calls himself 'The Malankarai Metran.'

Geographical position.—The Travancore State is situated at the south-western extremity of India, between 8° 4′ and 10° 22′ North Latitude and 76° 14′ and 77° 38′ East Longitude. It is a long narrow strip of territory, measuring 174 miles in length and from 30 to 75 miles in breadth, lying between the Malabar Coast and the Western Ghauts which run almost parallel with the Western Coast of India and which divide Travancore from the British Districts of Tinnevelly and Madura.

Boundaries.—Travancore is bounded on the north by the Cochin State and the Coimbatore District, on the east by the range of Ghauts which forms a natural barrier between it and the districts of Tinnevelly, Madura and Coimbatore, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by the Arabian Sea and by portions of Cochin running down in a narrow strip between Travancore and the sea.

Shape and area.—Its shape is triangular with the apex towards the south, its two sides running in a north-westerly direction. It is of an unequal breadth gradually diminishing from the north and converging to a point at its southern extremity. The irregularity of its breadth offers an average width of about 40 miles inland. A narrow strip of land belonging to the State of Cochin makes a deep indentation on the north-west angle and destroys the contiguity and compactness of its shape.

The total area of Travancore is 7091 square miles. Compared with the adjoining British Districts, it is about four-fifths of Madura, nine-tenths of Coimbatore, one and one-fourth of Malabar and one and one-third of Tinnevelly. Compared with other Native States, Travancore is about one-twelfth the size of Hyderabad, one-fourth of Mysore, seven-eighths of Baroda, two-sevenths of Gwalior, more than 5 times the size of Cochin, and 6 times that of Pudukotta. It is smaller than the Principality of Wales by 279 square miles and bears to England and Wales together, the proportion of 1 to 8.

Lieuts. Ward and Conner estimated the area to be 6731 square miles. But they did not include the Anchanad valley together with a large portion of the High Ranges aggregating about 230 square miles, the Idiyara valley and a portion of the forest near the Alvarkurichi gap.

The following table conveying an approximate distribution of surface was drawn up between 1816 and 1820 by Lieuts. Ward and Conner:—

Rice lands.	741	square miles.
Slopes available for temporary cultivation of rice &c.	1,000	,,
Areca-nut and Cocoanut topes chiefly along the coast.	356¾	,,
Sandy extent covered with Palmyra.	115	,,
Lakes, rivers, tanks &c.	157½	,,
Site occupied by buildings.	20	,,
Pasturage and superficies occupied by low chains of hills.	1,961	,,
Hills and forests.	2,379½	,,
Total area.	6,730¾	,,

From the above table, it will be seen that about two-thirds only remain applicable to the purpose of profitable cultivation or pasturage, the whole cultivation of Travancore being generally confined to a contracted strip along the coast, narrower in the southern parts, but expanding as it approaches northwards.

General features.—The general aspect of the country is thus described by Ward and Conner *:—

"The face of the country presents considerable diversity, although its general character, except the southern parts, is extremely abrupt and mountainous. The coast, and for a short distance along the borders of the lake, is generally flat; retreating from it the surface immediately becomes unequal, roughening into slopes which gradually combine and swell into the mountainous amphitheatre that bounds it on the east, where it falls precipitately, but terminates less abruptly on the south. The collected villages, waving plains, palmyra topes and extensive cultivation of Nunjanaad, resemble in every particular the neighbouring province of Tinnevelly, except that it in no measure partakes of its comparatively arid sterility. Approaching northward, this fertile plain is succeeded by the woody and rugged surface of the genuine Malayalim; some few champaign tracts enclosed within this ocean of forest relieve the uniformity of this sylvan scene. The extent lining the coast for its whole length presents a fertility so near the sea that imparts a peculiar character to the landscape. This rich and variegated tract is flanked by a mountainous barrier and is finally contrasted with the sombre magnificence and desolate solitude of those wilds of which the elephant seems the natural master; and though the landscape may be too much made up of this wild scenery, it boasts many striking localities and peculiar beauties, if not of the sublime, at least romantic and picturesque kinds. The eye is arrested by the wild rocky precipitous acclivities and fantastic forms assumed

* Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin.

by the mountain in the more southern parts, but proceeding north the bold and elevated contour of this Alpine tract is less sharply defined; a few rugged cliffs and spiry points or conical summits alone breaking through the sameness of its rounded and sombre outline. This appenine dissolves into clustering hills and romantic inequalities, at whose feet wind innumerable valleys, presenting (particularly in the middle parts) the most delightful landscapes, whose natural beauties are embellished and diversified by the prospect of Churches and Pagodas. Indeed the endless succession of houses and gardens scattered in picturesque disorder over the face of the country, gives it entirely a different appearance from the other coast, the nudity of whose plains is unfavourably contrasted with the robe of florid and exuberant vegetation that for a great part of the year clothes Malayalim. The Areca and Cocoanut everywhere fringe those picturesque and sequestered glens which gradually expand into the extensive plantations and cultivated lands that skirt the sea and lake. This space is enlivened and fertilised by innumerable rivers and pastoral streams, whose borders are crowned with groves and cultivation that everywhere following their winding course, present a unique, interesting and charming scenery, infinitely more diversified than most other parts of the Peninsula and one that would indicate abundance. This is especially the case in Kootanaad; the watery flatness of this fertile fen is relieved by the gardens and habitations so thickly strewn over its surface which exhibits a network of rivers meandering through the verdure they create."

Travancore is certainly one of the most picturesque portions of India. It has been the dream of poets, the delight and admiration of every traveller. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, said:—

"Since I have been in India I have had a great desire to visit the State of Travancore. I have for many years heard so much of its exuberant natural beauties, its old-world simplicity, and its Arcadian charm. Who would not be fascinated by such a spectacle? Here nature has spent upon the land her richest bounties; the sun fails not by day, the rain falls in due season, drought is practically unknown, and an eternal summer gilds the scene. Where the land is capable of culture, there is no denser population; where it is occupied by jungles or backwater or lagoon, there is no more fairy landscape".

Here is another description founded upon closer personal acquaintance from the pen of that versatile writer, Mr. J. D. Rees I. C. S., C. I. E., a former British Resident in Travancore and Cochin:—

"It would be a hopeless task to attempt to describe the scenery of the Madras Presidency, which to the east of the ghauts has one, and to the west another character, but which nowhere is without a beauty of its own. . . . . But the districts more completely within the sphere of the influence of the south-west monsoon have a wholly different character. The rolling downs of the Nilgiris possess one of the finest climates in the world for the Anglo-Saxon, and nowhere is the scenery more magnificent than upon its western borders, where the happy sportsman can sit in a blushing rhododendron as big as an English oak, the moss and lichens of whose branches are pranked with orchids, and look down a sheer cliff of giddy height, the first shelf of primeval forest and on to another and another by gradual descents from a height of 8,000 feet, till the cocoanut gardens of the storied Malabar Coast are seen between the last step and the yellow sands and white foaming breakers, beyond which the blue Arabian Sea sparkles and shimmers in the sunlight, till the orb of day descends,

a blood red ball, into its distant waters. What mountain drive equals the Coonoor ghaut, now gashed and scarred somewhat by a none the less useful railway, upon whose forest-clad slopes white fleecy clouds gently lie, while the gigantic green feathers of the bamboos lightly wave, and the most beautiful of all butterflies flit around the traveller as he passes through tree ferns and plantains, looking up at the towering masses of rugged rocks, and the purple outline of the mountains.

"Below in Malabar, Travancore and Cochin, the beauties of the country defy description, and the forests are, of all places in this world, surely the most fascinating in which to dwell. You pass through shady aisles, which admit the sunshine by infrequent shafts, but breathe everywhere its warmth and joy, and are ever reminded of the late Laureate's happy alcaic experiment,

> Me rather all that bowery loneliness.
> The brooks of Eden mazily murmuring,
> And bloom profuse and cedar arches.
> Charm.

"Tall pillar trees, with green Corinthian capitals, support the roof, festooned with vines and creeping plants, and often blooming with red, white, and purple flowers, the floor is covered with an undergrowth of tree ferns and flowering shrubs, above monkeys and squirrels leap from tree to tree, wood-pigeons coo, wood-peckers tap the tree trunks, and cicadaæ whirr and whistle, while now and again a startled spotted deer jumps up and disappears, or the loud crack of branches betokens the proximity of an elephant taking his meal, the picture of lazy and lordly ease.

"This spirit pervades the atmosphere. Nature, in her most bounteous and reproductive aspects, scatters her treasures around with such a lavish hand, that it speaks well for an industrious and estimable population, that, in its case, the worship of the beautiful has never ended, as some say it always does, in orgies. None the less in the forests the life of those least sensitive to the influence of the beautiful can be nothing less than one long botanical debauch in 'valleys low, where the mild whispers use of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks', tempered by occasional encounters, wherein all the sterner attributes of humanity are suddenly brought into play, and the man may have to fight with the beast, for the life, which, a few minutes before, ran 'in soft luxurious flow'. The contingency, ever present for the sportsman, of this sharp and sudden contrast, adds a thousandfold to the fascination of what surely is the happiest possible life".

I may be permitted to quote here, from one of my earlier Census Reports*, the following description of one of the highest Peaks on the Ghauts:—

"What strikes a stranger most in Travancore is the eminently picturesque character of its natural features. The view of the country from one of our hill-tops on the Western Ghauts is worth getting at even at the cost of a hundred miles journey. Nature is then seen at its best. Going up an elevation of four or five thousand feet above the sea to one of those bold and isolated heights open on all sides, the traveller is treated to an intellectual repast exceeding in grandeur all that poets or novelists have discovered in the revelry of nature itself. It is one continuous feast to the eye. On one side lie a series of mountains, rising in successive tiers till the highest peaks disappear in happy confusion with the white clouds of the East. On the other side is a vast rich

* Report on the Census of Travancore, taken in 1881 A. D.

M. E. PRESS.

Thavally Palace, Quilon.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

Thavaily Palace. Quilon.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

undulating plain spread out in velvet green and covered with dense jungle not penetrated even by a Kawni's hut, the picturesque view extending over many square miles of territory and presenting scenes of indescribable beauty as far as the eye can reach; there is something like a glut produced on the human eye-sight by the quantity and variety of beauty simultaneously presented to it. For a while, the traveller's eye rests on regions of magnificent primeval forest as old as Parasurama himself. Here the view is relieved by neat plots of coffee land upon which is seen the industrious hand of the mighty British adventurer, a scene full of life and calling to mind associations of lacs of plants and lacs of rupees, at one time the land of dreams, but now often the grave of fortunes. Then anon is seen towering pre-eminently over all, the Agastiar Peak or the Mount Everest of our Ghauts, supposed to be the abode of pious Rishis or at any rate now of guileless birds and beasts and of untainted perennial waters. In one word, 'every corner and every turning point opens out a panorama of inexpressible grandeur'."

To which may be added another description of a sixty miles' journey across country from Quilon to Shencottah, from my Census Report of 1891:—

"A rich picturesqueness of scenery diversified by hills and dales is the chief characteristic of Travancore. To the admiring student of nature it presents peculiar fascinations, on account of the variety and wealth of its natural beauty. If the untravelled reader will go along with me, across country, say from the western ocean to the ghauts on the eastern frontier and thence descend into one of those trans-alpine villages which abound in the flat country of Pandi, he will have seen Travancore at its best. Say we start from one of the coast towns, a place of historic importance known at once as a port, a cantonment, a centre of trade and the head-quarters of a chief revenue officer. The stranger will be taken up with its broad-backed gardens into which the town is laid out, the soil of which is half sand, half laterite, the former thickly planted with the valuable cocoanut palm for which every available space is used up, thus showing an ancient agricultural occupancy; while the remaining space is filled with wooded trees of all kinds, such as the mango, the jack, the anjili and the tamarind with the highly priced pepper vine parasitically clinging to them. This pretty town I am speaking of has a reef of rocks for its beach, which prevents its corrosion by the sea, thus helping the ryot to plant his cocoanut trees so near the water's edge that the shadows fall on the beating surf, a phenomenon not met with in any other point of this coast. On the south is the beautiful bay known to the earliest mariners of Europe as affording a perfect natural protection to ships in the worst weather; and which, it is believed, might, under favourable conditions, be turned into one of the finest harbours in India. A little to the interior you have the beautiful lake scenery, so much admired by travellers from all parts of the world, affording unrivalled conveniences for travelling and traffic and adding beauty to its general appearance. There are many turns and bends to this lake, which specially attract the eye of the traveller. On one of those turns you have a magnificent mansion standing out boldly into the lake, the waters of which reflect so well its lofty column, its halls and rooms, its high balconies and well designed circular roof that the shadows on the water seem more charming than the reality. This mansion known as the Thavally Palace is very happily situated. The ground is an elevated table-land jutting out into the lake, which bounds it on three sides. The soil is of laterite formation and the water is excellent both for drinking and bathing purposes. There are two tanks in the garden and several wells, one of them a

particularly large one within the 'nalukettoo' itself. The place was an abandoned jungle years ago, and the credit of discovering and reclaiming it belongs to the present Dewan (Mr. T. Rama Row). The late Maharajah and his Royal brother visited Thavally often. So also did the present Maharajah as a Prince and several other members of the Royal family. So Thavally became a favourite resort with the Royal family, and during His late Highness' reign, the ground and property of Mr. Rama Row were purchased by the Sircar, and a magnificent mansion erected on it. The view from the palace tower or column is most magnificent. The peculiar combination of wood and water, of groves of tall palms and forests, of well-shaded jack and mango trees, with the blue line of distant mountains on the eastern horizon, give a charm to Thavally which can only be felt, not described. Another point of vantage in this lake scenery is the Residency, the oldest and the finest of the Residencies in the country. I have heard no end of praises being heaped on this lovely spot. On occasions of State dinners the house is decorated and the gardens are tastefully illuminated, when it may well claim the encomium passed on it by one of our late Governors that it was 'Fairy Land'. The enterprising European has not been slow to avail himself of such natural facilities; so he has with his usually keen commercial instinct established mills and manufactories which, with their noisy machinery and smoky chimneys, remind you of the veneering of a superior civilization over this otherwise quiet spot. A mile to the east is the European quarter of the town and the British cantonment with their indispensable parade ground, church, mess-house and a club, and an open sea beach for their evenings to be enjoyed. Between, is the native part of the town with its thatched huts and busy bazaars containing a mixed population of Pandi Sudras, Nairs, Mahomedans, Jews, East Indians and fishermen. The town is dotted with numerous tanks and wells, an indispensable auxiliary to the comfort of the true Travancorean. It is also well supplied with flat metalled roads, the very best, I think, of all the roads we have in the country. Travelling eastwards we pass the pretty grove of Elampalloorkavoo, the only cluster of huge trees in a large expanse of open country. This 'kavoo' or grove is an interesting oasis in the open maidan, and I counted in it 129 trees of 17 different kinds such as the belleri myrabolam, the momordicus charantia, the cinnamon, the cassia, the callicarpa lanata, the anjili, (the artocarpus hirsuta), the echites scholaris, the strychnos nux vomica, the jack tree, the mango tree, the alangium decapitatum, the Kilimaram, the Vattathamara, the Vetti, the Edana and the Mottalu. They were the growth of ages and were an object of worship to the neighbouring population, who consider it sacrilegious to touch such trees with any knife or other piece of iron. Leaving this, we come upon a fine jungly station with a number of new clearings all round, and a wild mountain torrent running by its side the force of which, however, has been arrested by the recent bund-works of an enterprising company. The whole road is lined on both sides with fine avenue trees planted by an enthusiastic former administrator of the district and bearing testimony to his goodness and forethought. Proceeding further east, we reach Ottakkal, another distance of 10 miles. The whole region is one continuous forest, and is an abundant source of inexhaustible wealth, the potentiality of which exceeds our most sanguine calculations. On both sides the road is barricaded by a tall tree fence. This is a phenomenon quite unknown in most parts of India, and but for our personal knowledge we should have found it hard to believe it. The noonday sun scarcely penetrates the thick crust of green leaves, so rich is the vegetation. From Punalur to Camp Gorge the river runs nearly parallel to the road for most part of it, and I believe the natural stream served as a guide to the original engineer in laying it out. It is impossible to describe the beauties of the road or the river in this region; they should be seen to be appreciated. The best description must beggar the reality,

or as Mr. J. D. Rees writes:— 'Words fail me to describe the lovely scenery. Tall, upright standards of huge timber trees, palms of every kind, including the exquisitely graceful areca, tree ferns, creepers, ferns and flowers, all spring from a tangled undergrowth of iral reed. The pepper vine clings to the large timber trees, and ropes of rattan and giant branches hidden in creepers, combine to construct an ever varying but unending bower. ... ... As you travel in the chequered shade, you would say that every reach of the road had been designed by nature, to show what wealth of vegetation can be presented at once to the astonished and delighted eye.' After a night's halt in the wooden house at this lonely place (Ottakkal), you rise and see nothing but a dim daylight and a white haze all round. The tall trees and the mountains are all buried under this haze, so that one would suspect it was raining hard when it was only the morning dew. As the sun rises in the horizon, the mist disappears, and the outlines of the glorious hills and the surrounding jungle become more and more visible. Altogether this Ottakkal is a lovely station, in the heart of the forest. It composes one to fine thoughts. There is not a single human habitation within a radious of five miles. There is nothing to disturb one here except the loneliness of the spot. At night you may be awakened by a wild elephant, who pays his customary visit to the neighbouring jack tree (five yards from the wooden building) when the jack fructifying season sets in. Eleven miles further to the east is the Arienkavu pagoda. This is a small temple, with its usual accompaniments of a copper-plate-roofed quadrangle, and a cupola-shaped shrine in the centre, dedicated to the god of the woods, a place of great sanctity and renown, approached with dread reverence by the superstitious traveller. The road still lies by the side of deep and fearful ravines, thickly overgrown with moss and shrub, and through a continuous belt of tall and stately forest of the kind already described, and tenanted by the majestic elephant and the royal tiger and all the minor denizens that

> 'Roam the jungle free,
> Graze the turf untilled,
> And drink the stream unbrewed.'

Midway between Ottakkal and this pagoda is a two-roomed terrestrial paradise, used as a rest-house by the much-travelled Briton, and which is situated on the side of a precipitous and magnificent gorge, from which it takes its name. It is the most favoured of all the fair spots on which the eye of Heaven rests, and when fitted up with the equipments of modern civilization, it might well raise the envy of even an English prince. A mile to the east of this venerable pagoda, is the famous pass through the ghauts, known as the 'Arienkavoo Pass'. This beautiful glade on the ghauts is fifty miles away from where we started, and forms a sort of natural gateway through the chain of mountains which would otherwise be an impassable barrier to Travancore. The road, already described, cuts the mountain saddle at its lowest point, and connects it to British India. This road, upon which the business-bound traveller of to-day does not pause to spend a moment's thought, bears at once willing testimony to the financial genius and engineering skill of former times. It would be ingratitude in us to forget our old benefactors, though the world is so much occupied with its present self that it has no time to look back or cherish memories of the past. The road struggles up inch by inch, for several hundred feet above the sea-level, before it reaches the top of this gap, and any but the stoutest heart must have been baffled in the attempt to make it, so great are the natural obstacles of wood, rock and ravine. The topmost part is presently reached, and you stand still and take breath for a while. Then, as you slowly wind down the tortuous path, looking at all the points of the compass, new beauties rise on every side before you. At every turn, you get exhilarating views of the enchanting landscape, which for

the nonce relieves the prosaic mind of the dull monotony of daily life and fills it with sweet thoughts of fancy. On the west is seen nothing but a dense jungle of the tall teak and the stout anjili, the valuable kongu and the oily vengai, and an impervious underwood, full of animal and vegetable life, resonant with the hum of the shrill Seevudu bee*, and the gentle murmur of the forest leaves, with the perpetual rain dripping from them, and the deafening roar of the wild torrent below dashing its headlong course—altogether a scene which, by its richness and hugeness, produces something like a glut on the vision and obscures it. The eye then fondly turns to the open east, the varied beauties of which furnish still ampler food to an imaginative mind. The view on that side, as laid out by nature, is simply grand. The ground gently falls eastward, step by step, for many miles, till at a great distance you see the ruins of a magnificent 'gopuram' (tower), which reminds you that the level country of the Tamils has been reached. The zigzag line of rich avenues, with banyan trees 30 feet in circumference and perhaps as old as Queen Mangamma herself, indicate which way the cart road lies. On yonder right, flow the magnificent waters of a mighty cataract† used by millions of pilgrims from a remote past, and which, though perhaps of not equal sanctity to those of the Vedic Ganges, are yet as pure. The smoothness of the rocks, over which the water flows, reminds one of the immensity of the time that has elapsed, and the hundred little streams and channels into which the waterfall has been diverted, show how the hand of man in later ages has utilized it for religious and secular purposes. The green valley between, with their rice fields and groves of cocoanut palms in their midst, add their share of beauty to the surrounding scene. To the left, your eye falls on clusters of Hindu villages with houses closely packed to one another—an economy peculiar to this region, but unknown on the Western Coast. The houses, though small and humble, are neat and well-built ones, made of brick and chunam, and afford the inmates effective shelter from the biting winds of the monsoon, which blow here with unstinted fierceness. Further left, you catch a glimpse of an isolated rock, with a Hindu temple on its top founded according to popular tradition about the beginning of this 'yuga', but, at any rate, showing that the Hindu worshipper of old had a touch of the romantic in him. On both sides of the road the tilled red soil bespeaks the quiet and patient industry of the ryot who, though the butt of fickle fortune, has through several generations and amidst all change of circumstances yet remained a contented and loyal subject. Overhead fly troops of water-laden clouds, precipitated through a hundred gaps by the winds on which they ride as if in a hurry to convey to the anxiously awaiting villagers of Pandi the glad tidings of rain and plenty in the land of Parasurama with which their own prosperity is so indissolubly bound. In short, on every side, you are greeted with a rich and interminable prospect of Nature's beauties, sown broadcast in riotous profusion before you, such as is only possible in a Travancore landscape."

In spite of repeated tours over this pretty tract of country, my fascination remains undiminished for wood and water, for hill and gorge, for high peaks and deep chasms, for the cry of the jungle bird and the roar of the wild torrent. I am not sure if this charm will not disappear with the introduction of the Railway. This scene of never ending beauties of the Aryankavu Pass might become an old-world dream. Speedy locomotion is inconsistent with the full enjoyment of natural beauties or diversified

* A kind of bee that makes a shrill sound often met with in our jungles.

† Dr. Caldwell says, "It may be asserted without risk of exaggeration that Courtallam is the finest freshwater bathing place in the world."

landscape. One relishes them better for the dull country-cart journeys. The steam engine dashing across this 60 miles of rich scenery in a couple of hours, the natural beauty of the country will thus quickly pass the eye and escape enjoyment, like a flash of lightning. It would be as if one swallowed a whole meal in a single gulp. So sudden a change in the life of the quiet and simple Travancorean may be a matter for regret, but a vain regret after all. It is impossible to stand still in this age. Such is the current of modern civilisation. We must move on whether we will or no*.

Mountains.—The hilly region of Travancore is very extensive and is a marked of feature of the State. What the Himalaya mountains are to the Indian Continent, that the Western Ghauts are to Travancore. Without these Ghauts Travancore would be a poor tract of land, treeless and arid and inhospitable, without rivers and rains, exposed to droughts and famine even more than the worst part of the East Coast, which itself would be the much poorer but for these Ghauts. They affect all the conditions of life now peculiar to Travancore, and it is no wonder therefore that the Travancorean worships the Ghauts, particularly one of the highest peaks in them where sage Agastya is said to dwell, and has deified their maker Parasurama who created Malayalam from the sea, the upheaved surface of which became the Ghauts. Reference is made in another part of this book to the 5 presiding deities (Sasthas) who guard the Western Ghauts.

The eastern boundary of Travancore with three small exceptions (the Anchanad valley, the Shencottah Taluk and the eastern slopes of the Mahendragiri hills) is the lofty mountain range, the chain of Ghauts that forms the backbone of Southern India. The hills are of every variety of elevation, climate and vegetation. Some of the loftier mountains are entirely detached, except near their bases, from the neighbouring heights; they often have a precipitous descent towards the west and are connected with a sucession of low hills diminishing in altitude near the coast. To the north, the mountains rise to an elevation of 8,000 feet with plateaus over 7,000 feet; the more important of these is part of the group known as the Anamalays (between lat. 10° 13′ 45″ to 10° 31′ 30″ N; and long. 76° 52′ 30″ to 77° 23′ E.)

At the head of these hills stands Anamudy 8,840 feet high, round which are clustered several others, among the more important of which may be

* Since this portion of the Manual was written the Railway has been completed and the line opened for traffic between Quilon and Tinnevelly.

mentioned, Eravimala or Hamilton's plateau 7,880 feet (6 miles long by 3 wide containing about 10,000 acres of tea and coffee land), Kattumala 7,800 feet, Chenthavara 7,664 feet, Kumarikal 7,540 feet, Karinkulam 7,500 feet, and Devimala 7,200 feet. All these run in a horse-shoe shape with the opening facing towards the north-east. These hills, together with the lower ground connecting them, form the elevated plateau known to Europeans as the High Range. The broken nature of the hills here causes the scenery to be far more varied and beautiful than that generally met with either in the Pulneys or Nilgiris. The general trend of the highlands is north-north-east and south-south-west, the highest elevation being to the north-east and to the south, gradually decreasing in sloping undulating hills towards the west excepting the Anamudy mountain and its plateau, which is situated at the extreme south-south-west end of the range. Strictly speaking, the tract known as High Ranges can hardly be said to be a plateau; it is rather a succession of high hills with deep valleys between, running down to a depth of 2,000 to 3,000 feet below them. Mr. Munro, the first Superintendent and Magistrate of the Cardamom Hills, has described it thus:—

"The High Ranges of Travancore rise suddenly from the lower plateau of the Cardamom Hills and form a complete range of their own. On the south-east corner, the High Ranges begin with Sholeamalla or Currincollum (8,480 ft.) and run in a south-west direction to Gennewurra, thence still south-west to Corechy and thence to Puddikut (6,000 ft.) near Davycollum. From Puddikut, the line of walls runs in the same direction to Coorkacomboo (7,000 ft.); then running slightly more west, the Hills rise to Chokenamuddy (7,300 ft.) from which the course is north-west to the gap where the Moonaur disappears. From the gap the Hills run slightly south-west and then north-west to Worrayparathundoo; thence north to Perumputty Kullo (6,500 ft.) from which again the direction is north-east as far as Aunymuddy. From Aunymuddy the course is much broken and runs irregularly to Erevimalla where there is a deep dip into the valley of the Erevimalla Aur which separates the Erevimalla plateau (also known as Hamilton's plateau) from Perumalmalla plateau. From this valley there is a steep rise to the north-west to Katoomalla (8,100 ft.). To the west of Katoomalla, the High Ranges comprise the plateaux within Chemmun Peak (7,100 ft.), Payratmalla (7,400 ft.) and thence eastward to Coomarikul (8,050 ft.). To the east of Coomarikul and Katoomalla lies the low Unjenaad Valley which separates this part of the High Ranges from the Highlands on the slopes of Tertamalla, on which are situated the hill villages of Kelandoor, Kandel, Pootoor, and Perumalla at an average elevation of 5,000 feet. In its upper part the Unjenaad Valley is also called the Thallayar Valley where the elevation is above 4,000 feet; sloping gradually to the northeast, it opens out into the Unjenaad Valley proper which is a level terrace 2 or 3 miles wide and 5 miles long lying at an elevation of 3,000 feet. Below and to the east of Unjenaad the land slopes down rapidly to the British frontier probably at about 1,500 or 2,000 feet, a very feverish tract containing no resident population.

"To the south-east of Tertamalla runs a ridge separating the water-shed between Unjenaad and Moonaur and joining the high peaks bordering the Pulnies

at a peak called Allear Kunnoo (6,900 ft.). From Allear Kunnoo the course is bounded by a curve north north-east to Pambadyshola (8,000 ft.) and then runs north to Kuduvurratukul (6,600 ft.), where there is a deep dip into the Wuttawudda river, and here the high land may be said to cease. From Allear Kunnoo southward, the line to Sholeamalla is marked by clear-cut cliffs averaging about 8,000 feet. Exclusive of the low Unjenaad Valley which is not above 3,100 feet, the area within these boundaries may be roughly estimated at 400 square miles with an elevation of one of the peaks reaching as high as 8,837 feet".

The following are the chief plateaux in the High Ranges:—

GUDARAMALA. Between Karinkulam in the south-east corner and Devimala. Average elevation 6,000 feet, area 4 sq. miles; well wooded and watered.

DEVICOLAM. Lies to the west of the above and has an area of 3 sq. miles. Average elevation 6,000 feet; beautifully wooded and well watered.

ANAYCUDOO. Lies west of the Devicolam plateau and is separated from it by the Kazhuthaparathundoo. This beautiful valley is sheltered by the Chokkanmudy peaks. Elevation 5,120 feet. Between Vagavara and Anamudy there is a very pretty glen with an elevation of 7,000 feet.

ERAVIMALA. Lies north of Anamudy and is separated from it by a deep valley. Elevation 7,300 feet. Bare of wood on its summit but well wooded in the slopes. Has a cold bracing climate. Length 6 miles and breadth 3 miles.

PERUMALMALA. Length 2 miles, breadth 1½ miles. Elevation 7,000 feet.

To the north of this lies a plateau shelterd between Kattumala, Kumarikal and Payratmala. Length 4 miles, breadth 3 miles and elevation 7,000 feet. There is another plateau to the north of Kattumala terminating at Pudikutmala. Area 3 sq. miles. Elevation 6,600 feet.

ANCHANAD. Area 30 to 40 sq. miles. Elevation 3,100 feet. This is a level terrace, two or three miles wide and five miles long.

VATTAVADA. Length 6 miles, elevation 6,000 feet. Greater portion bare of wood but the upper portion towards the top of the pass into Bodinaickanur heavily wooded and well watered.

KUNDALA. South-west of Vattavada plateau at an elevation of 5,500 feet; length 6 miles and breadth 2 miles. A great deal of swamp land.

From the High Ranges the land slopes steeply down in three directions; north-east to the Anchanad valley, to the west into the valleys of the Kandanpara, Parishakkuthu and Idiyara rivers, and southwards to the Cardamom Hills and Peermade. These last form an extensive hill plateau,

60 miles long and 20 miles broad, lying at an elevation of from 3,000 to 3,500 feet with peaks and hills running up to 4,000 or even 5,000 feet. This is the centre of planting industry and is largely resorted to by Europeans, who have also taken up for the purpose Camp Gorge, Ponmudi, Ashamboo &c. From the main range and from the western water-shed of the Peermade plateau and the High Range, rocky spurs run out to the west and north-west extending at times to within a short distance of the sea and forming a series of parallel valleys drained by numerous rivers.

South of Peermade, the lofty mountain range is of no breadth until we come to the beautiful sanitarium of Muthukuzhi Vayal or "The field of precious stones", 4,400 feet above sea level. For the remaining part of its length the great range becomes a mere ridge sloping down on either side and running north-north-west and south-south-east at an elevation of about 4,000 feet with isolated peaks rising here and there, the most important of which are the Agastyar peak (6,200 ft.) and the Mahendragiri peak (5,500 ft.). The Agastyar peak was once the seat of an Observatory. It is also famous as having been the abode of sage Agastya, "a savant, physician, philologist and theologian". The Mahendragiri peak stands on the area drained by the Hanuman River in the Tovala Taluk. This is the southernmost peak of the Travancore Ghauts and is supposed to be the hill from which Hanuman or the monkey God is supposed to have jumped to Lanka or modern Ceylon in quest of Sita.

Besides the peaks referred to above, may also be mentioned, Kallanad, Nedumpara, Papanasam, Amritamala, Kodiyattur, Chengamanad, Periamala, Therathandu, and Marutwamala.

Passes. BODINAICKANUR. This is the most northern of the passes of Travancore. It is ascended with great difficulty from the valley below. It connects Kothamangalam with Bodinaickanur.

TEVARAM. This connects Todupuzha on the Travancore side of the Ghauts with Kambam on the Madura side. This pass reaches the top of the Ghaut after a very steep ascent; for 2 miles from there it proceeds to Perrinjincooty 12 miles, continuing its course to the eastern Periyar 14 miles further and reaching Idumpanur, the first village in Travancore 13 miles beyond that river. This is now little frequented as it traverses a very wild and mountainous region.

KAMBAM. This pass though rugged for 1½ miles, is one of the best across the hilly tract separating the countries of Travancore and Madura. Merchants frequently pass this route.

GUDALUR. This connects Kanjirapalli with Kambam and Uttamapoliem, a distance of 44 miles. A more northern road strikes off from this at Copachetty Tavalam, 3 miles west of the Munjamulla Periyar, and proceeds by the Codamurutty Ghaut, a steep and difficult acclivity, to Erattupetta. This route runs over a rugged surface and is tolerable except near the pass which is now closed for traffic on account of the facilities it offered to smuggling.

South of Gudalur another path ascends the hills and leads to Sabarimala, but it is of no consequence being only frequented by cattle.

SHIVAGIRI GHAUT. This route is also prohibited. A road leads up to it from Rajapoliem, while another from Srivilliputtur ascends from the Satur Ghaut; but both these are difficult.

ACHANKOVIL (1,500 ft.). This lies north of the Puliyara pass and joins Achankovil to Pumblypatam and Shencottah. This has a difficult ascent for a mile from the plains stretching along its eastern foot. The road, after leaving the summit, descends partly through the bed of a stream to the pagoda, a distance of 6½ miles; thence passing over swelling ground and following the right bank of the Kulakkada river, it reaches Konni, a distance of 29 miles having crossed 9 powerful streams, the passage of which during the rains constitutes the chief difficulties of the route. This route passes from Shencottah over Konni, Pantalam and Mavelikara to Kartikapalli measuring on the whole a distance of more than 60 miles.

ARYANKAVU (1,200 ft.). This connects Quilon with Shencottah and is one of the principal passes of Travancore. It has an easy ascent from the open country on the east and passes through Mampazhatora and Pattanapuram, pursuing its course over waving ground through thick woods.

SHANAR GHAUT (1,700 ft.). This lies south of the above pass and is very difficult and little frequented. It ascends 4 miles and descends 11 miles to Kulattupuzha, from which it passes through a thick forest.

ARYANAD. The route to British territory by this pass is now closed up. The road rising from the plains on the east to the top of this pass and thence descending through a thick forest to the village of Aryanad near Nedumangad is spoken of as having been at one time a very good one.

MOTTACCHIMALA (4,500 ft.). In the Eridge estate. This is the chief pass by which cardamoms are smuggled from Balamore to Agastyar. The

road was once rideable to Papanasam ; the Kanikkars even now go down this path for tobacco which they buy about Papanasam.

From Calacaud to Muthukuzhivayal there is a path used by canemen and cardamom smugglers.

Pass from Kadukkara to Shoravalli Madam. Much used by villagers from Alagiapandyapuram and other parts going to Panagudy. Daily the Panagudy cattle come down to the Kadukkara edge of the jungle to graze. It is also used largely by estate coolies

TIRUKKURANGUDY. About 2,000 feet; bridle-path cut on both sides. Much used by estate coolies.

Pass through Miranjimea Estate. Formerly a good path ascending the mountains from Panagudy leading to a large coffee estate ; now a very bad track overgrown and not much used.

ARAMBOLY. The trunk road from Tinnevelly to Trivandrum passes through this pass. This forms the best entrance into Travancore.

YEDAMALA. A small and easy pass across the group of hills forming a ridge about 2 miles to the north-east of Marutwamala near Cape Comorin.

Rivers.—Travancore is especially fortunate in its river system. Few countries of similar extent are supplied with so many fine streams. Owing to this circumstance and to the heavy rainfall, every part of Travancore is abundantly supplied with water and that of an excellent quality. Of the numerous rivers taking their rise in the Travancore hills very few escape to the other coast. The rivers have generally a capricious course and are of varying lengths and depths. The bed over which they flow is frequently rocky in the interior, but as they leave the elevated parts, it is in most cases sandy, succeeded by a muddy sediment as they empty themselves into the lake or the sea. During the wet weather, which commences about the beginning of June and lasts till November, these rivers are filled from bank to bank with a large volume of water rolling in a strong current to the sea. The large rivers flow with turbulent and impetuous force frequently rising 12 to 14 feet above their ordinary level. The flood diminishes as the monsoon draws to a close, the rivers slowly subsiding into shallow and languid streams. In the larger rivers—the Periyar, the Ranni and the Kallada—there is always a considerable amount of water, due no doubt to the fact that the heavy forest at their sources does not allow the rains falling in the wet weather to run off too rapidly.

THE PERIYAR. The Periyar is the finest, the largest and the most important of the rivers of Travancore. It takes its rise in the Shivagiri forests. As it first emerges from the dense forest the volume of water it contains is 30 yards wide and 2 feet deep even in the driest weather. After a course of 10 miles northward it is joined by the Mullayar at an elevation of 2,800 feet. The Periyar then turns due west and continues so for about 10 miles over sandy bed. About seven miles below Mullayar Tavalam there is formed a sort of gorge by the hills rising to a considerable height on either side of the river and approaching each other very closely. It is here that a dam is thrown by the Madras Government to a height of 160 feet and a width of 1,200 feet to form a lake which greatly helps the irrigation of the land in the Vaigai valley. By the construction of the dam the river is caused to back up for a considerable distance as far as the Vazhukkappara Tavalam, and all the low lying land on the north bank of the river is submerged, the water extending up all the side valleys and reaching to within a mile of Kumili. From here a channel is tunnelled through the hill side over a mile long, by which the water is conveyed to one of the streams that go to feed the Vaigai river.

After a winding course of 8 miles from the dam, the river reaches Peermade and then passes through a narrow gorge, below which it is joined by the Perinthura river. Lower down, passing the Todupuzha-Periyar crossing, the Kattapanayar joins it and still lower the Cheruthoni or Chittar. Lower down it is joined by the Pirinyankuta Ar and a mile later by the Muthirappuzha Ar, where the elevation is about 800 feet and there is a great fall of 800 feet in 4½ miles. There is also another fall called Kokkaranippara, where the river is said to tumble over a cliff 100 feet high, close to the above. The Periyar after receiving the Muthirappuzha river flows west-north-west for about 8 miles when it pours under a large rock which probably has fallen from the hill side on account of landslip. In dry weather when the volume of water is small, the whole of it flows under the rock. This has been exaggerated into a sudden disappearance of the river underground. The water is considered to pass into a chasm and emerge again only after a very long distance.

Ten miles below the junction of the Muthirappuzha river with the Periyar, at Karimanal, the river becomes navigable or suitable for the floating of timber. It is then joined by the Deviär and passes the once populous village of Neryamangalam. From this place it flows for about 8 miles when it unites with the Idiyara or Idamala river. From here as far as Malayattur, the river, now a grand one upwards of 400 yards

broad, is fed by numerous streams. Passing Malayattur and after a winding course of 14 miles it reaches Alwaye, where it divides itself into two branches, which again subdivide themselves into several small ones before reaching the sea. The principal branch flows north-west and expands itself into a broad sheet of water. Another branch takes a southerly direction and is broken up into a number of small channels leading into the lake near Verapoly, while a third one flows to the south and discharges itself in the lake south of Tripunatora.

THE Periyar flows through the Taluqs of Changanachery, Todupuzha, Muvattupuzha, Kunnatnad, Alangad and Parur. The chief places on its banks are:—Peermade, Neryamangalam, Malayattur, Cheranallur, Vazhakulam, Alwaye, Ullinad and Verapoly.

The total length of the river is 142 miles of which for the last 35 miles only it passes through inhabited tracts. It is navigable for boats for 60 miles above its mouth.

THE MINACHIL RIVER. This rises on the Peermade plateau a little above Nallatannippara at an elevation of 3,500 feet. It runs first north-west and then west and after 7 or 8 miles joins the Kavana Ar which rises on the slopes of Melakavu. The combined stream after a course of 2 miles due south is joined by the Codamurutty river and passes by Punjar. After leaving the forest boundary at Erattupetta, its course is south-east and leaving Kondur and Lalam, it passes through Kitangur and Kottayam after which its waters, dispersed in minor channels, unite with the Vembanad lake by several embouchures. The length of the river is 35 miles and it is navigable for boats 26 miles.

THE MUVATTUPUZHA RIVER. This is formed by the union of three smaller rivers, the Todupuzha, the Vadakkan and the Kothamangalam, which take their rise on the western slopes of the Peermade plateau and running in a westerly and north-westerly direction through a wild country unite at Muvattupuzha, thus getting the name. The combined river flows for about 8 miles in a westerly direction and then turns south and passes Ramamangalam, Piravam and Vettikkattumukku, at which point it forks, one branch running in the direction of Cochin and the other flowing into the Vembanad lake at Tannirmukkam. Total length 62 miles; navigable for boats 42 miles inland.

THE RANNI OR PAMBA RIVER. This is one of the finest rivers of Travancore and is formed by the junction of three rivers, the Kallar, the Kakkada Ar and the Valiya Ar, which last is made up of two other small ones—the Pamba

Meenasgill, River View

Photo by J. H. O'Crist.

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Meenaeßil River View.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

and the Arutha. The original stream Pamba from which the river takes its name rises on the hills to the north of Pulicchimala and after running for a long distance is joined by the Arutha which rises on the Peermade plateau, and the two together form the Valiya Ar which after a course of 6 miles westward falls over Perunthèn aruvi (height 90 ft.) and is then joined by the Kakkada river. The Kallar which rises in the valley north of Chempazhakkara joins the main river a little above Ranni and the combined river now called the Ranni leaves the forest area as a powerful stream 200 yards broad. It then runs west for about 30 miles when it is joined by the Manimala river and 6 or 8 miles lower down the Kulakkada river joins it and after a course of about 20 miles the whole flows into the Vembanad lake.

The total length of the river is 90 miles. The chief places on its banks are:—Konni, Aiyrur, Aranmula, Chengannur, Mannar and Pulikunnu. The river is navigable for boats for 45 miles, and is specially useful for irrigation.

THE KALLADA RIVER. This is the third largest river in Travancore. The union of five large streams issuing from the mountainous valleys of the Ghauts forms the Kallada river which flows through the Taluqs of Pattanapuram, Kunnattur, Kottarakara and Quilon. The main branch rises in the most southerly of these valleys and is formed by numerous streams that rise on the elevated plateau stretching from the Alvarkurichi peak to Chemmunji. Flowing west it is joined by several small streams and after leaving the Kulattupuzha valley proper and running 5 miles passes the Kulattupuzha village situated on its left bank. Here the river is about 80 yards wide and never gets dry even in hot weather. Three miles lower down it is precipitated over the Minmutti cataract, the water rushing with immense velocity. It is then joined by the Chenthroni and Kalduritty rivers. Passing Ottakkal where it pours over another cataract, the river then runs for about 10 miles in a west-north-westerly direction and leaves the forest area 3 miles above the town of Punalur. Turning north and bending a little north-west, it passes Pattanapuram and 2 miles below Punalur it is joined by the Chalakkara Ar. It then flows in a westerly direction and then south-west until it falls into the Ashtamudi lake, a little north of Quilon, by several mouths. Its length is 70 miles of which 25 miles are navigable for boats. The chief places on its banks are:—Punalur, Pattanapuram, Pattazhidesam, Kulakkada, Kunnattur and Kallada (East and West).

THE MANIMALA RIVER. The main branch of this river rises under the Mothavara hill and drains the valley to the west of Amritamala. After

flowing for about 6 miles it is joined at Kuttukal by the Nyarampullar and then by several small streams before it joins the Ranni about 25 miles above its mouth. The length of the river is 62 miles. The villages of Peruvantanam, Mundakayam, Yerumakuzhi, Manimala, Kaviyur, Kalluppara, Tiruvalla, Talavadi, Kozhimukku and Chambakkulam lie on its course.

THE ACHANKOVIL OR KULAKKADA RIVER. This rises on the western slope of the Thuval mala (Coonumcal square rock) and Ramakkal peaks. It passes Achankovil village and, after receiving numerous accessions from small rivers and streams, leaves the forest area 4 miles above Konniyur. This river runs a course of 70 miles first north-west and then west and joins the Pamba river near Viyapuram. Konniyur, Omallur, Pantalam, Mavelikara and Kandiyur are situated on its banks. It flows through the Taluqs of Chengannur, Kunnattur, Mavelikara, Tiruvalla and Kartikapalli. Navigable for boats 40 miles and specially useful for cultivation purposes.

THE ATTUNGAL OR VAMANAPURAM RIVER. This rises on the peak of Chemmunji north-east of Trivandrum and on the spur running out from the main range as far as the cliffs of Ponmudi. It then descends rapidly and runs at first in a northwesterly direction, then west for 23 miles between high banks and over a sandy bed when it passes the village of Vamanapuram. From here it runs south-west and empties itself into the Anjengo estuary after a course of 35 miles. Nelnad, Vamanapuram, Attungal, Kuntallur and Chirayinkil are the chief places on its banks.

THE ITTHIKKARA RIVER takes its rise in the low hills situated near Madatturakani and those to the south-west of Kulattupuzha. After small accessions it leaves the forest area near Manarkoda and proceeding in a north-westerly direction is joined by a large stream. From here it flows south-west and west and falls into the Paravur backwater. Length 30 miles. Chadayamangalam, Pallikal, Kummallur and Nedungolum lie on its banks.

THE KILLIYAR. This petty river rises in the Nedumangad hills. Its course is generally towards the south and after flowing for 15 miles it joins the Karamana river near Tiruvallam. This river irrigates a small tract of rice land by means of anicuts and channels taken off from it and supplies water to all the principal tanks of the Capital.

THE KARAMANA RIVER. This rises on the ridge to the north of the Agastyar Peak and an outlying spur terminating in the Sasthankotta rock. It flows over a partially narrow rocky bed confined by high banks through a comparatively wild, woody and uneven country. Its direction

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Tripparappu Falls.

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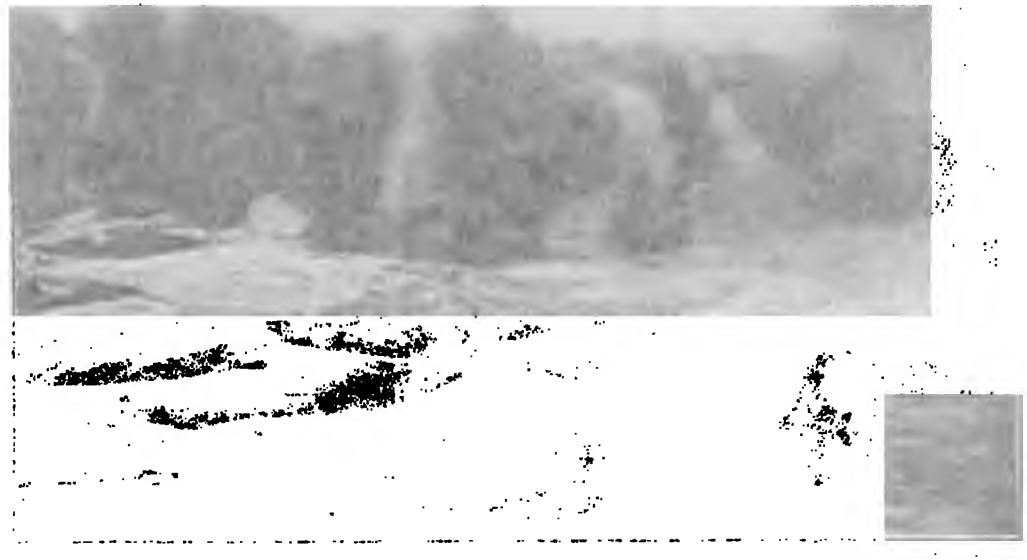
Tripparappu Falls.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.



is first west, then south and finally south-west and it flows into the sea 3 miles near Puntora, at the foot of the head-land termed Covalam, after a course of 41 miles.

THE NEYYAR. This rises on the slopes of the Agastyar peak at an elevation of 600 feet and descends with great rapidity until it reaches the foot of the hills. It then runs in a southerly direction and passes downward over a cataract 300 feet high, visible from Trivandrum. From here it flows over a partially rocky bed confined by bold banks and discharges itself into the sea near Puvar where a small lagoon is formed. Its length is 35 miles.

THE PARALAYAR OR KUZHITTURA. This rises on the mountains north of Mahendragiri hills. Passing through a wild tract, it enters the plains at Tiruvattar and flows in a south-westerly direction. After a course of 23 miles from its source it is joined by the Kothayar. It flows through the two Taluqs of Kalkulam and Vilavankod and reaches the sea at Tengapatnam. The total length of the river is 37 miles. Tiruvattar, Munchira, Kuzhittura, and Arudesapattu lie on its banks. It is intercepted by dams at Ponmana.

THE KOTHAYAR. This rises on the southern extremity of the Muthukuzhi Vayal plateau and to the east of Valiyamala peak at an elevation of 4,500 feet. It descends slowly at first and then more rapidly. After flowing for 14 miles it reaches the Mottacchi valley (1,800 ft). It continues to descend with rapidity tumbling over falls 30 feet high and eddying among huge boulders, until at last it reaches the elevation of 250 feet. From here it flows leisurely and is joined by two streams rising on the Motavan Potha and the Thacchamala hills. Proceeding south we find the remains of the Aryanad dam now in ruins. This dam was built with the intention of diverting the water into the Paralayar above the Pandyan dam and eventually into the Pazhayar whose stream is so largely used for irrigating the paddy lands of Nanjanad. After passing the Aryanad dam and about 4 miles lower down it is precipitated over the Triparappu fall (50 ft. high), a very sacred place where there is a large pagoda. From here it proceeds south and is joined above Kuzhittura by the Paralayar. Length 20 miles.

Project works on a large scale are now going on to divert the waters of the Kothayar to supplement the existing irrigation system of Nanjanad. A detailed description of the Project is given under 'Irrigation' in the Chapter on 'Agriculture and Irrigation.'

THE VATASSERI RIVER. Also called the Pazhayar. This is the most southerly river in Travancore. Many small streams combine to form

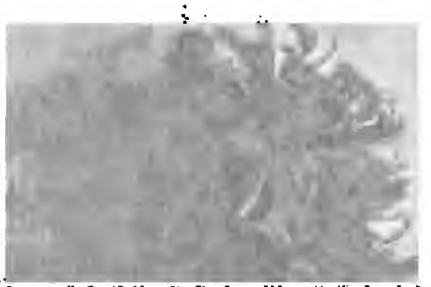
this river, one of which rises south of the Mahendragiri peak and passing down a steep gorge reaches the low country a little to the west of Anantapuram, another in the Kunimuthu Chola Estate and another drains Black Rock (Mr. Cox's Estate). All these pass out of the forest before they unite to form the main river. This flows through the Taluqs of Tovala and Agastisvaram in a south-easterly direction and flows into the Manakudi estuary after a course of 23 miles passing the towns of Bhutapandi, Kottar, Nagercoil, Tazhakudi and Suchindram. This is a very useful river for irrigation.

These are the chief rivers of Travancore. The number of smaller streams is very large but as they are otherwise insignificant any detailed description of them is unnecessary here.

Canals and Backwaters. Among the many natural advantages possessed by Travancore, one of the most important and one which adds materially to its wealth and prosperity, on account of its affording great facilities for water communication from one end of the country to the other, is its extensive backwater system. The backwaters or *kayals*, as they are locally called, are inlets from the sea which run in a direction parallel to the coast. From Trivandrum as far as Ponnani in the District of Malabar, a distance of over 200 miles, there is a succession of these backwaters or estuaries, connected together by navigable channels constructed from time to time. The total area occupied by the surface of the lakes amounts to 227¼ sq. miles of which 157½ are within Travancore. Their breadth is very unequal, in some places spreading into a wide expanse, at others diminishing to a small stream, presenting on the whole a very irregular and broken figure.

Formerly there was uninterrupted navigation only as far as Quilon. It was in 999 M. E. that Her Highness Parvathi Bayi sanctioned the construction of 2 canals, one from Trivandrum to the backwater of Kadinangulam and the other to connect Quilon and the Paravur backwater, both of which projects were contemplated by Col. Munro; but the work was commenced only in 1000 M. E. (1825 A. D.) and completed in 3 years under the supervision of Dewan Vencata Row. The 2 canals measure in length upwards of 17 miles, which including 4 bridges cost about 4 lacs of Rupees. These canals bear the name of Her Highness Parvathi Bayi whose beneficent reign is still gratefully remembered by the people.

There were still the Varkala cliffs, standing as a barrrier against direct and free communication from Trivandrum to Quilon. This was removed by the construction of two tunnels at an enormous cost in the reign



M. E. PRESS.

Entrance into the Kadinamkulam Lake from the Canal.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

of His Highness Rama Varma (Ayilliam Tirunal-1860 to 1880 A. D). The length of one tunnel is 924 feet and of the other 2,364 feet. The first tunnel was opened to traffic on the 15th January 1877; the second tunnel and the whole of the Barrier works were completed and opened to traffic in 1880. They cost upwards of 17 lacs of rupees.

Many of these backwaters are not very deep, yet they are all navigable for boats of any size. Their bed consists generally of a thin layer of soft black mud, incumbent on a fine dark sand, often with som mixture of soil. On account of the large volume of water these backwaters receive during the monsoon time, their water, except in the immediate vicinity of their mouths, is quite fresh; in some places they are always so in the interval of the tides, while in others, they continue to be so from July to October. The places where these backwaters meet the sea are called *Azhis* or *Pozhis*, according as the opening is permanent or temporary. The chief *Azhis* are those at Quilon, Kayangulam and the mouth of the Periyar; and the *Pozhis* are those of the Veli, the Paravur and the Edawa. The flood during the monsoons leaves behind a slimy deposit which effuses an abundance of fertility over the lands exposed to it. The backwaters also foster the growth of many weeds and aquatic plants. The shores of the lakes are filled with houses and plantations of cocoanut trees and present the appearance of a perpetual garden.

Starting from Trivandrum there is first, at a distance of 3 miles, the Veli Kayal which looks like an expanded canal. On one side the shore is overhung by a high cliff and the other side is skirted on by an extensive range of cocoanut plantations. Passing the Veli backwater, by the Parvathi Puthenar canal above referred to, we come to the Kadinangulam Kayal. Here again both the banks are lined with the cocoanut palm and a low brushwood. This backwater is a little larger than the Veli. The water is not deep. Going by the canal, we next pass Anjengo, formerly a place of note on account of the English factory and the early commercial relations between the British Government and Travancore, but now a small port and fishing village. Here is the Anjengo Kayal. The length of this Kayal is 12 miles, breadth $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, and area 8 sq. miles. This receives the Attungal or Vamanapuram river and is formed chiefly by its waters. It is connected with the sea by a narrow bar.

A few miles beyond Anjengo, the Varkala cliffs are reached. Before the construction of the tunnels, travellers used to land at a place called Kozhi-

thottam (the main line of communication ran by Kozhithottam to Edawa, a distance of 12 miles), from where they walked to Edawa until the backwater is reached, the road used being by the sea-beach, at times climbing over the summit of the cliffs that stretched into the sea. The view from these cliffs is extremely beautiful and the whole landscape charming. Here stands the village of Varkala famous for its ancient temple dedicated to Janardanaswamy, to which Hindus from all parts of India resort.

Passing the tunnels, about 6 miles northwards there is the Nadayara Kayal. This again is of minor importance. Passing the Nadayara backwater a canal runs in a northwesterly direction for some 3 miles whence the Paravur canal and backwater lead to Quilon. The Paravur Kayal, though only a small one, is very deep and dangerous on account of its being very close to the sea and in the wet weather the bar opens of itself, sometimes suddenly. The Paravur and Quilon canals aggregating about 11 miles in length, were cut between 1826 and 1829, at a total cost of Rs. 90,929. Passing the Paravur backwater we reach Quilon by the Eravipuram and Quilon canals, a distance of about 5 miles.

On leaving Quilon the traveller enters the romantic and enchanting Ashtamudi Kayal. The name 'Ashtamudi' is derived from the fact that the lake branches off into 8 creeks, called by different names. One portion near the Quilon Residency is called the Asramom lake and the other close to the Cutchery is called Kureepuzha or Loch Lomond. On either side we see a laterite bank 50 or 60 feet high enclosing little bays with deep blue waters. The broken side and the fragments of rocks are filled with various kinds of small shrubs while on the summits there are thickly planted gardens. About 2 miles north of Quilon the water opens out into a very spacious bay into which the Kallada river empties itself. There is an outlet to the sea at the western end which is locally known as the Neendakara bar. It is of sufficient depth for small vessels and the barges built at Tuct in Quilon are safely launched into the sea at this point. It covers an area of 20 sq. miles, its extreme length and breadth being 10 and 9 miles respectively. The banks are covered with many kinds of plants. Five miles beyond Quilon the backwater ends and the Chavara canal begins and the scenery becomes monotonous.

We next come to a very small inlet called the Panmana Kayal. This is followed by the Ayiramtengu Kayal which again leads us to the extensive Kayangulam Kayal. The Kayangulam lake has an outlet bar of the same name which admits of small coasters from the Arabian sea. This made Kayangulam a place of considerable commercial

importance in former days. This lake borders the two Taluqs of Karunagapalli and Kartikapalli. Its extreme length is 19 miles and extreme breadth 4 miles; area 23 sq. miles.

Passing the Kayangulam Kayal we reach Karumadi near Ampalapuzha by a natural stream through Trikkunnapuzha and Thottapalli chera. Proceeding along on our way, we see extensive rice fields on either side, the country here being flat and almost submerged in water. From Ampalapuzha, Alleppey is 12 miles distant. There are no backwaters to be passed but only canals, which at these places are very broad and join the Pallathurithy river flowing into the Vembanad lake near Alleppey. Alleppey town is reached by a canal, before entering which there is a deep basin 40 to 50 feet in depth infested by alligators of enormous size.

Alleppey is now the first commercial port of Travancore, its greatest advantage as an emporium arising from its singularly natural breakwater formed in the open roadstead and the long and wide mud bank which helps large vessels to anchor safely even in the stormiest weather.

Beyond Alleppey we come to the very large and spacious bay, the Vembanad Kayal. This stretches across to the east for a distance of over 10 miles. The waters of the Pamba, Muvattupuzha and Minachil rivers are emptied into it. It borders the Taluks of Ampalapuzha Shertallay, Vaikam, Yettumanur, Kottayam and Changanachery. Its extreme length is 52 miles and breadth 9 miles and the area covered by it is 79 sq. miles. It has a small beautiful island in the centre known as Patiramanal, or 'the mysterious sand of mid-night', filled with cocoanut plantations and luxuriant vegetation. According to tradition, it was brought into existence by the piety of a Nambudiri Brahmin, who, while travelling in a canoe, jumped into the lake to perform his evening ablutions. The waters, it is said, gave way and land arose from below forming a small island. Pallippuram and Perumpallam are two other islands in the lake.

There are many pretty places along the borders of this lake, perpetually clothed with beautiful groves of cocoanut and other trees and with an endless succession of houses, churches and pagodas. Midway between Alleppey and Cochin stands on its eastern bank the sacred village of Vaikam where there is a large Siva temple to which thousands of pilgrims resort in the months of Vrichigam and Kumbham for the Ashtami festival. From here to Cochin the backwater is of varying breadths and depths containing small patches of land here and there always adorned with cocoanut trees.

From Cochin the water communication is by backwater to the north of Cranganore whence it is continued by creek, channel and backwater *via* Chowghat to Ponnani, and across the Ponnani river to Tirur Railway station. Thus the system is complete for a distance of 213 miles from Trivandrum to Tirur.

Among other backwaters may be mentioned:—

The Kodungalur Kayal in the Taluk of Parur. Extreme length 9 miles and extreme breadth 5 miles; area 10 sq. miles. Has an outlet in the Cranganore bar which is always open.

The Sasthankotta Kayal in the Kunnattur Taluq.

The Vellani Kayal in the Neyyattinkara Taluq.

And lastly the Manakudi Kayal in the Taluq of Agastisvaram. This is a small lagoon formed by the course of the Pazhayar before it discharges itself by a narrow mouth.

As early as 1860 the great Victoria Ananta Martandan canal was projected for connecting Trivandrum with Cape Comorin; but it had to be abandoned owing to several obstacles, though considerable sums of money had been spent on it.

Coast Line. The Travancore coast has been surveyed by the Marine Department in connection with the Coast Survey of the Madras Presidency and the following is extracted from their report :—

"The Travancore coast, from Alleppey to Comorin, is generally low and sandy, fringed with cocoanut trees. Patches of red cliffs of slight elevation here and there break the otherwise continuous line of sand. The Travancore mountains, though generally spoken of by navigators as a part of the Western Ghauts, are indeed separated from the latter by a low neck of land, the Palghaut valley, which has proved a most useful feature in the railway communication between east and west coasts. The length of this southern mountain chain, extending from a few miles north of Cape Comorin to the valley of Palghaut, is nearly 200 miles. The western brow, overlooking the coast of Travancore, is, with little exception, abrupt. On the eastern side of the culminating range the declivity is in general gradual, the surface in many places forming extensive table-land, sloping gently and nearly imperceptibly to the eastward. In the last half of the year many cascades of great height are visible from seaward, pouring down the steep declivity of these western ghauts, which present so vast and lofty a front to the violence of the south-west monsoon. The principal peaks of the Travancore Ghauts are: Mahendragherry between 3,000 and 4,000 feet, about 20 miles north of Comorin, and Cootchimulla, nearly 5,000 feet, the same distance north-east of Trivandrum. Between these peaks the culminating range has a north-westerly direction, but afterwards trends a little east of north, more away from the coast. Its highest mountains, though loftier, are not so often visible at sea. They form the boundary between the State of Travancore on the west, and the British province of Tinnevelly on the east. To the east of Quilon there are broad, high

peaks, estimated at 5,000 feet above, and more than 30 miles from the sea. The southern portion of the Western Ghauts, from Comorin to Palghat, run like a spine from south to north, thus forming the water-parting between the east and west coasts rivers. They are exposed to all winds from east, round by the south-west, and there is scarcely a day when rain-clouds may not be seen hiding for a time the summits of the high land. Towards the vernal equinox (after which the air gets saturated with moisture and is hazy) the ghauts north of Quilon up to Calicut can seldom be seen. Midway between the ghauts and the low sea-coast, the country has several hills of moderate elevation, useful as landmarks. Beginning from the south, mention may be made of the isolated conical mount, in lat. 8° 8′ N., and long. 73° 30′ E., near Cape Comorin, which is taken for the cape by seamen when approaching the coast from the west. The next conspicuous peak is Maravattoor, nearly midway between Mahendragherry and the Crocodile Rock, and 10 miles north-west of the conical mount. On the south-east of Trivandrum, and again to the north of that capital, hills, averaging about 400 feet, lie parallel to the shore, some 4 or 5 miles off. Near Anjengo there are a few low hills. Above this place extensive back-waters become the peculiar feature, overspreading great portions of the low tract of country. Vessels bound for any port on the west coast of Hindostan, and to the Persian Gulf during the north-east monsoon, from China, Australia, and the Bay of Bengal, or from Europe, should sight Ceylon, and make the coast of India somewhere near Cape Comorin, and thence hug the coast to profit by the land and sea breezes. The coast from Cape Comorin takes a general north-westerly direction for nearly 300 miles to Mount Delly."*

Ports and shipping facilities.†—ALLEPPEY (lat. 29° 48′ N., and long. 76° 18′ 46″ E.) is the principal seaport town of Travancore and the seat of the Commercial Agent. It is the chief depot of the Travancore Government for the sale of forest produce, chiefly cardamoms, and is a place of considerable foreign trade in teak, cocoanut, betel-nut, ginger, coffee, pepper and fish. Many European and American Firms have their representatives here and extensive industries are carried on. It is a safe roadstead all the year round being protected by a soft mud bank on which a vessel might ride at less risk than at any other part of the coast. A shoal bank of from 6 to 9 feet extends about 1½ miles off shore. During the south-west monsoon, although the surf breaks on the shore to the north and the sea is white with foam outside, there is at Alleppey a large extent of smooth water, on the outer part of which a vessel might conveniently anchor in 4½ fathoms and keep up a communication with the shore. In the fine season, a vessel not drawing more than 18 feet water may anchor in 4 fathoms or a trifle less, the bottom being soft mud. The anchorage in the roads during the south-west monsoon is with the lighthouse from N. E. to E. N., in 5 or 6 fathoms water. In the fair season from October to May, vessels may anchor in 3 or 4 fathoms with the lighthouse bearing

* The Madras Manual of Administration Vol. ii.

† The information under this head is chiefly based on the results of the Marine Survey above referred to.

E. by N., the soundings being very regular. During the south-west monsoon trade cannot sometimes be carried on with Cochin, but the port of Alleppey is always available. Alleppey has a flag-staff and near it is a lighthouse with a revolving white light attaining its greatest brilliancy every minute. The light is of the second order of the holophotal description elevated 100 feet above mean sea-level and is visible in ordinary weather 20 miles. It was first exhibited on the night of the 28th March 1862. Between Cochin and Alleppey the coast is very low, covered with trees, and may be approached to 6 fathoms in a large ship, the bank being very even to 5 fathoms, about 1 or 1½ miles from the shore.

PORACAD. (lat. 9° 91′ 25″ N., long. 76° 23′ E.). This is a village of considerable extent, coir, plank and timber for ship-building and pepper being exported from here and the adjacent places. The port has declined since the opening of Alleppey port. There is an extensive mud bank here. Steamers call in the worst part of the monsoon weather, when Alleppey is closed. A portion of the village was formerly submerged in the sea and the eastern gate of the pagoda which escaped destruction at the time is still seen standing. The coast here continues low and uneven and is safe to approach to 5 or 6 fathoms. The anchorage is opposite the village in 5½ or 6 fathoms, 1½ or 2 miles distant.

QUILON. (lat. 8° 53½′ N., long. 76° 34′ E.). The coast between Alleppey and Quilon except near Tangasseri, is sandy and nearly straight, but 10 miles north of Quilon there is a slight indent which does not however amount to 1 mile from a straight line drawn between the two places. The shore is safe to approach into the depth of 5 fathoms mud.

During the early centuries of the Christian era Quilon was a very important port trading with China and Arabia. Throughout the middle ages it was one of the chief seats of the Saint Thomas Christians. In 1503, the Portuguese established a factory and fort which was captured by the Dutch 150 years later. A considerable British garrison was stationed here until 1832, when it was reduced to one regiment. Till 1829 it was the principal town and head-quarters of the Travancore Government. It has still considerable inland and foreign trade. As a port it is next in importance to Alleppey. Steamers and ships call here. It is the chief entrepot of ginger and pepper on the Malabar Coast.

The beach near Quilon is steep and sandy as far north as Tangasseri cove, where rocky coast begins and continues to the northward for 2 to 3 miles. Two buoys had been laid at Quilon to mark the safe passage

to the anchorage. Vessels for Quilon should keep well out until the large factory chimney (of the Scottish Indian Company) bears N. E., and steer direct for the chimney keeping between the buoys. The coast between them is low, covered with trees, and may be approached to 6 fathoms till near the entrance of Ivica river (Azhimukam). Quilon bank of hard ground extends from the bay round Quilon point, a projecting part of the coast, where it becomes uneven and dangerous to approach under 12 or 13 fathoms.

TANGASSERI. (lat. 8° 54′ N., long. 76° 38′ 15″ E.). Originally there was a fort built on a head-land of laterite jutting into the sea, portions of the old wall of which are still visible, as also the ruins of an old Portuguese town. The Tangasseri reef, a bank of hard ground, extends 1½ miles to the south-west and 3 miles to the west of the Quilon point, and 6 miles along the coast to the northward. The bank should not be approached under 13 fathoms water by day, or 17 fathoms at night.

To the south-east of the reef the coast forms a bight, where ships may anchor off the town and military station of Quilon in 5 or 6 fathoms sand with Tangasseri flag-staff bearing N. W., 1 mile distant. From November to April shipping vessels can lie close inshore with safety. When approaching Quilon from the northward, vessels should not shoal to less than 13 fathoms, as, off Tangasseri point, the foul ground extends westward to within less a mile of this depth. The most convenient anchorage and where a vessel will be close to the Port Office, is with the chimney of the Coffee Company's factory bearing about N. E. at the extreme of Tangasseri point west-north-west in from 4½ to 5 fathoms sandy bottom. Off Quilon point, there are 20 fathoms at 5 miles offshore; but further to the north, that depth will be found farther from the coast. A lighthouse has recently been constructed here for the guidance of mariners.

ANJENGO. (lat. 8° 40′ N., long. 76° 45′ E.). Three miles to the southward of Quilon, the coast may be approached to 10 fathoms, which will be 1½ miles from the shore. Anjengo flag-staff is between 4 or 5 leagues to the west-north-west of Trivandrum Observatory. Anjengo was once a place of considerable importance and the earliest settlement of the late East India Company on the Malabar Coast, but now it has a forsaken appearance.

Four miles to the north of Anjengo there is a red table-land, which denotes the approach to it, in coming from the north. The anchorage off Anjengo, under 10 fathoms, is foul rocky ground; but outside of that

depth, the bottom is sand and shells. A convenient berth is with the flag-staff about N. E by E. and Brinjaul hill (Mukkunnimala) about S. E by E., in 11 or 12 fathoms mud, off shore 1 mile. A considerable surf, generally prevailing on the coast, particularly to the southward, renders it frequently unsafe for boats to land.

PUNTORA. Vessels communicating with Trivandrum should anchor off the coast here. There is a flag-staff on the sandy beach. It is 2 miles south-west of Trivandrum Fort. No boats should attempt communication with the shore when there is a heavy surf in the north-east monsoon. The coast is sandy with cocoanut and other palms. Vessels should anchor in 12 fathoms sand, ½ a mile from the flag-staff bearing N. E. and nearly in line with the Trivandrum Observatory which is distinctly made out in passing by its three domes.

Passing Puntora we come to Covalam (Ruttera point), a piece of low level land, terminating in a bluff cape higher than the contiguous coast. The coast here is low abounding with trees. It is bold to approach, having 12 or 13 fathoms at a mile's distance, 25 or 26 fathoms about 2 or 2½ leagues' distance.

VIZHINJAM. This is a small fishing village 7½ miles to the east of Covalam, and is "formed of steep bold land, or reddish cliffs, considerably elevated, having on the northern side a small river and village (Puvar) at the northern extremity of the high land, that form the point." The coast hereabouts is all sandy and fronted with cocoanut trees. From this point the coast takes a direction about S. E. by E. to Cadiapatnam point distant 6 leagues.

COLACHEL. (lat. 8° 10′ N., and long. 77° 14′ E.). This is a very ancient seaport. The Danes once had a factory here with a Commercial Resident. Its safe harbour was well known to ancients. It has trade with the coast and Ceylon. The coffee produced in South Travancore is exported from here. The outlying rocks form a partial breakwater, within which landing is comparatively easy. Ships of good size can sail between some of the outlying rocks and ride at anchor to leeward of them in smooth water. It has a flag-staff, and a buoy which is used during the shipping season to mark the vicinity of a dangerous rock.

CADIAPATNAM POINT. (lat. 8° 7½′ N., and long. 77° 18′ E.). This is 14 miles from Cape Comorin. A first order dioptric fixed whitelight, intended to mark the vicinity of the Crocodile rock, is exhibited here. It is visible 20 miles in clear weather. The column is 80 feet

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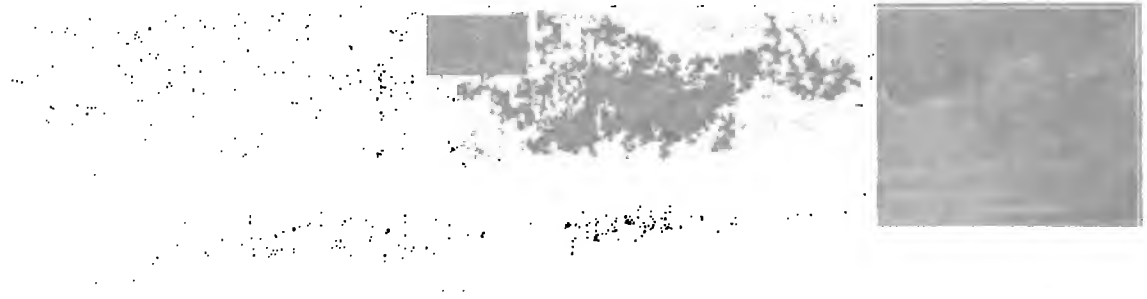
Sea and Temple View at Cape Comorin.



high and is built of granite and its focal plane is 135 feet above sea level. A heavy surf prevails all along the part of the coast, between Comorin and Cadiapatnam. Only catamarans are used by the natives and no ships' boats attempt landing. To the south-west of this point there are two rocky islets, about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles from each other and distant 1 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the point, surrounded by rocks under water and foul ground.

The Crocodile Rock lies south-west at a distance of about 3 miles. A part of this appears above water sometimes; but it does not break at all times nor is it visible at high water when the sea is smooth. At night it should not be approached under 25 fathoms water. In passing between these rocks and Covalam from 22 to 26 fathoms, is a good track with the land wind. The coast may be approached to 18 or 20 fathoms occasionally. The coast from here as far as Cape Comorin is low and sandy close to the sea, rising in a gentle acclivity to the base of the mountains situated a few miles inland.

MANAKUDI. (lat. 8° 5′ N., and long. 77°32′ E.). This is a village port about 4 miles to the west of the Cape and stands on the edge of the lake of the same name.

CAPE COMORIN. (lat. 8° 5′ N., long. 77° 36′ E.). This, the southern extremity of Hindustan, is a low Cape with two bare rocks beyond the point. On the mainland at the water's edge is a Hindu Pagoda, a low square white-washed building, and beside the temple is the village of Kanyakumari. West of the temple stands the Residency. The shore to the west of it is bare of vegetation but to the east it is wooded. About a mile from the Cape and beyond the fishing village, a sandy spit ending in a line of rocks runs out into the sea, and beyond this point is an anchorage with sandy bottom to which native crafts run for shelter when the weather hinders them from rounding the Cape. As the south-west monsoon at this locality blows from the north-west, this anchorage is sheltered. Ships anchor bearing N. E. of the rocks that are off Cape Comorin and S. W. of the Vattakotta Fort, a conspicuous stone fort on the beach. The Government of India have been moved to make a Hydrographic Survey of this anchorage and the Travancore Government have located a customshouse on the shore and have constructed a road to the spot. A port has recently been opened under the name of the Sri Mulapuram Port.

Among other ports may be mentioned, Rajakamangalam, Muttam

(where there is a lighthouse built on a head-land at an elevation of 105 feet above sea-level), Tengapatnam, Puvar, Paravur, Munampam and Kottur.

SECTION B.—GEOLOGY.

Geology proper.—Travancore owes its shape to the erosion of the old crystalline rocks which has taken place on a most gigantic scale, Dr. King points out the quasi-terraced arrangement the country shows, descending by steps, as it were, from the mountains to the coast. This terrace arrangement is much less well-marked in South Travancore than further to the north-west. The several terrace steps are marked by the existence of some ridges near the coast higher than the general surface of the country further inland. The most conspicuous of these is a considerable mountain pass lying north and north-east of the old Fort of Udayagiri.

In the northern part of the country, the mountain mass is very broad, but just south of Peermade, the hilly backbone narrows considerably and becomes a lengthened series of more or less parallel ridges with lower and lower intermediate valleys. The real southern termination of the Ghauts occurs in latitude 8° 15′ N., where the high mountains sink down into the Aramboly Pass. Southward of the pass rises the perfectly detached Kattadimala, a fine rocky mass 2,000 to 3,000 feet high, which sends off a rocky spur extending southwards with two breaks, for a distance of 7 or 8 miles and terminating in the bold Marutwa hill, 4 miles north-west of Cape Comorin. The cape itself consists of low gneiss rocks, backed up by a palm-grown sand hill, about 100 feet high. A pair of very small rocky islands rise out of the sea a few hundred yards east of the Cape, and various other rocks occur off the coast opposite Muttam, Colachel and Melmadalatora which are the culminating points of reefs formed by ridges of gneiss running parallel with the coast. These rocks, especially one called the Crocodile Rock, were sources of great danger to the coasting ships but the danger has now been removed by the erection of a lighthouse on the Muttam headland. At Colachel, the seaport of South

NOTE:—A regular and systematic Geological Survey of Travancore has yet to be undertaken. But in connection with the operations of the Geological Survey of India, Dr. W. King and Mr. R. Bruce Foote have closely examined the country and their observations have been largely utilised in the writing of this Section.

Travancore, the lie of the rocks is such that it would be easy to connect them by short rubble breakwaters and thus to form a very useful little harbour in which coasting craft could easily lie up during the south-west monsoon.

A broken band of younger rocks occupies a very great part of the tract lying between the coast and the Trivandrum-Tinnevelly high road. There can be no doubt that these rocks, not very long since geologically speaking, formed an unbroken belt which extended considerably further inland than at present. The denudation they have undergone has been very great, both vertically and laterally, and the remnants left of them are in various places of such trifling thickness that all traces of their former existence will soon be effaced. They show most in the western part of South Travancore where they form small plateaus, which are well marked except to the north, on which side they lap on to the rising surface of the gneiss and thin out or are lost sight of in the Kabuk or pseudo-laterite formation—a rock resulting from the decomposition of ferruginous beds of gneiss. The surface of the plateaus, where not greatly eroded, is gently undulating and often supports a very dense and varied vegetation. The less compact portions of plateau surfaces are often cut into small, but very deep, rain gullies which render many places impassable for any but foot passengers.

The various geological formations to be found in Travancore may, for convenience of reference, be arranged in a tabular scheme as below:—

Recent.	Blown sands: the red (teris) and the white (coast dunes). Soils: Kankar deposits: ferruginous breccias (lateritic). Marine and estuarine beds.
Tertiary.	Sands and clays: the Quilon beds which are supposed to be of eocene age; overlapping these lie the Varkala beds which perhaps belong to the upper tertiary age (Cuddalore sandstone).
Azoic.	Gneissic Series.

The Gneissic Series. "The gneisses are generally of the massive grey section of the series, that is, they are nearest to the rocks of the Nilgiris, though they differ from them in being coarse-grained or more largely crystallized, and in being generally quartzose rocks. So quartzose are they, that there are, locally, frequent thin beds of nearly pure quartz rock which are at times very like reefs of vein-quartz. Often these beds are strongly felspathic, the felspar occurring among the quartz in distinguishable grains or larger crystalline masses, giving the rock rather a granitic appearance. The only other region where I know of somewhat similar beds of quartz rock occurring with other gneisses is in the schistose region of the Nellore District. There, however, the quartz rock becomes often a fine compact quartzite; here in Travancore, there are no approaches to such compact forms.

"The common gneisses are felspathic quartzose varieties of white or grey colours, very largely charged with garnets. A particular form of them is an exceedingly tough, but largely crystallized, dark-grey or greenish felspathic rock. Massive horn-blendic gneisses are not common. Indeed horn-blende may be said to be a comparatively rare constituent of the Travancore gneisses.

"All the gneisses are more or less charged with titaniferous iron in minute grains; they are likewise—only more visibly—as a rule, highly garnetiferous. In fact, one might say that Travancore is essentially a country of garnetiferous gneisses. The garnets themselves are only locally obtainable, it being impossible to break them from the living rock while they are generally decomposed or weathered. They are generally of small size, but are very rich in colour, the precious garnet being very common. Other minerals such as red, blue and yellow sapphire and jacinth, are found among the garnet sands so common on the seashore at certain places. The sea-sands are also full of titaniferous iron grain. I may instance the beautiful and long known constitution of the shore sands at Cape Comorin where, on the beach, may be seen the strongest coloured streaks or ribbons, of good width, of bright, scarlet, black, purple, yellow and white sands of all these minerals and the ordinary silica.

"The general lie of the gneisses is in two or three parallel folds striking west-north-west to east-south-east. There is, perhaps, rather a tendency of the strike more to the northward in the broad part of the hills about Peermad, and on towards the Cochin territory. Thus between Trivandrum and Tinnevelly on the west coast or for some twelve to twenty miles inland, the dip is high to the south-south-west inland of the terraced or plateau country, or among the first parallel ridges there is a north-north-east dip; then, on the mountain zone, there is again a high dip generally to the south-south-west. Thus the inclination of the beds is generally high, right across the strike with a crushed-up condition of the folds; but they are often at a low angle, and the anticlinal on the western, the synclinal on the eastern, side are plainly distinguishable. About Kurtallam (Courtallum), on the Tinnevelly side, the rise up from the synclinal is very well displayed, and in their strike west-north-westward into a broad mountain land, the beds of this place clearly take part in a further great anticlinal which is displayed in a great flat arch of the Peermad strata. With this widening out of the mountain mass there is rather an easier lie of the strata. Southwards from the Ariankow traverse there is much crushing up of the beds; but they roll out flatter again towards the southern extremity, and there are good indications of a further synclinal to the south-south-west in the northerly low-dipping beds of Cape Comorin.

"Foliation is very strongly developed: indeed it is here, practically, bedding and lamination, of which there are some wonderful exhibitions. At Cape Comorin, indeed, some of the gneiss in its weathered condition (not lateritized) is scarcely to be distinguished, at first, from good thick-bedded and laminated sandstones and flaggy sandstones.

"There is no special development of igneous rocks either in the way of granites or greenstones, though small veins and dykes are common, generally running nearly with the strike of the gneiss. In South Travancore, or north of the parallel of Trivandrum, there are stronger occurrences of granite in which mica is abundant and in largish masses.

"The great feature about the gneisses in Travancore and indeed also in Cochin and Malabar, is their extraordinary tendency to weather or decompose, generally

into white, yellow, or reddish felspathic clayey rocks, which, in many places and often very extensively, ultimately become what is here always called *laterite*. .....Very soon after one begins to leave the higher ribs of the mountains and to enter on the first long slopes leading down to the low country, the gneiss begins to be weathered for some depth into a clayey rock, generally of pale colours, streaked and veined with ferruginous matter, and having always an appreciable upper surface of scabrous or pisolitic brown iron clay, which is, of course, probably largely the result of ferruginous wash, and less so, of ferruginous infiltration. Also the ferruginous and lateritoid character is devolved to a certain extent according to the composition of the gneisses; but, on the whole, there is no doubt that the upper surface generally over large areas is lateritized to a certain depth irrespective of the varying constitution of the strata. Then as the rocks are followed or crossed westward the alteration becomes more frequent, decided, and deeper-seated; though still, all over the field, ridges, humps, and bosses of the living rock rise up from the surrounding more or less decomposed low-lying rock areas.

"This generally irregular and fitfully altered condition of the gneisses begins at an elevation of about four hundred feet above the sea, and thus it extends as a sort of fringe of varying width along the low slopes of the mountains. At a yet lower level, say from two hundred to one hundred and fifty feet, and so nearer the sea coast, there is a better defined belt of more decidedly lateritized form of weathered gneiss, in which the unaltered rock occurs less frequently, and then always in more or less flatly rounded humps and masses, which never rise above a general dead level. This belt is, in fact, a country of undulating downs or tolerably uniform level stretches of forest land. Occasionally, it also shows a plateau surface or it is broken into small and low flat-topped hills. Always it is very deeply indented by river or stream valleys, or even by some of the backwaters which have high and steep shores.

"It is remarkable of this coastal belt of country that its laterite (an altered or ferruginously infiltrated condition of weathered or decomposed gneiss) is not to be distinguished from any other laterite, except that which is made up of obviously detrital material. Whatever the laterite of Travancore or Malabar may have been originally, it is a useless form of the rock, being crumbly and soft as a general rule, and oftener of a red colour than brown. The character of the climate does, in fact, appear to militate against the changing of the red peroxide of iron in the rock to the brown peroxide, during which change the proper cementing and hardening of the sound rock, such as that on the east coast or in the Deccan is evidently brought about."*

Regarding South Travancore, Mr. Bruce Foote writes:—

"In no part of the peninsula, is there a greater and finer display of the ancient crystalline rocks than in the southern Ghauts in their southern half, and in the great spurs and outlying masses on their western or southern side. The disposition of the beds in South Travancore shows the existence of a great synclinal curve, probably an ellipse, the major axis of which passes through or very near to the great mass of Mahendragiri; while the north-western focus (if the ellipse be a complete one) will be found somewhere to the north-eastward of Allepy. I had inferred the existence of this great synclinal ellipse from studying the course of the great gneiss beds on the eastern foot and flanks of the mountains southward of Courtallum, and Mr. King's examination of the gneiss

* General Sketch of the Geology of Travancore, W. King B. A., B. Sc. —Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XV.

country across the Shencotta pass and southward to Travancore independently demonstrated the existence of the central part of this huge synclinal fold. The topographical shape of the ground points strongly to the fold being a true ellipse, the extreme north-western extremity of which is probably hidden under the alluvial bed north of Allepy, while the extreme south-eastern apex lies most likely in the sea to the E. N. E. of Cape Comorin. The curve of the coast from Cape Comorin north-westward to close up to Trivandrum coincides with the south side of the great synclinal, and the different ridges inland also coincide absolutely with the strike of the harder beds of the series. Several southerly dips were noted in the rocks on the coast westward of Kolachel which looks as if the axis of an anticlinal had there been exposed, but they may possibly only represent trifling vandyke-shaped bends or crumples, in the side of the great synclinal. To the north of the area under consideration the rocks roll over northward into a great anticlinal fold.

"The true bedding of the gneiss on a large scale is extremely well displayed in the great outlying mass known as the Udagiri or 'Muroovattoor' mountain. Both strike and dip are admirably seen from the Travellers' bangalow at Nagarkoil. One of the finest examples of a sheer naked wall of rock to be seen in Southern India is shown in the tremendous cliff forming the south-east front of the Thiruvana Malai, the great eastern spur of Mahendragiri. This bare precipice must be fully 2,000 feet or more in height, many hundred feet in the central part being absolutely vertical, or even overhanging a little. As might be expected, this great mass has attracted much notice; it forms the Cape Comorin of some sailors, and of Daniel's famous view of that Cape, though in reality some 16 miles from the nearest point on the coast and 28 miles from the Cape itself. Even the Hindu mind has connected this noble mountain with the name of Hanuman, the famous monkey God, who is said to have planted one foot on each of the two peaks and to have jumped across the Gulf of Mannar and alighted on Adam's Peak, a standing jump of 220 miles and odd being a trifle for the long-tailed divinity. Another grand precipice occurs on the south-east face of the Taduga Malai at the western end of the Arambuli Pass. The cliff-faces in both these splendid scarps coincide with the great planes of jointing.

"The predominant character of the gneiss rocks in this quarter is that of well-bedded, massive, quartzo-felspathic granite gneiss, with a very variable quantity of (generally black) mica and very numerous small red or pinkish garnets. This is the characteristic rock at Cape Comorin and very generally throughout South Travancore, and Tinnevelly District as well.

"Scattered grains of magnetic iron are commonly met with in the weathered rocks. No beds of magnetic iron were noted by me, but some may very likely occur, and would go far to account for the numerous quantity of black magnetite sand cast up on the beach at frequent intervals along the coast and of which the source is at present unknown, unless it has been brought by the south-westerly current prevailing during the south-west monsoon. The source of the garnets which form the crimson sand which is of nearly equally common occurrence, is not far to seek, for it is hardly possible to find a bed of rock which does not abound in garnets. The so called 'fossil-rice' found at the extreme point of land close to the Cape is merely a local variation of the quartz grains set free by degradation of the rock. They assume the 'rice' shape after undergoing partial trituration in the heavy surf which beats incessantly on the southern coast.

"The sub-aerial decomposition of the felspatho-ferruginous varieties of the gneiss produces in the presence of much iron a pseudo-laterite

rock very largely developed over the gneissic area described by Dr. King in his Sketch of the Geology of Travancore under the name of lateritised gneiss, a rock which is popularly called laterite in Travancore and Kabuk in Ceylon. In numberless places this peculiar decomposition of the gneiss, which is preeminently characteristic of very moist climates, has altered the rock *in situ* to variable but often considerable depths, and the original quartz laminae of the gneiss remain in their pristine position, and often to all appearance unaltered, enclosed in a ferruginous argillacious mass formed by the alteration of the original felspar, mica, garnets and magnetic iron. The colour of this generally soft mass varies exceedingly from pale whitish pink to purple, red and many shades of reddish brown and brown, according to the percentage of iron and the degree of oxidation the iron has undergone. The bright colours are seen in the freshly exposed Kabuk or pseudo-laterite, but the mass becomes darker and mostly much harder as the hæmatite is converted into limonite by hydration, and more ferruginous matter is deposited, as very frequently happens, by infiltration. The pseudo-laterite formed by accumulation of decomposing argillo-ferruginous materials derived from distant points is to be distinguished generally by the absence of the quartz laminae as such. The quartz grains are generally much smaller, and are scattered generally through the whole mass of new-formed rock. One excellent example of the pseudo-laterite formed by the decomposition *in situ* is to be seen in a steep bank in the Zoological gardens in Trivandrum, close to the Tapir's den. Equally good examples are very common in many of the cuttings along the high road east of Trivandrum.

"The washed-down form of pseudo-laterite often forms a rock intermediate in character between a true sub-aerial deposit and a true sedimentary one, and consequently by no means easy to classify properly. In fact, in a country subject to such a tremendous rainfall, the sub-aerial rocks must, here and there, graduate into sedimentary ones through a form which may be called 'Pluvio-detrital.' Such pluvio-detrital forms occur very largely in South Travancore, but it is impossible in most cases to separate them from the true sedimentary formations they are in contact with."*

The Varkala or Cuddalore Sandstone Series.—To quote Dr. King again:—

"The next succeeding rock formations, namely, the Quilon and Warkilli beds, occur as a very small patch on the coast between the Quilon and Anjengo backwaters. The Quilon beds are only known through the researches of the late General Cullen who found them cropping out at the base of the low laterite cliffs edging the backwater of that place, and again in wells which he had dug or deepened for the purpose. I was myself not able to find a trace of them†. They are said to be argillaceous limestones, or a kind of dolomite in which a marine fauna of univalve shells having a eocene *facies* was found; and they occur at about forty feet below the laterite of Quilon, which is really the upper part of the next group.

"The Warkilli beds, on the other hand, are clearly seen in the cliffs edging the seashore some twelve miles south of Quilon, where they attain a thickness of about one hundred and eighty feet, and have the following succession in descending order:—

* Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XVI.

† Mr. Logan says that these have since been satisfactorily identified as occurring at a place called Parappakkara on the Quilon backwater about 6½ miles north-east of the Residency.

Laterite (with sandstone masses).
Sandy clays (lithomarge).
Sandy clays (with sandstone bands).
Alum clays.
Lignite beds with logs of wood &c.).

"The bottom lignite beds rest on loose white sand, and nothing is known of any lower strata.

"It will be seen how this set of strata has an upper portion, or capping of laterite, which is however clearly detrital. On the landward edge of the field of those Warkilli beds, there is in places only a thin skin, representative of these upper beds, of lateritic grits and sandstones lying directly on the gneiss, which is itself also lateritized; and it is very hard as may be supposed, to distinguish the boundary between the two unless the detrital character of the former deposits is well displayed. Thus the upper part of the formation has overlapped the gneiss. It is also this upper portion which overlies the Quilon beds, which are also apparently overlapped.

"These Warkilli beds constitute, for so much of the coast, the seaward edge of the plateau or terraced country above described, and they present similar features. The Warkilli downs are a feature of the country—bare, grass-grown, long, flat undulations of laterite, with, about Warkilli itself, small plateau hills forming the higher ground—one hundred and eighty to two hundred feet above the sea. These downs, too, and the small plateaus or flat-topped hills, are partly of the Warkilli laterite and partly of the lateritoid gneiss.

"Whatever form of denudation may have produced the now much-worn terrace of the gneissic portion of the country, the same also had determined the general surface of the Warkilli beds. Indeed, it gradually dawned on me while surveying this country, having the remembrance of what I had seen of the plateaus and terraced low lands in Malabar in previous years, that here, clearly, on this western side of India is an old marine terrace which must be of later date than the Warkilli beds. These are, as I have endeavoured to show in another paper,* of probably upper tertiary age and equivalent of the Cuddalore sandstones of the Coromandel. Hence this terrace must be late tertiary or post-pliocene, and it marks, like the long stretches of laterite and sandstones on the eastern side of the country, the last great or decided elevation of Southern India, prior to which, as is very probable, the Indian land rose almost directly from the sea by its Western Ghauts and had an eastern shore line which is now indicated very well by the inner edge of the Tanjore, South Arcot, Madras, Nellore and Godaveri belts of laterite and sandstone.

"Mr. Foote has already generalised in this way for the eastern side of Southern India in particular; but I think he makes the elevation too great, including, as he does in his laterite deposits, patches of the laterite gravels and rock masses ranging up to a height of five hundred feet at least which are not so definitely part and parcel of the proper coastal developments."

The following account of the Cuddalore Sandstone series, marine beds, blown sands, coral reefs and soils is extracted from the very exhaustive paper on The Geology of South Travancore by Mr. Bruce Foote from which we have already quoted:—

*The Warkilli beds and reported associated deposits at Quilon—Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XV.

"A very careful examination of the beds near Quilon by Dr. King who had the advantage of seeing the fresh cuttings made through plateaus of these rocks in connection with the new tunnel at Warkilli has unfortunately thrown no positive light on their true geological position. The vegetable remains associated with lignite beds at base of the series proved insufficient to allow of determination of their own character and consequently most unsuitable to assist in settling the homotaxy of the strata they occurred in. The sedimentary beds forming the belt of small plateau fringing the coast of South Travancore must, on petrological grounds, be unhesitatingly regarded as extensions of the Quilon beds, or Warkilli beds of Dr. King. None of these formations which I traced from Villinjam, nine miles south-east of Trivandrum, down to Cape Comorin afforded the faintest trace of an organic body; thus no light was thrown on the question of the geological age or homotaxy, but somewhat similar sandstones and grits are found on the Tinnevelly side of the extreme south end of the Ghauts range, and in a coarse gritty sandstone, much resembling some of the beds in Travancore, a bed of clay is intercalated, in which occur numerous specimens of *Arca-rugosa* and *Cytherea* of a living species. The locality where these fossils of recent species were found occurs on the right bank of the Nambi-ar, about two miles above its mouth and a few hundred yards from the bank of the main stream. All the subfossil shells I found here are of living species; hence the deposits enclosing them cannot be regarded as tertiary; and if the agreement of these Nambi-ar beds with the Warkilli and South Travancore beds, on the one hand, and the Cuddalore, Madras, and Rajamundry beds be assumed, as they must be on petrological grounds, the Cuddalore sandstones and their equivalents elsewhere must be accepted as of post-tertiary age. As far as it goes the evidence is clear and distinct; but more evidence is required as to the age of some of the intermediate connecting beds, such as those south and east of Kudankulam.

"The typical section of the Warkilli Rocks near Quilon, given by Dr. King shows the following series:—

Laterite	30 to 40	feet.
Sands and sandy clays or lithomarge	58	„
Alum clays	25	„
Lignite beds	7 to 15	„
Sands	„ „	„
Total ...	120 — 138	„

with which we may compare the series seen in the fine section formed by the beautiful cliffs in Karruchel bay, 11 miles south-east of Trivandrum.

"The section here exposed shows the following series of formations:—

4. Soil—dark red, sandy loam, lateritic at base—8 to 10 feet.
3. Sandstone—hard, gritty, purplish or blackish—?
2. Sandstone—gritty, rather soft, false-bedded, often clayey in parts (lithomargic), variegated; in colour red, reddish brown purplish white yellow—40 to 50 feet.
1. Sandstone—gritty, rather soft, false-bedded, red, purple, pink, white, variegated; shows many white clay galls producing conglomeratic appearance in section—40 feet.

Base not seen, hidden by sandy beach.

"The total thickness of these beds I estimated at about 100 feet; the upper

part is obscure, from pluvial action washing down the red soil over the dark grits. The middle and lower parts of the section are extremely distinct, and the colouring of the beds very vivid and beautiful; but the beds are by no means sharply defined.

"The beds dip north-easterly (inland), and from the slope of the ground on the top of the cliff the angle of dip may be inferred to be from 25° to 30°. Further inland, near Pinnacolum, the dark gritty sandstones lie horizontally, at a considerably lower level than at the top of the Karruchel cliffs, but rise again to the eastward. The middle gritty series is exposed along the western side of the Karruchel lagoon, but is highly lateritised by weather action. Three miles or so to the north of the lagoon, purplish gritty beds show strongly and form a small well-marked plateau overlooking the valley in which lies the village of Cottukal. That the gritty beds are sometimes replaced by clays is shown by the materials turned out of two deep wells sunk into the plateau at two points several miles apart; one of these wells lies rather more than half a mile to the northward of Mullur. Here the section, which is from 80 to 100 feet deep passes through mottled gritty sandstone and into blue and white mottled clay. The other section revealing clays below the gritty beds is a well sunk close to the new road from Valrampur to Puvar.

"A section in the low cliff forming the small bay immediately east of Villinjam shows a mottled vermiculated clayey rock showing mostly no bedding at all. Traces of bedding are, however, revealed as the cliff is followed southward by the appearance of thin bands of grit near the base of the section which rests on the underlined quartzo-felspathic garnetiferous gneiss. This mottled clayey rock I believe to represent the bluish white mottled clay turned out of the lower parts of the well section near Mullur before referred to. It is locally considerably discoloured and stained by the percolation of water through the overlying pseudo-lateritic dark-red sand. As will be seen by any one who follows the coast line these Warkilli sandstones rest upon a very rugged and broken gneiss surface. Many great tors and knolls of granite gneiss protrude through the sandstone plateau or tower over them from adjacent higher ridges, which have been completely denuded of the younger rocks.

"The greater part of the surface of the tract occupied by these Warkilli beds west of the Neyar is thickly covered by sandy loam, generally of dark red colour, which conceals the sub-rock very effectually, excepting where the loam is deeply eroded. A well marked patch of purplish grit forms a knoll, about a mile south-west of Valrampur. Traces of the former more easterly extension of these beds are to be seen at intervals along and to the north of the Trivandrum-Tinnevelly road between Valrampur and Neyatankarai.

"In the tract lying east of the Neyar few sections exhibiting the grits &c., were met with, and all were small and unsatisfactory. The surface of the country is either largely covered with the deep red soil or else the extremely broken surface of the gritty beds is extensively lateritised. The appearance of the country, when seen from elevated points is, however, characteristically very different from the gneiss and Kabuk tract lying to the northward. This may be well seen from Colatoor Trigonometrical station hill, as also from the high ground close to Cauracode, but yet more striking from the Kodalam Pothai, a hill 2 miles west-north-west of Paurashalay. Sections in which the fine character of the rock is to be seen occur on the high ground close to the junction of the new roads leading from Puvar and Martanda Putentorai respectively to Paurashalay, also to the southward near Shoolaul, where a large rain gully cuts deeply into the grits and underlying clayey beds; also along the ridge of high ground north and

north-east of Yeldasaput. Traces of the former eastward extension of the grits were noted on the eastern flank of the Kodalam Pothai and on high ground half a mile or so to the northward of the Cutcherry at Paurashalay. The beds composing this patch of Warkilli rocks have undergone greater superficial denudation than those in the Karruchel patch to the north-west.

"In the small patch lying east of the Kulitorai river some instructive sections of hard rock grits and underlying clayey grits of the usual, reddish, bluish, and white mottled colour are to be seen south of Killiur. Some of the sections show regular miniature 'canons' 15′ to 20′ deep, with vertical sides and numerous well-formed pot-holes. Hard purplish grits show on the surface between Killiur and Pudukaddi and soft mottled grits in a well section close east of the D. P. W. bangalow at Tengapatnam. At the southernmost point of Killiur patch, the grits become coarsely conglomeratic over a small area. A little to the north of this the grits, when resting on the basset edge of a bed of granular quartz rock, present the characters of a perfect arkose, made up of the angular gneiss debris. In places this arkose might be most easily mistaken for a granitic rock.

"A distinctly conglomeratic character is shown by the grit beds close to Madalam. This Madalam patch of Warkilli sandstones is on its southern side deeply cut into by a gully which exposes regular cliffs with from 35 to 40 feet of coarse or conglomeratic mottled grits. capped by thick red soil. The grits contain many large clay galls and lumps of blue or mottled colour.

"In the Kolachel patch the grits are extremely well exposed in deep cuttings (miniature canons) made by the stream rising just west of Neyur. They are of the usual mottled description. Where seen at the eastern side of the patch near the Eranil Cutcherry they are quite conglomeratic. They are exposed also in a gully crossing the road which runs north from Kolachel to join the main road, and in a well section on the high ground a mile north-eastward of the little town. The south-eastern part of the patch is entirely obscured by a great thickness of dark red soil. They peep out, however, below the red soil at the western end of the great tank 3 miles south of Eranil.

"A very thin bed of conglomeratic grit underlies the teri, or red sand-hill, capping the high ground north of the Muttum headland. Further east a few poor sections only of whitish or mottled grit prove the extension of the Warkilli beds in that direction, nor are they well seen again till close into Kotar, where they show in various wells and tanks, but are still better seen in a deep rain gully south of the Travellers' bangalow at Nagarkoil and in a broad cutting immediately to the east of the bangalow. The variegated gritty sandstones here seen are very characteristic, and strongly resemble some of the typical varieties in South Arcot and Madras districts.

"To the south of Kotar the grits are to be seen in stream beds opening to the Purrakay tank, and in a series of deep rain gullies on the eastern slope of a large red soil plateau to the south-west of Purrakay.

"A small patch of gritty sandstones of similiar character to the above occurs immediately north and north-west of Cape Comorin. As a rule, they are badly exposed, being much masked by the red blown sand of a small teri. The most accessible section is a small one seen in the bottom of a good sized bowrie, a little south of the junction of the roads coming from Trevandrum and Palamcotta. This section can only be seen when the water in the bowrie is low. A considerable spread of similar greyish or slightly mottled grits is exposed about half a mile to the north-east of Covacolum and 1½ miles north-west of the Cape. Lying between the two exposures just mentioned,

but separated from either by spreads of blown sand, is a different looking vermiculated mottled grit of much softer character. This is extensively exposed in the banks of a nullah and head water gullies falling into the Agusteshwar. The colour of this soft grit ranges from red, through buff to whitish. The beds roll to the northward. This grit is full of vermicular cavities filled with white or reddish Kankar (impure carbonate of lime). The grit seems to graduate upward into a thick red gritty soil full of small whitish red, impure (gritty) calcareous concretions. There is good reason, however, for thinking that this graduation is merely apparent, and that the red gritty soil is only the base of a red sand-hill, or teri, undergoing change by percolation of calciferous water. A hard brown grit is exposed for a few square yards just north of the junction of the two roads above referred to. This rock has, except in colours, considerable resemblance to the red-white grit just described, and both probably overlie the pale mottled grits near Covacolum.

"The last patch of grits to be mentioned forms almost the extreme easterly angle of the Travancore territory and lies to the eastward of the southernmost group of hills and along its base. Not many sections of the grit are here exposed owing to a thick red soil formation which laps round the base of the hills, and is only cut through here and there by a deep rain gully or a well. The grits here seen are like those exposed near the Travellers' bangalow at Nagarkoil; but show much more bedding and are almost shaly in parts. The colour of the grit is white, pale drab or grey mottled with red and brown in various shades. They lie in depressions in the gneiss, and were either always of much less importance and thickness than the beds to the west, or else have been denuded to a far greater extent. They are best seen in gullies to the south-west and west of Russhun Kristnapur, 7 miles north of Cape Comorin, and in the beds of the small nullahs west and north-west of Comaravarum opposite the mouth of the Arambuli pass. None of these Warkilli grit beds occurring between Trevandrum and Cape Comorin have yielded any organic remains as far as my research has gone, and I fear none will be obtained by subsequent explorers. The alum shales occurring in Dr. King's Warkilli section have not been traced in South Travancore, and I had not the good fortune to come across any lignite. It is said to occur not unfrequently to the south of Kolachel, and to be turned up by the people when ploughing their fields. I have no reason to doubt this, for it is extremely probable that some of the clayey beds should contain lignite. From the configuration of the ground, too, the paddy flat along the southern boundary of the Kolachel grit patch would coincide in position with some of the clayey beds near the base of the series which are lignitiferous at Warkilli; and why not at Kolachel?

"The recent discovery of lignite in the Cuddalore sandstones at Pondicherry adds greatly to the probability of the correctness of Dr. King's and my conclusion (arrived at by us separtely and independently before we had an opportunity of comparing notes) that this gritty bed in Tinnevelly and Travancore should be regarded on the grounds of petrological resemblance and identity of geographical position as equivalents of the Cuddalore sandstones of the Coromandel Coast.

Marine Beds.—"At Cape Comorin and two other places along the coast to the northward are formations of small extent but very considerable interest, which, by their mineral constitution and by the abundance of fossil marine shells they enclose, show themselves to be of marine origin, and thus prove that the coast line of the Peninsula has undergone some little upheaval since they were deposited. These beds are to be seen close to the Cape at the base of a small cliff which occurs immediately south of the Residency bangalow and only about two hundred yards west of the Cape itself. The rocks seen in

the surf and immediately behind it on the beach are all gneiss. The base of the small cliff is composed of friable gritty calcareous sandstone, full of comminuted shells. The base was not exposed at the time I examined the section, some heavy gale having piled up the beach sand against the foot of the cliff, and for this reason it was impossible to trace the probable connection of the sandstone with another exposed at a slightly lower level at a few yards distance to the west. This lower bed is similar in mineral character, but very hard and tough, and offers great resistance to the surf but has nevertheless been deeply honeycombed and in places quite undermined. The roofs of the miniature caves thus formed have in some cases fallen in, but have been partly re-cemented by deposition of the calcareous matter in the lines of fracture. To return to the cliff section, the basement sandstone is overlaid by a similar but slightly harder yellowish friable bed, which contains many unbroken shells (all of living species), in addition to a great quantity of comminuted ones. The base of the lower bed is hidden by sands, but from the proximity of the gneiss it cannot exceed 5 or 6 feet in thickness, while the overlying shelly bed measures about the same. It is overlaid in its turn by a massive bed, 6 to 10 feet thick locally, of a kind of travertine formed of altered blown sand, composed mainly of fully comminuted shells. This travertine contains immense numbers of shells and casts of *Helix vittata*, the commonest land shell in the south. Owing to the soft character of the marine sandstones, the cliff has been much undermined by the tremendous surf which breaks on this coast in bad weather, and great masses of the hard travertine of the Helix bed have fallen on to the beach, forming a partial breakwater against the inroads of the sea.

"The shells contained in the upper sandstone bed were all found to be of living species, where sufficiently well preserved for specific identification; the majority of the specimens are too ill preserved for specific identification. Four miles north-north-east from the Cape, stands the little stone-built fort of Wattakotai, which is built upon a small patch of calcareous sandstone, full of marine shells, exposed in the moat along the north face of the long curtain wall which joins Wattakotai fort with the extensive series of fortifications known as 'Travancore lines'. The marine limestone may be traced for nearly half a mile inland in the bottom of the moat. This marine bed is overlaid by a very thin bed of travertine limestone full of *Helix vittata;* it has been cut through in the formation of the moat. The thickness of the shelly marine bed is unknown, but the Helix bed is not seen to exceed 10″ or 1′ in thickness. As far as seen in the very small exposure, both formations lie nearly horizontally. Another small exposure of the marine bed occurs at the western end of a little backwater to the north of the fort. The sandstone here contains many well-preserved marine shells, all of living species; but further west, where the bed is exposed below the Helix bed in the moat, the enclosed shells are all broken and comminuted. The surface of sandstone, as seen at the end of the little backwater, is raised but a very little distance above the sea-level, probably not more than 4 or 5 feet at the outside. The rise of the ground along the moat is extremely small, and even at the furthest point from the sea at which the sandstones are exposed the elevation is probably not more than 10 or 12 feet at most, which would correspond with the top of the sandstones as seen in the little cliff at Cape Comorin.

"About two miles north-east-by-north of Wattakotai fort a small patch of white shelly limestone occurs peeping out of the low belt of blown sand which fringes the coast at that spot. The village of Kannakapur which lies immediately to the north is the last within the Travancore boundary. The limestone only

stands out a few inches above the surface of the surrounding sands, and no section could be found to show its thickness, but in point of elevation above the sea-level it agrees perfectly with the Wattakotai and Cape Comorin beds. The limestone which is fairly hard is quarried for economic purposes, and unless a good deal more of the bed than now meets the eye remains hidden under the sands, it will, before many years are over, have been removed by human agency.

"The shell remains occur as impressions and casts of great beauty and perfectness, but the shelly matter has disappeared entirely, being probably slightly more soluble than the enclosing limestone. The limestone contains a large number of specimens of *Helix vittata* which were evidently carried out to sea and there entombed in a shallow water formation. To any one who has noticed the enormous numbers of this Helix living in this neighbourhood, and in the southern districts generally, the large numbers of it occurring fossil in this marine bed will be a matter of no surprise.

Blown Sands.—"Two very marked varieties of Æolian rocks occur along or near the coast of South Travancore, as well as along that of Tinnevelly. They are the red sands, forming the well-known teris of Tinnevelly, where they are developed on a far larger scale, and the white sands forming the coast dunes. In South Travancore, as far as my observation went, the red sand hills are no longer forming; all are undergoing the process of degradation by atmospheric agencies at various rates of speed. The red sands have in many places ceased to yield to the influence of the winds and have arrived at a condition of fixity and compaction caused by the action of rain falling upon the loose sands percolating through them and during heavy showers flowing over their surfaces and washing the lighter clayey and smaller, though heavier, ferruginous particles down the slopes of the hills or into hollows on the surface, where, on drying, a fairly hard, often slightly glazed, surface of dark red loam has been formed. This loam is very fairly fertile and soon becomes covered with vegetation, which further tends to bind the mass together and render the surface secure from wind action. The loose sand, deprived of the clayey and finer ferruginous particles, would, unless unusually coarse in grain, be carried off by high winds elsewhere or remain in barren patches on the surface. I believe this process has gone on extensively over many parts of South Travancore, and explains the existence, on the surface of the country and resting indiscriminately on the gneiss and the younger rocks as the Warkilli sandstone, of the great thick sheets of pure red loam which have not been brought there by ordinary aqueous deposition nor formed *in situ* by the decomposition of the underlying rocks. The percolation of the rain water through the mass has in many places given rise to the formation of concretionary ferruginous masses, which are often strongly lateritoid in their aspect. The quantitiy of clayey matter and of iron ore in the form of magnetic iron is very great in the sand of many of the teris. The greater quantity of the water falling on the teris, as on their blown sand surfaces, escapes by percolation, and it is a common phenomenon to find springs issuing around the foot of the sand mass during the rainy season and becoming dry in the hot or rainless season.

"The teris in South Travancore which still retain their character as accumulations of moving red sands are four in number and all very small, the largest not measuring one sq. mile in area. They are all close to the coast and with one exception stand high and conspicuous to ships passing along at a fair distance. The largest and most conspicuous is that at Muttum which caps the high ground with a new lighthouse. The process of fixation has gone on here largely and the moving sands cover a much smaller space than does the fixed portion. The same may be said of the teri resting on the south-eastern extremity of the Kolachel sandstone plateau. To the north-west of Kolachel are two much smaller

teris at the distance of 3 and 5¼ miles respectively. In both of these also the area of the fixed sand far exceeds that of the loose. Especially is this the case in the more northerly teri near Melmadalathorai. Here the fixed part has undergone tremendous erosion and is traversed by long and deep rain gullies, with vertical sides up to 20 or 25 feet high. Gullies on a yet larger scale are to be seen at the south-east corner of the Kolachel sandstone patch and at the eastern side of the Muttum patch. Very large but shallower gullies are to be seen at the south-east corner of the Nagarkoil patch, where there is a very large fixed teri.

"The small teri immediately behind the Cape Comorin is a very poor specimen of its kind, and, in fact, hardly deserves to rank as one owing to its pale colour and poverty in iron sand, but it will not do to class it as a coast dune, as it consists mainly of silicious sand, while the true dune at the Cape consists mainly of calcareous sand composed of comminuted shells, corallines, nullipores &c.

"The sand of the typical teris is silicious or ferruginous (magnetic iron), the former being well rounded and coated with a film of red-oxide of iron, which is removable by boiling in Nitric acid for a few seconds. Common as garnet sand is on the beaches of South Travancore, I never yet found a grain of it in the teri sand, where the latter was pure and had not been mixed with beach sand.

"The coast dunes of South Travancore are, except close to the Cape, in no way remarkable. A large patch of small hillocks to the north-west of the mouth of the Kulitorai river was caused by the wind shifting a great mass of sand turned out when the new canal was dug and heaped up on the north bank of the canal.

"Some tolerably high ridges occur three miles south-west of Kolachel. The sand here contains so much fine magnetic iron that it looks in parts of a dark grey colour, shading here and there almost into absolute black.

"A considerable quantity of blown sand fringes the coast from the Muttum headland eastward to Cape Comorin, and between Pullum and Culladevella forms some considerable hills. At Covacolum the highly calcareous beach sand which forms many low hillocks has been solidified in several places into coarse shelly limestone. The Helix bed at Cape Comorin already referred to, when treating of the Marine beds, is really an altered sand dune, the calcareous matter of which has, by percolation of acidulated water, been dissolved and re-deposited, on evaporation of the water, as a sub-aerial travertine. Countless thousands of ***Helix vittata*** and a considerable number of shells of *Nanina tranquebarica*, the two commonest land shells in this part of India, have been enclosed and fossilised in the formation of this travertine, which is evidently in constant progress. The immense wealth of shell fish of all kinds, added to large quantities of corallines and nullipores, incessantly thrown up by the surf, furnishes an abundant supply of calcareous sand for the formation of this travertine, which forms a bank more than a mile long and rising some 80 feet or more above the sea at its highest point. Its inland extent cannot be ascertained, as it is covered by loose sands. It probably only extends 300 to 400 yards inland and abuts against a low ridge of gneiss.

Coral Reefs.—"A few tiny fringing reefs are to be seen half to three-fourths of a mile west of the Cape, half in the surf at low tide, and wholly in it at high tide. They are now to be considered as dead reefs, abandoned by the polypes that built them. I examined most of them carefully, without finding any live coral, and was inclined to doubt the correctness of my inference, drawn from their tabular shape and many shallow basin-like cavities; but later on, when

examining some identical fringing reefs off the Tinnevelly coast to the south of Kudankulam Trigonometrical station (the south point of the Cape Comorin base-line), I found a considerable quantity of live coral lining the sides of the little basins and equally large quantities of coral quite recently dead in adjoining basins.

"A great deal of shell debris, sand and broken stone, is included in the mass of the reefs which in several places have formed around masses of rock standing in rather shallow water, and joined up many loose blocks of stone tossed on to them by the surf into tremendously coarse conglomerates. Some similar reefs but of rather larger size, occur along the coast to the north-east of Cape Comorin; in these the tabular mass extends from 10 to 40 and 50 feet in width, from the shore to the constantly surf-beaten outer edge. In one or two places parts of the reef had evidently been founded on sand, which had been washed away, leaving an unsupported surface of many square yards in extent which the surf of the next high tide or first gale of wind would either break up or else again support with sand washed under it. These little reefs are worthy of much closer examination than I was able to bestow upon them.

"The coral fauna of the Cape Comorin sea is on the whole a remarkably poor one, as far as one may judge by what is to be found thrown up on the beach. Dredging might reveal much more, but unfortunately no boats are found there, only Kattumarams (Catamarans) which would not be the most convenient form of craft from which to carry on scientific observations. The sea here is, however, so very rich in animal life in many forms, that it could assuredly afford a rich reward to any one having a suitable vessel at command. I obtained in a very short time, a far larger number of species of shells here than at any other place on the Indian Coast.

Soils.—"The prevalent soils (of South Travancore) are red ones varying in the quantity of their ferruginous element. The red soils seen inland near the main trunk road are chiefly formed of gneissic debris by sub-aerial decomposition. The origin of the deep red sandy or clayey loams has already been discussed. They occupy no inconsiderable area. True alluvial soils occur very rarely, if at all, now-a-days; those which fill the bottoms of the many valleys and creeks in which paddy is cultivated being greatly altered from their original condition by centuries of cultivation, and the addition of various mineral, vegetable and animal manures. Estuarine beds full of sub-fossil shells, *Cytherea*, *Pottamides*, *Melania* &c., of living species are exposed in the salt pans at the mouth of the Kolachel nullah.

"The Alluvium in the valley of the Paleyar, which flows south from the west flank of Mahendragiri past Nagarkoil is, where pure, a coarse gritty silt."

Smooth Water Anchorages. There are two anchorages on the Malabar Coast, known to mariners from early times. The bottom of these anchorages consists of a very fine, soft, unctuous mud which has over and over been supposed to act as a barrier against the force of the waves of the sea. Ships can not only ride safely in these roads, but they can also sometimes take in fresh water alongside, the sea beneath them being so diluted with fresh water from inland sources. At times the smooth surface on one of the banks may be broken by huge bubble "cones" as they have been called, of water or mud from the sea-bed, and even roots and trunks are reported to have floated up with these ebullitions.

Again the banks of mud are not fixed in position but move along the coast within ranges of some miles in extent; or one of them remains comparatively stationary while the other moves, and these movements do not take place year by year with the monsoons but continue over many years. Similar, though insignificant, patches of smooth water banks are found in various points along the Malabar Coast. But the best-marked and most generally known are those near Cochin and Alleppey. That near Cochin or the Narakal bank may be said to lie between Cochin and the Cranganore river 11¾ miles to the north. For many years its position has been about the middle of the range. The Alleppey bank ranges from a mile or two north of Alleppey to Poracad, a distance of 12 to 15 miles. It is now at the southern end of this range and indeed is often called the Poracad mud-bank. The mud-banks lie close along the beach but extend some miles seaward presenting a more or less semicircular or flat crescentic edge to the long rollers and tumbling waves of the monsoon weather.

Ordinarily the sea is tolerably smooth only rolling on the shore with more or less of a surf, and these patches are only to be distinguished by the soundings of mud below them. It is only a few days after the bursting of the monsoon, when the whole line is affected and the mud in these particular places stirred up, that the patches are distinguishable. Then the muddy waters calm down and remain so for the rest of the monsoon.

The mud itself is essentially characteristic and unique. It is of a decided dark green colour slightly tinged with brown, very fine in texture, very soft and oily feeling, altogether just like a very fine soft ointment or pomatum. After a time it dries and hardens, loses its oily feel and becomes harsh like ordinary mud. Its oily consistency has been proved beyond doubt; the specimens analysed have been found to give off, when subject to distillation. some brownish yellow oily matter lighter than water and looking not unlike petroleum. The muds also contain a considerable quantity of foraminiferal and infusorial remains.

Capt. Drury thus wrote on the origin of these banks:—

"The origin of this deposition of so large a quantity of mud in the open sea about two or three miles from the shore and so many miles from any bar or outlet from the backwater has never been satisfactorily accounted for. From the circumstance of there being no natural outlet for the vast accumulation of waters which are poured down from the various mountain streams into the basin of the backwater nearer than thirty-six miles on either side, it is not improbable that there exists a subterraneous channel communication with the sea from the backwater through which the large quantity of mud is carried off and thrown up again by the sea in the form of a bank".

Mr. Crawford, for a long time Commercial Agent at Alleppey, was of opinion that the perfect smoothness of the water in the roads and at the Alleppey beach was attributable not so much to the softness of the mud at the bottom as to "the existence of a subterranean passage or stream or a succession of them which, communicating with some of the rivers inland and the backwater, became more active after heavy rains particularly at the commencement of the monsoon than in the dry season, in carrying off the accumulating water and with it vast quantities of soft mud". He found that at the periods of deficient rain the mud-banks were less effective as anchorages. He also observed that after or during heavy rains the beach suddenly subsided, slightly at first but gradually as much as five feet, when a cone of mud suddenly appeared above the water, bursting and throwing up immense quantities of soft soapy mud and blue mud of considerable consistence in the form of boulders with fresh water, debris of vegetable matter decayed and in some cases fresh and green.

Mr. Rhodes, the successor of Mr. Crawford, confirms the above observation and states that he has seen mud volcanoes bursting up in the sea during the rainy season, which appeared "as if a barrel of oil had suddenly been started below the surface". He thinks that the mud thus formed is gradually floated away to the southward by the littoral current and fresh banks are formed whenever the hydraulic pressure of the inland backwater increases sufficiently to overcome the subterranean resistance of the stratum of fluid mud which is formed at certain places; and as a further proof, he adduces the fact that the extent of the mud-bank at Alleppey increases and diminishes as the level of the inland water rises and falls, as was most observable in 1882.*

The range of the coast exhibiting the phenomena is about 92 miles long, tolerably straight, without any indentation giving the form of a bay except at the extreme ends, viz., at Quilon and Cranganore. There is no indication of a bay near Alleppey, the name 'bay' having perhaps been adopted from an imaginary bay of smooth water enclosed within the semicircle of breakers outside. The shore line is straight, low lying or only a few feet above sea level and made up of alluvial deposits and sand. Between Alleppey backwater

* In regard to the formation of the bank, Mr. Philip Lake of the Geological Survey in his Note on the Mud-banks says:—"The chief point then in which I differ from previous observers is in considering that the Alleppey bank is formed not from the backwater mud but from an older river deposit found only at particular points along the coast. This would explain its non-appearance at other points where the conditions seem equally favourable. With regard to the existence of subterranean channels, it may well be doubted whether any could exist in such unstable deposits as are found here."

and the sea there is no visible communication, the principal rivers that enter it flowing northwards behind the range of the mud-bank. To all appearance the flat lands of the coast are entirely recent alluvial deposits consisting of layers of sand and mud overgrown with vegetation. The lumps of blue clay described by Mr. Crawford as turned up in the cones of Alleppey, answer to the lumps of clay of the lower part of the Varkala cliffs already described. Mr. Crawford also mentions his having passed through a crust of chocolate-coloured sandstone or a conglomerate mixture of the sandstone and lignite corresponding to certain rocks at Varkala.

It is clear that both the Alleppey and Narakal banks have practically the same constitution, behave similarly and have the same accompaniments with the exception of the violent discharges of mud or oil which are confined to the Alleppey bank.

It has already been remarked that the mud of these banks is full of organic matter and that it contains a sensible amount of oil probably partly derived from the decomposition of organisms. The mud is easily stirred up on all seasons and never settles down into a uniformly compact deposit but the upper stratum is in a greater state of liquidity than its lower depths. It occupies particular areas and within these well defined limits its movement is from north to south.

Regarding the water over the mud, Dr. King says*:—

"It is only known to calm down during the S. W. Monsoon. The calming of the anchorages does not take place until after the monsoon has commenced and there has been a stirring up of the sea and mud. The quieting of the waters is intensified according to the amount of rainfall during the monsoon; but even if no rainfall, there is a certain amount of quiescence. The calmness continues throughout the monsoon, apparently without any fresh stirring up of the mud. In one locality at least, the water is subject at times to violent agitation through the bursting up of gigantic bubbles of water, mud or gas,— it is not quite clear which; and these features also appear to be intensified during heavy rainy weather in the monsoon periods. The water over the banks becomes considerably freshened even to the extent — as I was told by Mr. Crawford — of being drinkable; also according as the monsoon rains are light or heavy. At such times, also, the water gives off fetid odours, and the fish inhabiting it are killed off in large numbers; but whether owing to the freshening of the sea-water, or the exhibition of poisonous matter and vapour in the water, is not clear; perhaps this destruction of life may be due to both causes.

The soothing of the troubled waters of the sea must surely be due to the oily constitution of the mud. An experiment performed sometime ago in the harbour of Peterhead, when a stream of oil

* Considerations on the smooth-water anchorages, or mud-banks of Narakal and Alleppey on the Travancore Coast—Records of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XVII.

was cast upon the heavy seas at the harbour's mouth with such success that vessels were enabled to run in with comparative ease, clearly proves this. Thus the action of oil on troubled waters is confirmed not only by tradition and anecdote but by actual fact; but the long continuance of the quiescence without any fresh stirring up is not easily accounted for. The amount of oil derived from the decomposition of the animal and vegetable matter of the organisms in the mud would be hardly sufficient to account for the features exhibited; hence we must look to other sources for the oil and even for the continued supply of mud itself which is evidently carried away and distributed by littoral currents.

The consensus of opinion certainly leads to the conclusion that there is an underground discharge of water at any rate into the sea from the lagoon and river system behind the Alleppey-Poracad Coast during flood-time, the inland waters being at a higher level than the sea. This passage of underground waters must, more particularly during heavy rains, force cut large quantities of the mud on which the Alleppey Poracad land rests like a floating bog, as it were, elastic and capable of yielding to pressure or exerting pressure by its own weight, while a continuous stream of the same oil and mud may be kept up under the lower pressure of the ordinary backwater level. In the monsoon time the heavy floods, which however occur only at long intervals, cause great discharges of mud, oil and gases, and at such times new banks might be formed, the old ones being distributed down the coast by littoral currents and finally dissipated into the open sea.

The presence of petroleum has to be accounted for by the fact that besides the alluvial deposits large lumps of clay or compact mud, more or less decayed, and vegetable remains are brought to the surface during the prevalence of the violent ebullitions. Such clays are met with in the Varkala deposits associated with lignite beds, in which occur trunks and roots of trees in every stage of decay. It is probable that the Varkala deposits may extend north under the Alleppey Poracad alluvium and even again at Narakal, where also fragments of similar clays are thrown up by the sea; and that it is in these deposits as being deeper-seated, older and lignitiferous that the earth-oil is generated.

Thus according to Dr. King, the mud banks, their smoothening influence, and their position within certain ranges of the coast, may be entirely due to the following causes:—

"1. The discharge of mud from under the lands of Alleppy, Poracaud and Narrakal, being effected by the percolation or underground passage of lagoon water into the sea.

2. The presence in this mud of oily matter, derived perhaps in part from the decomposition of organisms, but principally from the distillation of oil in subjacent lignitiferous deposits belonging presumably to the Warkilli strata.

3. The action of littoral currents which, slowly and through long periods of years, carry the mud down the coast to certain points whence it is dissipated seawards,—by the Quilon river at Narrakal, and at Poracaud because it is there beyond the range of replacement."

Economic Geology. According to Mr. Bruce Foote, valuable minerals and metals are conspicuous by their absence in South Travancore and this remark may be truly applied to the whole of Travancore.

The development of the gold industry in Southern India having raised hopes of gold likely to be found among the quartz out-crops of Peermade and the adjacent country, Dr. King was requested to examine those parts and report on the same. His report is conclusive. He says:—

"These out-crops are not reefs as usually understood but are true beds of quartz rock lying between and running with other beds of the country rock which is of the crystalline or gneiss series. Reefs or veins of quartz generally run across the country rock as in Wainad or in the Kolar region of Mysore. Secondly the size of these out-crops is small, only one of them being sufficiently large to allow any expectation of what might be called a good tonnage of stone. Thirdly, and most important of all, the quartz of the out-crops, though it shows on a close assay traces of gold, is certainly not rich enough to be called auriferous quartz in the usual acceptance of the term."

He found on examination that the ordinary crop of the Peermade Hills consists of a thin bed of quartz rock, largely made up also of felspar. He says that in all of the main outcrops of Peermade,

"the rock is more or less of the same constitution, that is, a quartz rock with very often a good deal of felspar distributed through it in small crystalline masses sometimes as large as peas, generally coarsely crystallised dull white and glassy quartz; and less often a more compact rock like that of vein or reef. It is generally of a white colour, but at times it is stained red or even a golden yellow from ferruginous matter and scattered through it, there is often a small quantity of iron pyrites or frequent small particles of magnetic iron ore."

PLUMBAGO.—General Cullen was the first to discover graphite in 1845. In 1855 Dr. Royle discovered some specimens which were lamellar and soft but brilliant. Some samples were forwarded from a place south of Trivandrum for examination but were considered too soft and scaly for the manufacture of pencils. The matrix appeared to be a pseudo-laterite formed of decomposed gneiss *in situ*. Deposits were also found near Vellanad, the veins in which plumbago occurs being said to cross the strike of the gneiss. The plumbago found here is much purer than others. Mining work is carried on in three mines viz, Vellanad and

Cullen mines in Ooozhamalakal Proverty, Nedumangad Taluq, and the Venganur mine in the Kottukal Proverty, Neyyattinkara Taluq.

The total output of plumbago during the last four years was as follows:—

		1901	1902	1903	1904
Vellanad	Tons	1526	2401¾	1828¼	1571¾
Cullen	,,	906½	2173½	1421½	1431½
Venganur	,,	57½	...	144	248
	Total	2490	4575¼	3393¾	3251¼

Messrs. Parry and Co. and The Morgan Crucible Company who work these mines pay a nominal Royalty to the Government of 4 or 6 Rs. per ton according to the quality of the plumbago mined.

IRON—Iron ore is found throughout Travancore in large quantities but as imported iron is much cheaper than the locally manufactured iron, the industry is given up. In the Shencottah Taluk iron is obtained as black sand in the brooks in Pulangudiyiruppu and Achanputhur villages. It is said that two persons working daily can take up 7½ Kottas or 126 Parahs of the sand in a month, and that 4 Parahs of this sand smelted with 40 Parahs of charcoal and ashes yield about 80 pounds of iron. The selling price of this iron is 4 Rs. while the cost of manufacture comes to about 5 Rs. Hence the industry has been given up. It is also found at Pralakat in Cheranallur Proverty, Kunnattur Taluk, where an unlimited quantity of the ore is obtainable. Here the out-turn is said to be 10 lbs. for every 100 pounds of the ore. Iron ore is reported to be found at Aramboly in large quantities at a depth of 15 or 16 feet. This place was once noted for its iron smelting industry. As large quantities of foreign iron began to be imported the industry had to be given up here also.

At Myladi till about thirty years ago the people earned their livelihood by gathering iron ore at the foot of the Poranathumala after heavy showers when the ore is washed down from the top of the hill. This they used to remove in baskets to the nearest rock and holding up the baskets at sufficient height, allow the contents to drop down by degrees against the smart and steady breeze which carried away the sand and rubbish leaving the ore behind. They used to take the ore thus sifted to their houses where they smelt it into lumps of varying size and sell the same

to the blacksmiths, who turned them into agricultural implements &c. It is reported that tools made of this iron would last considerably longer than those made of imported material.

LIMESTONE—This is found in considerable quantities near Layam in the Tovala Taluq, Tirupurathur in Neyyattinkara and Kazhakuttam in Trivandrum. It is dug out from pits varying from about 5 to 8 feet and it is reported that limestone of a superior quality is obtainable at greater depths. The lime made here is chiefly sold to the Public Works Department. It is used for paving sides of wells and tanks and for making tubs.

GRANITE—The gneiss near Cape Comorin is generally like those of the Nilgiris but more quartzose. The Cape Comorin type of rock abounding in South Travancore is a well-bedded massive quartzo-felspathic granite gneiss abounding in small rich-coloured garnets. The rock also contains mica in glistening scales. Granite is used chiefly for metalling roads and erecting buildings, bridges &c. In the Chengannur Taluq which is noted for its excellent workmanship in granite, some good specimens of images, flutes, rose-water sprinklers &c. are made out of it.

The supply of beautiful building stones is practically unlimited in South Travancore but not much use is made of them except for temples and fort walls. The extensive Travancore lines are mostly built of gneiss, the Vattakotta Fort being a very fine sample of excellent well-cut masonry. To the extreme south end of the lines, blocks of marine sandstone have been employed in the walls to some extent but have been much affected by weathering.

MICA—This occurs chiefly in the Eraniel Taluk. It is worked by regular mining operations. The out-put for 1899 was 12,706 lbs. The following is an extract from a letter from Messrs. Henry Grail and Co., London, dated 11th May 1900 regarding the quality and quotation of Travancore mica :—

"Several parcels of Travancore mica have been offered and sold here lately and to-day's values are as follows with a good demand and good prospects for the future.

Travancore amber plates free from specks &c.

2½" by 3½" —	— 6d per lb.	in good demand.
2½" by 4½" —	—1/6 d per lb.	
3" by 8" —	—2/6 d per lb.	—not in great demand.

Travancore amber mica would come into severe competition with Canadian, hence the necessity of careful preparation."

But the mineral has already become very scarce, the income to the Sirkar in 1903—1904 being only about 30 Rs.

Before concluding this part of the subject, it may be well to state that according to the Royal Proclamation issued on the $\frac{\text{14th June 1881}}{\text{2nd Mithunam 1056}}$, Government have reserved to themselves the right to all the metals and minerals discovered on private properties. It has also been notified on the 30th July 1898 that prospecting for or mining of metals and minerals, whether in Sirkar or private lands, is strictly prohibited except under a license obtained from the Government in accordance with the rules in force for the purpose.

CHAPTER II.

Climate, Rainfall, and Meteorology.

"Sing a hymn, pleasing to Varuna the king. He sent cool breezes through the woods, put mettle in the steed (the sun) milk in the kine (clouds), wisdom in the heart, fire in the waters, lightning in the (clouds), placed the sun in the heavens, the Soma on the mountains.—He upset the cloud-barrel and let its waters flow on Heaven, Air, and Earth, wetting the ground and the crops.—He wets both Earth and Heaven, and soon as he wishes for those kine's milk, the mountains are wrapt in thunder-clouds and the strongest walkers are tired."

(Rig Veda)

Climate. A warm humidity is one of the special features of the climate of Travancore. Small as the country is, its high mountain ranges, its valleys and plains and its coast-line greatly influence the atmospheric condition. The temperature varies according to the height of the locality above the level of the sea. But the most noticeable variations are common only in the mountains. The climate of the plains is much more constant and is subject to comparatively few irregularities. The thermometer rarely shows a higher reading than 90° and even in the coldest season it never falls below 70°. This uniformity of temperature is explained to be due to (1) the superheated condition of the surface soil, (2) the cool sea-breezes and the abundance of rain throughout more than half of the year and (3) the process of evaporation.

In the whole of Malabar and Travancore, there is no thick layer of cool earth on the surface capable of quickly absorbing the sun's rays, as in the Temperate Zone. Hence the surface soil becomes very heated and is constantly radiating its heat day and night, and consequently a uniform high temperature is maintained.

The cool sea-breezes, always saturated with moisture, blow steadily and regularly every day during the hot weather. These, combined with the abundance of rain that falls in the country, moderate the intensity of the heat and maintain a uniform temperature.

In the process of evaporation a large amount of heat becomes latent. This goes on in the hours of the hottest sunshine. As the country is well equipped with back-waters and rivers and as it is on the sea-board,

evaporation plays an important part in moderating the heat and reducing the temperature.

The hills present every degree of temperature from the fever heat at their base to near the freezing point upon the summit. At the foot of the hills and in places beyond the influence of the sea-breeze, the thermometer rises 5° or 6° higher. On the hills, the temperature varies with the elevation. In the Periyar valley near Peermade, the country being completely shut up by high land, the extreme range of temperature is very great, varying from little more than 45° to over 90°. As we go higher, the air is naturally much cooler. The Kanni Elam hills, one of the divisions of the Cardamom Hills, are about 3,000 to 3,500 feet high and are within the influence of the sea-breeze and consequently pretty free from bad fevers. But the Makaram Elam hills, though higher, are during some months very unhealthy. From July to January they are healthy and the temperature is low; but from the end of February or early in March, fevers of the worst type prevail and continue till June. On the High Ranges the thermometer ranges from 45° to 60° in March and April and between 29° to 60° in November, December and January. The meteorological effects of the whole of India, if not of the whole world, are thus presented to us in Travancore in a small compass. On some of the peaks we have the pinching cold of the northern regions of Europe. Lower down on an elevation of between three and four thousand feet (the Ashamboo or Peermade Range for instance), one meets with the bracing temperature of England. The genial warmth of an Italian sun with its clear and cloudless sky is experienced all over the country for a few weeks after the cessation of the monsoons. From January to May there is intense heat which in some Taluqs present the aspect of a true equatorial region and epidemics rage with virulence. The three months after the partial cessation of the rains are the most agreeable and salubrious, "the air being cool and refreshing and the face of the country clothed with a luxuriant verdure". The dewy season is not agreeable to the working classes. On the whole, the climate of Travancore is enervating, depressing the nervous system and retarding the recovery of strength when it has been prostrated by illness.

Seasons. Our ancient Sanskrit writers have divided the year into six seasons or *Rithus*, each comprising a period of two months. Of these the first, *Vasanta Rithu* or Spring, is the season of mirth and gaiety and begins in March. "The mango is then covered with fragrant blossoms of which Manmatha the Indian Cupid makes his shafts

and the landscape is gay with the beautiful and the sweet-scented flowers of the *kakke* or Indian laburnum. The southerly breezes that blow during the night are the voluptuous zephyrs of this vernal season." The next two months are designated *Grishma Rithu* or the Summer season. *Varsha Rithu* or the rainy season comes next. The South-west monsoon blows steadily during this period. During the next season, *Sarad Rithu* or Autumn, the fruits of the earth ripen. This season closes with the change of the monsoon. The *Hemanta Rithu* or Winter next sets in with chilly mornings and bright sunny days. The *Sisira Rithu* or cold season closes the circle of the year.

The year in Travancore may, however, be divided into four seasons, viz., the Dry or dewy season, the Hot weather, the South-west monsoon proper or wet season and the Retreating South-west monsoon period, based on the mean data of the meteorological elements given in the following tables, I and II, obtained from the Trivandrum Observatory.

TABLE I.

Months.	Mean pressure.	Mean temperature.	Mean aqueous vapour pressure.	Mean humidity.	Mean cloud amount.	Total rainfall.	Mean number of days on which thunder-storms occur.
	Inches.	Degree.	Inch.	Per cent.		Inches.	
January	29·725	76·5	·666	73·9	3·4	·702	2
February	·706	78·0	·685	72·4	3·6	·577	3
March	·689	80·3	·774	75·9	4·1	1·620	9
April	·642	80·7	·828	79·8	5·9	4·636	14
May	·632	80·0	·843	83·0	6·9	9·877	13
June	·635	77·5	·810	86·2	7·7	12·469	3
July	·643	76·7	·795	87·0	7·9	6·894	1
August	·667	76·7	·785	86·0	7·4	4·241	2
September	·678	77·0	·781	84·7	6·7	3·748	2
October	·685	76·9	·786	85·4	7·0	10·126	9
November	·698	77·0	·781	84·7	6·1	6·224	8
December	·711	76·4	·703	78·4	4·8	2·093	2
Year.	29·676	77·8	·770	81·5	6·0	63·207	5·7

The following table gives means for the four seasons corresponding to the data of Table I.

TABLE II.

Season.	Mean pressure.	Mean temperature.	Mean aqueous vapour pressure.	Mean humidity.	Mean cloud amount.	Total rainfall.	Mean number of days on which thunder-storms occur.
	Inches.	Degree.	Inch.	Per cent.		Inches.	
Dec. to Feb. ...	29·714	77·0	·686	74·9	3·9	3·372	7
March to May ...	·654	80·3	·815	79·6	5·6	16·133	36
June to Sep. ...	·656	77·0	·793	86·0	7·4	27·352	8
Oct. to Nov. ...	·692	77·0	·784	85·1	6·6	16·350	17

The dry season lasts from December to February, and is characterised by moderate humidity and cloud, and by very light rain and absence of thunder-storms. This is the dewy season or the cold weather, but referred to here as the dry season on account of the fact that the air contains the least aqueous vapour in this season.

The hot weather lasts from March to May, its most prominent features being moderately high temperature, occasional rain (increasing in quantity with the advance of the season) and frequent thunder-storms. Throughout this season, there is an intense and oppressive heat which is very intolerable in March and April. No doubt the season is slightly relieved by a few showers; but still the continued heat is insufferable and some of the places present the aspect of a true equatorial region from which it is not far distant. The country of Nanjanad though fully exposed to the severity of the sun's heat, is relieved of much of its intensity by the strong sea-breezes which sweep across the plains. During these months, in the lower hills, the violence of the heat is extreme. As we recede from the coast, the country becomes less healthy. During this and the previous season, fever, generally in the hills and in the valleys, and some of the epidemics, especially small-pox and cholera, break out occasionally with very great virulence. The borders of the lakes, however, always afford an agreeable climate.

The South-west monsoon proper or wet season continues from June to September, and is characterised by clouded skies, high humidity, copious

rain and absence of thunder-storms. Sometimes the monsoon commences towards the end of May and the regular rains are ushered in by thunder and lightning. Till the end of August the rains are very heavy and by September the rainfall becomes much lighter.

The retreating South-west monsoon period includes the months of October and November. Its chief feature is rain diminishing in amount with the advance of the season. The rains are, as a rule, preceded by thunder-storms of greater or less intensity. But the greater part of the rain registered in Travancore is brought by the S. W. monsoon. The amount varies considerably, being least in South Travancore, but gradually increasing along the sea-board to its northern limit. Towards the end of October, the N. E. monsoon begins and all through the month of November, a heavy shower is experienced in the afternoons though the mornings are generally fine.

By the beginning of December, the rains become less frequent and the country begins to dry up; by the end of December, the dry weather is fairly begun. Dewfall begins at nights in November and lasts till February. The sudden changes in the temperature of this season, from intense heat in the day to excessive cold in the night, often generate and foster the development of the epidemics, especially cholera. The land winds that prevail in the months of November, December and January produce many unpleasant ailments such as rheumatism, coughs, disordered stomach and pains all over the body. Jungle fever prevails near the foot of the hills; the moist heat at this part of the year is very depressing and is the cause of the above mentioned disorders.

Temperature*—DIURNAL VARIATION. In Trivandrum, the mean epoch of minimum temperature occurs at 4-51 A. M. on the average of the whole year. Thence the temperature goes on increasing till it agrees exactly with the mean temperature of the day at 8-16 A. M. and attains its maximum at 1-34 P. M. Thenceforward the temperature goes on decreasing till it is once more identical with the mean of day at 6-58 P. M. and finally reaches its minimum again at 4-51 A. M. The following table exhibits the diurnal oscillation of temperature at Trivandrum during the four seasons and for the whole year :—

* For the account of temperature, rainfall, winds, storms and earthquakes, I am indebted to Mr. Velu Pillai, Head Assistant of the Trivandrum Observatory.

TABLE III.

Season.	Mean temperature.	Diurnal range.	Variation from mean of day of		Mean epoch of		Epoch of zero variation from mean of day.	
			Minimum.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Maximum.	A. M.	P. M.
					A. M. h. m.	P. M. h. m.	h. m.	h. m.
Dry	77·0	13·9	—6·8	+7·2	5-5	2-12	8-34	7-33
Warm	80·3	11·2	—5·2	+5·9	4-47	1-27	8-11	6-54
South-west monsoon ...	77·0	8·3	—3·6	+4·5	4-47	1-26	8- 6	6-39
Retreating south-west monsoon ...	77·0	10·2	—4·7	+5·5	4-40	0-46	8- 3	6-41
Year... ...	77·8	10·7	—5·1	+5·6	4-51	1-34	8-16	6-58

ANNUAL VARIATION. Temperature increases with fair regularity from the middle of December to the beginning of April. It then falls, at first very slowly in April and May and then slightly more rapidly in June and the first half of July, to a secondary minimum in July (76·3°) on the 13th, differing only by 0.08° from the absolute minimum on the 16th and 17th of December.

During the remainder of the year, the mean daily temperature ranges irregularly within narrow limits (between 76·2° and 77·5°), indicating that the normal seasonal changes of temperature of this period are very small compared with the variations due to local and occasional actions or causes, such as rainfall &c. The chief feature of the progression of temperature during this period, however, appears to be that it increases slightly and somewhat irregularly from the 13th of July (76·3°) to the 28th of September (77·5°) and thence decreases with approximate regularity to the 15th of December. The following table gives, in brief, data of the chief maximum and minimum epochs of the variation of temperature during the year.

TABLE IV.

Epoch.	Character of phase.	Normal daily temperature on date.
		°
16th and 17th of December ...	Absolute minimum ...	76·21
2nd and 3rd of April ...	Absolute maximum ...	81·01
13th of July	Secondary minimum ...	76·29
27th and 28th of September...	Secondary maximum ...	77·46

It may be observed that the average or normal daily temperature is above the mean of the year for only 115 days, *i. e.*, from the 15th of February to the 9th of June and is below it during the remainder of the year. The mean diurnal range of temperature for the 12 months and for the year is given below :—

TABLE V.

Months.	Range.	Months.	Range.
	°		°
January ...	15·2	July ...	9·0
February ...	15·4	August ...	9·6
March ...	14·2	September ...	9·8
April ...	12·4	October ...	10·4
May ...	10·4	November ...	11·8
June ...	9·5	December ...	13·5
		Year ...	11·8

Table VI gives the mean actual daily and monthly temperatures at Trivandrum derived from the series of observations taken during the period 1856-1864, and Table VII gives the mean hourly temperatures for each month and for the whole year.

TABLE VI.

Date.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.
	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1	76·99	77·20	79·73	80·48	80·34	78·14	76 75	76·49	77·15	77·26	77·55	77·04
2	75·98	77·67	79·51	81·36	81·14	77·74	76.79	77·15	76·71	77·64	76·85	76·56
3	76·18	76·98	80·34	80·64	80·63	78·09	77·38	76·76	76·80	78·07	76·88	76·44
4	75·73	77·15	80·20	81·31	80·80	78·46	77·29	77·22	76·36	77·32	76·33	76·50
5	75·88	77·08	80·01	80·62	80·81	79·02	77·45	76·94	76·67	77·14	76·51	76·53
6	76·07	77·38	80·07	80·32	80·09	78·25	76·74	76·54	76·60	77·01	76 09	76·91
7	75·93	77·45	80·30	80·65	80·33	77·32	76.71	76·70	76·89	77·16	76·80	76·41
8	76·00	77·30	80·40	81·34	80·65	77·57	76·21	76·53	76·85	77·21	77·38	75·60
9	76·69	77·44	80·43	81·41	80·75	78·09	76·03	77·14	76·21	77·64	77·79	76.37
10	77·50	76·87	79·75	80·57	80·64	78·10	75·95	77·10	76·68	77.34	77·78	76·02
11	77·12	77·22	79·94	80·69	80·97	76·97	75·17	76·31	76·97	77·66	77·65	75·76
12	77·19	77·13	80·53	81·10	80·58	77·54	75·13	76·46	77·01	77·66	77·99	76·31
13	76·96	77·51	79·95	80·78	80·38	76·90	74·75	76·49	77·28	77·31	77·88	76·31
14	76·21	77·77	80·15	80·97	81·04	77·75	76·52	76·74	77·29	77·11	77·69	76·34
15	76·45	77·68	80·73	80·94	80·08	77.64	76·30	76·37	76.92	77·07	77·28	76·49
16	77·04	78·28	79.61	80·91	80·70	78·40	76·73	77·39	76·16	77·14	77·54	76·55
17	77·01	78·11	79·98	80·70	81·12	76·71	77·37	76·28	76·84	76·96	76·36	76·24
18	76·65	78·09	79·98	81·01	80·23	77·18	76·41	76·31	76·33	76·42	76·05	75·65
19	76·47	77·77	79·48	80·95	79·45	77·54	76·78	76·18	77·02	76·04	75·93	76·29
20	76·04	78·37	79·82	80·07	78·39	77·54	77·49	76·24	77·41	75·54	76·26	76·86
21	76·18	78·96	79·63	80·67	79·35	77.40	76·94	76·06	77·43	76·05	76·39	76·33
22	75·96	78·74	80·15	80·63	78·55	77·81	76·75	76·76	77·75	76·08	77·24	75·75
23	76·21	79·47	80·29	80·95	79·24	77·80	76·88	76·42	77·55	75·59	77·62	75.96
24	76·70	78·95	80·55	81·70	79·96	77.59	76·92	76·95	77·48	75·81	76·89	75·97
25	76·04	78·54	80·42	79·28	78·74	76.93	76·93	76·99	77·42	76·71	76·98	76·40
26	76·11	78·34	80·90	80·49	79·26	75·71	77·19	76·86	77·67	76·39	76·95	76·70
27	76·66	78·99	81·41	79·46	79·36	76·82	77·13	77·26	77·56	76·86	76·47	77·27
28	76·45	79·93	81·12	80·19	79·34	77·45	76·93	77·07	76·81	77·28	76·93	76·93
29	76·53	—	81·52	79·84	78·76	77 53	77·34	76·95	77·47	77·12	77·65	76·95
30	76·88	—	81·81	80·56	78·77	76·41	76·78	76·80	77·57	77·03	77·17	76·60
31	77·65	—	81·13	—	79·47	—	76·70	76·37	—	77·60	—	76·77
Mean	76·50	78·02	80·32	80·69	80·00	77·55	76·66	76·70	77·03	76·94	77·03	76·41

TABLE VII.

Hours.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Year.
	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°
Mid-night	72·57	74·28	76·74	77·50	77·27	75·03	74·22	74·06	74·28	74·05	74·13	72·61	74·73
1	71·83	73·49	76·17	77·19	77·04	74·87	74·04	73·94	74·04	73·79	73·78	72·10	74·35
2	71·22	72·78	75·67	76·89	76·79	74·70	73·86	73·67	73·83	73·55	73·41	71·70	74·01
3	70·60	72·02	75·06	76·47	76·43	74·43	73·57	73·41	73·52	73·22	72·91	71·19	73·57
4	69·92	71·23	74·33	76·01	76·05	74·10	73·24	73·08	73·13	72·87	72·39	70·58	73·07
5	69·30	70·74	73·89	75·90	76·03	74·02	73·12	72·93	73·00	72·79	72·24	70·24	72·87
6	69·94	71·16	74·40	76·61	76·75	74·53	73·58	73·36	73·54	73·41	72·97	70·80	73·42
7	71·67	72·91	76·22	78·34	78·30	75·78	74·77	74·56	74·95	74·90	74·72	72·56	74·98
8	74·54	75·81	79·11	80·81	80·32	77·52	76·47	76·35	76·98	77·01	77·16	75·26	77·28
9	77·79	79·13	82·21	83·33	82·24	79·25	78·21	78·25	79·06	79·16	79·60	78·11	79·69
10	80·53	81·95	84·68	85·27	83·62	80·54	79·53	79·76	80·64	80·82	81·44	80·33	81·59
11	82·30	83·79	86·14	86·39	84·42	81·28	80·29	80·69	81·54	81·74	82·51	81·64	82·73
Noon	83·24	84·72	86·80	86·86	84·87	81·65	80·66	81·17	81·90	82·06	83·00	82·30	83·27
13	83·75	85·17	87·09	86·98	85·13	81·87	80·84	81·37	81·99	82·02	83·17	82·68	83·51
14	84·06	85·37	87·17	86·82	85·17	81·93	80·88	81·32	81·85	81·73	83·06	82·88	83·52
15	83·96	85·18	86·85	86·25	84·76	81·64	80·60	80·90	81·36	81·11	82·52	82·64	83·15
16	83·12	84·30	85·85	85·13	83·80	80·84	79·87	79·99	80·40	80·11	81·42	81·67	82·20
17	81·49	82·69	84·20	83·56	82·45	79·62	78·73	78·71	79·07	78·83	79·91	80·02	80·77
18	79·44	80·70	82·33	81·89	81·09	78·30	77·47	77·40	77·72	77·55	78·37	78·15	79·20
19	77·55	78·86	80·73	80·50	80·01	77·19	76·40	76·36	76·65	76·53	77·14	76·58	77·88
20	76·14	77·53	79·04	79·56	79·25	76·45	75·68	75·68	75·96	75·84	76·31	75·51	76·96
21	75·18	76·65	78·00	78·92	78·68	75·98	75·20	75·22	75·50	75·34	75·71	74·77	76·34
22	74·35	75·92	78·21	78·40	78·13	75·60	74·83	74·81	75·08	74·88	75·15	74·06	75·78
23	73·46	75·13	77·45	77·91	77·64	75·28	74·50	74·40	74·64	74·43	74·60	73·30	75·22

The following table gives the data for the diurnal variation of the amount of vapour present in the air and also for the diurnal variation of humidity for each of the four seasons of the year and the average for the year in Trivandrum :—

TABLE VIII.

Hour.	Cold weather-December to February.			Hot weather-March to May.			S. W. Monsoon-June to September.			Retreating S. W. Monsoon October and November.			Year.	
	Vapour pressure.	Grains of vapour in cubic foot of air.	Relative humidity.	Vapour pressure.	Grains of vapour in cubic foot of air.	Relative humidity.	Vapour pressure.	Grains of vapour in cubic foot of air.	Relative humidity.	Vapour pressure.	Grains of vapour in cubic foot of air.	Relative humidity.	Vapour pressure.	Relative humidity.
0	·701	7·54	86·1	·825	8·80	88·9	·799	8·58	94·0	·786	8·44	94·0	·779	90·5
1	·695	7·48	87·1	·8	8·78	89·7	·796	8·54	94·3	·781	8·39	94·4	·776	91·2
2	·685	7·38	87.5	·817	8·73	90·1	·792	8·51	94·5	·773	8·31	94·5	·769	91·5
3	·668	7·22	87·5	·810	8·67	90·8	·787	8·46	94·7	·764	8·28	94·8	·759	91·8
4	·652	7·05	87·4	·803	8·59	91·6	·781	8·40	95·1	·756	8·14	95·1	·751	92·2
5	·641	6·94	87·0	·801	8·58	91·8	·779	8·38	95·1	·753	8·11	94·9	·746	92·1
6	·640	6·92	85·2	·804	8·60	90·1	·780	8·38	93·7	·756	8·13	93·2	·747	90·4
7	·646	6·96	81·1	·	8·60	85·7	·784	8·40	90·4	·762	8·18	89·2	·752	86·5
8	·653	7·00	74·9	·806	8·55	79·2	·787	8·40	85·5	·769	8·22	83·6	·756	80·8
9	·657	6·99	68·0	·802	8·48	72·6	·788	8·39	80·6	·775	8·24	78·9	·757	74·9
10	·657	6·96	62·4	·798	8·40	67·8	·788	8·37	76·9	·778	8·25	73·9	·757	70·4
11	·657	6·94	59·2	·798	8·38	65·6	·789	8·37	75·0	·781	8·27	71·9	·758	68·0
12	·662	6·98	58·2	·802	8·42	65·1	·790	8·37	74·2	·783	8·28	71·3	·761	67·3
13	·672	7·08	58·3	·810	8·50	65·3	·791	8·38	73·9	·786	8·31	71·4	·765	67·3
14	·684	7·21	58·8	·814	8·54	65·6	·790	8·37	73·8	·787	8·32	71·9	·769	67·5
15	·694	7·31	59·9	·817	8·58	65·6	·788	8·35	74·5	·788	8·34	73·4	·772	68·5
16	·702	7·42	62·4	·819	8·62	69·0	·789	8·38	76·6	·791	8·39	76·1	·776	70·9
17	·711	7·54	66·7	·824	8·70	72·9	·793	8·34	80·2	·796	8·46	80·3	·781	74·8
18	·720	7·66	72·0	·830	8·79	77·4	·800	8·53	84·5	·803	8·56	84·7	·789	79·5
19	·728	7·77	76·9	·836	8·87	81·2	·807	8·61	88·1	·808	8·63	88·3	·795	83·5
20	·730	7·81	80·3	·838	8·91	83·7	·810	8·67	90·5	·808	8·64	90·4	·797	86·1
21	·726	7·77	82·2	·835	8·88	85·3	·809	8·66	91·8	·803	8·59	91·6	·794	87·6
22	·717	7·70	83·5	·830	8·84	86·5	·805	8·62	92·6	·797	8·55	92·4	·788	88·6
23	·708	7·61	84·8	·827	8·81	87·8	·801	8·59	93·3	·791	8·49	93·3	·783	89·6

Rainfall. The territorial distribution of rainfall in Travancore exhibits two well-defined characteristics. One is the gradual diminution of rainfall from Parur to Cape Comorin, and the other the gradual increase of the fall proceeding from the coast towards the mountains. Besides, it is also true that up to a certain height the rainfall over the mountains gradually increases in amount. Considering the variation of the mean annual rainfall, Travancore may be divided into three narrow belts, namely, (1) the littoral or the lowland, (2) the submontane or the central and (3) the mountainous or the upland belt. The littoral belt has an average annual rainfall of 67·6 inches, the submontane 92·9 inches and the mountainous or the upland 110·1 inches. Thus it is seen that the amount of the precipitation of vapour increases from the coast towards the ghauts, the weight of the fall over the mountains being a little less than twice the weight of the fall near the coast.

The S. W. monsoon winds blowing over the Arabian sea take a north-westerly bend before they come into contact with the coast lands of Malabar and are felt as north-north-westerly to west-north-westerly winds in Travancore. The direction of the wind partly depends upon the trend of the coast-line, and the rainfall will depend on the angle which the monsoon currents make with the ghauts. It is not improbable that the maximum of precipitation occurs at the place of incidence of the monsoon current on the Malabar coast, which may vary in position from year to year. The law of the variation of rainfall along the coast is one of gradual decrease from this point, as the current reaches nearer and nearer to the Cape. A slight variation from this rule resulting in a diminution of the amount of rainfall at Shertallay, Kartikapalli and Karunagapalli is also perceptible, but it is difficult to offer an explanation for this diminution. The mean annual rainfall at some important stations on the coast is given below:—

	Inches.		Inches.
Parur	117·2	Chirayinkil ...	66·9
Shertallay	93·2	Trivandrum ...	64·7
Alleppey	114·2	Neyyattinkara ...	59·4
Ampalapuzha ...	91·2	Rajakamangalam	44·1
Kartikapalli ...	83·7	Tamarakulam ...	38·1
Karunagapalli ...	77·8	Variyur ...	32·6
Quilon	91·1		

The mean falls of the four Administrative Divisions are as follow:—

	Inches.
Kottayam	115·1
Quilon	90·3
Trivandrum	69·8
Padmanabhapuram ...	38·4

The Kottayam Division receives three times as much rain as the Padmanabhapuram Division, while Trivandrum has nearly 77% of what Quilon receives. Though the most favoured locality in Travancore as regards rainfall is apparently the Cardamom Hills, data are wanting to corroborate the belief. Of individual stations, Peermade has the greatest rainfall averaging to 198·4 inches annually. Todupuzha has the next greatest amount, viz., 145·2 inches. The least recorded fall is seen at Aramboly where it averages to 29·1 inches.

Annual variation.—The annual variation of rainfall in Travancore follows a regular curve that has two maxima and two minima. The absolute maximum and minimum occur in June and January respectively, while the secondary maximum and minimum fall respectively in October and September. The least amount of rainfall is received in the month of January. Precipitation then goes on moderately increasing till the commencement of the S. W. monsoon, which takes place generally about the last week of May. June is preeminently the month of maximum rainfall throughout Travancore. Then a slight diminution takes place in the amount of the rainfall received in the several stations during the months of July and August, and the secondary minimum is arrived at in the month of September. There is a sudden increase in the amount of rainfall in the month of October. This rain is locally known as *Thulavarsham*. The fall then decreases slowly in the month of November and rapidly through December and January, which last is the driest month of the year. More than 87% of the annual rainfall is received during the prevalence of the S. W. monsoon, viz., from May to November.

Periods of deficient rainfall.—As for periods of deficient rainfall, it is on record that the year 1860 was a year of famine in South Travancore. The rainfalls in Trivandrum for 1855 and 1870 also indicate years of scarcity. Beyond this, it is impossible to accurately determine the years of deficient rainfall before 1885, as it was only from that year that an extensive system of rainfall observations was begun. During the year 1884, however, rainfall records were received from 13 stations,

and the amount of rainfall in all of them was far below the normal, the actual amount in one of them being 64% less than the normal. In 1886 and 1890 the fall was below the normal at 27 and 30 stations respectively out of the 36 stations at which rainfall was gauged. At the stations at which the rainfall was below the normal, the deficiency was 28% of the normal in 1886 and 23% of the normal in 1890. In 1894 and 1895 the rainfall was below the normal by 518·25 and 565·37 inches respectively i. e., by 17·0% and 18·6% of the normal. Out of the 36 stations, 30 stations in 1894 and 31 stations in 1895 had rain below the normal. In the years 1892 and 1893, a considerable deficiency in the amount of rainfall seems to have taken place in the Padmanabhapuram Division alone. The actual amounts received were 65·6% of the normal in 1892 and 53·3% in 1893. Thus it may be inferred with a fair degree of accuracy that the years 1886 and 1890 were years of deficient rainfall throughout Travancore. The biennial period of 1894 and 1895 must also have been more than usually dry throughout Travancore. The years 1892 and 1893 seem to be years of drought in South Travancore though the intensity of the drought may have been feeble.

A table giving the mean monthly and annual rainfall at 36 stations in Travancore is given below:—

TABLE IX.

Stations.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Total.
	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.
Parur †	0·04	0·37	1·55	4·27	9·37	34·88	24·71	14·49	8·82	12·77	4·81	1·16	117·24
Alangad	0·02	0·37	0·70	1·94	4·54	23·08	20·41	9·49	3·26	7·17	2·83	0·49	74.30
Kunnatnad	0·10	0·61	0·87	2·97	3·91	18·73	20·52	9·96	5·26	6·62	5·12	0·98	75·65
Muvattupuzha *	0·32	0·49	1·71	6·79	7·61	28·06	27·31	16·11	9·48	15·71	7·59	1·85	123·03
Todupuzha	0·18	1·35	2·63	10·06	10·33	31·00	30·75	19·82	12·31	18·03	7·23	1·53	145·22
Vaikam ...	0·25	0·54	1·27	3·33	8·09	24·98	17·28	8·53	6·07	9·87	3·73	1·37	85·31
Shertal'ay ...	0·25	0·73	1·27	3·61	8·97	25·38	20·39	9·37	5·50	10,65	5·28	1·83	93·23
Ettumanur ...	0·27	0·41	1·60	7·43	8·98	31·91	23·82	12·09	5·54	10·50	5·83	1·74	110·12
Minachil *	0·60	1·45	4·31	10·53	11·83	28·34	26·28	17·21	9·93	17·69	8·54	2·98	139·69
Kottayam ...	0·33	0·39	2·77	5·85	9·46	26·97	20·95	12·86	7·90	14·12	6·21	2·52	110·33
Peermade ‡	0·39	1·18	2·60	7·37	11·06	46·02	47·20	33·70	17·48	22·23	7·55	1·66	198·44
Changanachery ...	0·26	0·67	2·68	6·79	9·67	25·98	19·38	10·51	7·09	16·30	6·83	3·17	109·33
Alleppey ‡	0·69	1·08	2·30	6·03	11·09	26·60	19·85	10·61	7·53	16·26	9·32	2·86	114·22
Ampalapuzha ...	0·37	0·71	2·32	5·60	7·85	19·84	15·43	8·67	8·18	14·57	5·84	1·84	91·22
Tiruvalla *	0·17	0·76	1·61	4·77	8·43	24·53	18·30	8·76	6·66	10·48	5·20	1·80	91·47
Chengannur ...	0·44	0·98	3·33	7·17	8·93	23·94	16·53	9·81	7·78	13·35	6·97	2·37	101.60
Kartikapalli ...	0·02	0·64	1·47	3·66	7·75	21·30	14·52	7·56	5·39	13·22	6·05	2·09	83·67
Mavelikara *	0·16	0·74	1·16	5·13	7·57	23·64	18·31	10·56	7·27	15·38	7·42	2·33	99·67
Karunagapalli ...	0·19	1·11	1·30	4·32	6·88	18·43	12·63	6·31	6·69	13·16	5·10	1·67	77·79
Kunnattur ...	1·33	1·33	2·02	7·27	7·78	21·06	15·65	8·83	6·60	13·27	5·88	2·15	92·17
Shencottah ‡	0·28	1·61	2·29	3·48	1·35	5·99	4·78	2·18	1·49	6·29	7·31	3·38	41·43
Pattanapuram ...	0·56	1·90	3·22	8·13	8·41	20·39	15·85	9·88	7·33	15·45	7·86	2·14	101·12
Kottarakara ..	0·23	1·57	2·92	8·86	7·70	23·17	14·04	8·35	6·68	14·88	7·31	1·87	97·58
Quilon ‡	0·34	0·90	1·94	5·64	9·91	19·27	12·97	8·49	6·55	16·33	7·12	1·69	91·15
Chirayinkil ...	0·49	0·83	1·08	4·00	5·78	18·24	9·95	4·24	3·73	11·81	5·39	1·39	66·93
Nedumangad ...	0·68	1·62	2·14	8·50	8·30	18·43	9·51	5·26	5·58	15·06	9·91	3·43	88·42
Trivandrum ‡	0·50	0·72	1·37	4·65	6·99	13·28	6·73	4·29	3·38	12·20	6·02	2·71	62·84
Neyyattinkara ...	0·62	0·62	1·52	5·10	6·34	12·70	6·04	2·76	2·42	11·38	7·06	2·88	59·44
Vilavankod ...	0·22	0·57	1·14	3·05	2·81	7·49	3·05	1·29	1·47	8·07	5·23	1·65	36·04
Padmanabhapuram ‡	0·86	1·11	1·88	5·74	4·02	8·85	3·61	1·88	1·94	10·78	8·57	2·73	51·97
Eraniel ...	0·27	0·50	0·98	3·38	2·40	7·14	2·11	0·94	1·29	6·57	5·71	1·62	32·91
Rajakamangalam ‡	0·93	0·43	1·71	3·91	2·88	8·53	2·88	2·03	1·60	9·55	6·98	2·63	44·06
Agastisvaram ...	0·82	0·70	1·37	3·56	1·70	6·20	2·31	1·42	0·94	8·57	7·16	2·86	37·61
Tamarakulam ...	0·72	0·37	1·78	3·04	1·37	6·15	2·09	1·45	1·22	9·89	6·76	3·27	38·11
Variyur ...	0·95	0·37	1·56	3·06	0·94	5·12	1·60	0·94	0·59	7·15	7·56	2·74	32·58
Aramboly ‡	0·83	0·55	1·27	3·11	0·87	3·72	1·65	0·78	0·93	6·90	6·33	2·21	29·15

N. B. ‡ The mean of these stations is derived from 20 years' observations (1883—1902).
* Do. Do. Do. 19 Do. Do. (1884—1902).

Wind. About the general character of the air movement at Trivandrum, Mr. J. Elliot writes* :—

"During the period from November to April when north-east winds generally obtain in the south and centre of the Bay (of Bengal) and the air movement is continued across the Deccan, Mysore and South Madras as north-easterly to easterly winds, Trevandrum is sheltered by the high Travancore hills from these winds. The air motion at Trevandrum during this period consists of an alternating movement between land and sea (*i. e.*, land and sea-breezes) and of a feeble general movement from directions between north and west common to the Konkan and Malabar coasts at this period. The direction of the movement is apparently determined in part at least by the trend of the coast. During the remainder of the year, from about the middle of May to November, South-west monsoon winds of greater or less intensity prevail in the Arabian sea. They usually set in on the Travancore coast in the last week of May. They have their greatest extension and also the greatest intensity in the months of July and August. They begin to fall off in strength in September and continue to decrease in intensity in the south of the Arabian Sea in October and November, but withdraw gradually during these months from the north and centre of the sea area, being replaced by light variable winds. During the period of the full extension of the South-west monsoon over the north of the Arabian sea into upper India in July and August, the current in the south-east between the Laccadives and Maladives and the Malabar coast not only falls off to some extent, but in the lower strata instead of rising directly and surmounting the Travancore hills it tends to be deflected towards the south by these hills and to pass south-eastwards along the coast and join that part of the current which passes to the south of Ceylon and enters the Bay. There is hence a slight northerly shift of the winds on the Malabar coast from the beginning to the middle of the South-West monsoon."*

Variation of wind velocity. The annual variation in the strength of the winds in the south and centre of the Arabian sea is reflected in the winds at Trivandrum. The air movement is least at Trivandrum in December, or at the end of the S. W. monsoon. It increases slightly during the next three months and rapidly from April to July and is absolutely greatest in August. It falls off very rapidly in October and November attaining the minimum in December.

The diurnal variation of velocity differs considerably in character at different seasons of the year. From November to April it is determined by the alternating movement of the sea and land breezes. There are hence during this period two maxima and two minima, the former corresponding with the greatest intensity of the land and sea breezes, and the latter with the average of the shift from one to the other which, of course, varies considerably from day to day. The day maximum of the sea-breeze is very strongly exhibited as is also the evening minimum. The morning maximum and minimum of the land-breeze are, as might be expected, less marked than the corresponding phases of the sea-breeze, but are clearly shown. They are most

* Indian Meteorological Memoirs; Part I., Vol. X.

pronounced in December, January and February; and it is hence in these months that the land and sea breezes are probably most prominent and form the chief feature of the air movement. The land winds are strongest at about a little after sunrise and the sea-breeze at 2 P. M. or at nearly the same instant as the maximum of temperature. The morning minimum is accelerated as the season advances, whilst the evening minimum is retarded. The effect of the increasing temperature from January to April is hence to lengthen the period of the sea-breezes and diminish that of the land-breezes (by a total amount of 5 hours) between January and April. The diurnal variation during the remainder of the year, May to October, consists of a single oscillation, the maximum velocity occurring from about 2 P. M. and the minimum shortly after midnight. The ratio of the maximum to the minimum velocity in the diurnal variation is fairly constant throughout the period.

The following is a picturesque description of the setting in of the monsoon in Travancore by Mr. J. A. Broun F. R. S., a late Director of the Trivandrum Observatory:—

"There is no place in India where the magnificent phenomena which precedes the bursting of the monsoon can be seen and studied with more ease than on the Agustia Peak. For a month or more before the final crash of the tempest, the whole operations of the great atmospheric laboratory are developed at our feet, while the summit of the mountain itself is rarely visited by the storms which rage over its western flanks. In the morning, chains of finely formed cumuli seem to rest over the sea horizons of Malabar and Coromandel. Frequently it is evident that what appears a serried file of cloud masses is only cumuli irregularly distributed over the country; their shadows, projected near noon, spot and chequer the plains and the undulating country below from sea to mountain. Early in the morning the vapours begin to rise near the western precipices; the cloud accumulates and seeks to pass by the lowest *cols* into the eastern valleys; it seems opposed by a repulsive influence, for no breath of air is felt; it ascends at last, after noon, in mighty masses crowned with cirrous clouds which spread eastwards like an immense parasol over our heads. Then the lightning begins to play, darting in varied and ramiform circuits from cloud to cloud; the thunder rolls, at first in sharp separate crashes, and at last continuously; the rain is heard drenching the forests below. After an hour, or several hours, according to the distance from the monsoon, the clouds quit the mountains, move more westwards, and then disappear; the sun shines out again over the western sea, assuming before setting the most fantastic forms; the stars sparkle in all their beauty, and the morning again appears with its chains of clouds on the horizon. As the time for the monsoon draws near, the cloud masses seek with more and more energy to pass the mountains eastwards; sometimes two such masses present themselves,—one creeping up an eastern valley, the other entering the *col* from the west. Nothing can be more interesting than to watch this combat of the vapours. Day by day the western clouds enter a little farther; at last they come driven on by a giant force,—rise to the tops of the mountains, and pour over their walls into the eastern hollows, like the steam from a great caldron; they plunge first downwards Niagaras of cloud,

and then as they curl upwards, they disappear, absorbed in the hotter eastern air. The storm, with deluges of rain, sweeps over the mountain, and the monsoon reigns over the low lands of Malabar."*

Storms. The storms that usually frequent the Indian Peninsula and the adjacent seas belong to the class called "Cyclones". In a cyclone, the wind blows in spiral curves, more or less circular in form, round a centre of low pressure, increasing in force as it approaches the centre. The whole cyclone thus constituted, besides turning round a focus, has a straight or curved motion forwards, so that, like a great whirlwind, it is both turning round, and, as it were, rolling forwards at the same time.

It is an important feature of the climatology of Travancore that it is mostly free from the track of storms of any kind. The chief causes that contribute towards this end are its geographical position and its natural features providing it with a mighty wall of mountains on its eastern border. It is well known that the immediate vicinity of the Equator is never frequented by cyclones. According to Mr. Elliot, Lat. 8° N. appears to be the boundary line to the south of which cyclonic storms are seldom or never generated. Further, cyclones do not form so generally on land as over sea area,and Travancore is effectively protected by its mountains from the few storms that, having originated in the Bay of Bengal, enter the Arabian sea across the Peninsula. Mr. Elliot says:— "It is probable that it is only storms which extend to an exceptional height into the upper atmosphere which surmount this obstacle.....It may be taken as generally true that any storm crossing the Peninsula into the Arabian sea, no matter what its original or subsequent intensity, will have relatively little influence on the weather over the narrow strip of land intervening between the Ghauts and the Arabian sea or over the sea adjacent to the west coast of the Peninsula." This is because of the circumstance that on the storm encountering the Ghauts, the whole of the lower circulation is broken up, and the descent subsequently effected is carried out slowly, not by the sudden and abrupt descent of the disturbance, but by a gradual downward extension of the cyclonic motion into the unaffected surface strata of the air. Hence it is not till the cyclone has advanced to some distance from the coast-line that the full effects of the phenomenon are experienced, and that the storm becomes fully recognisable. Thus the occurrences of storms in Travancore are few and far between. Besides, it is only a heavy torrential rain accompanied by a

* Trevandrum Magnetical Observations, Vol. I.

barometric depression that is often felt on land as the effect of the passage of many a cyclone through the Arabian sea near the Travancore coast.

Two instances can, however, be traced of severe storms that have been felt in Travancore, one in April 1779 and the other in December 1845. About the middle of April 1779 a hurricane was felt off Anjengo in which the East India Company's ship *Cruiser* was lost. At the close of November 1845, a cyclonic storm was formed over the Bay of Bengal, which passed across the Indian Peninsula and travelled north-westward into the Arabian sea. That this storm raged throughout Travancore can be inferred from the following excerpts:—

TRIVANDRUM.— The wind blew very strongly at 1 A. M. of the 3rd December, and a violent gale lasted from 2-30 A. M. to 3 A. M. The wind then abated for half an hour after which it recommenced with greater violence than ever, and continued till about day-break. Three inches of rain fell during the second. The barometer fell three-tenths of an inch between 8 A. M. on the 2nd and 2 A. M. on the 3rd, while it rose upwards of 0·3 inch during the next 7 hours. The barometric readings at Trivandrum during the passage of the storm are given below.

November	29th	...	...	29·930
,,	30th	...	...	29·864
December	1st	...	...	29·844
,,	2nd	...	...	29·960
,,	3rd	...	...	29·990
,,	4th	...	...	29·928
,,	5th	...	...	29·854
,,	6th	...	...	29·822

QUILON.— The Master Attendant wrote:— "The gale commenced at 10 P. M. of the 2nd and continued till 7 A. M. 3rd."

ALLEPPEY.— The Master Attendant wrote:— "A gale of wind with rain commenced about midnight, 2nd, and continued till day-light, 3rd, when it blew a hurricane."

Mr. Bailey wrote to General Cullen from Kottayam:—"We were visited at Kottayam, on the morning of the 3rd instant by the same gale of wind to which you refer. Many trees were blown down, or rather broken off near the roots. A good many tiles were blown off the roof of our printing office. Many persons had very narrow escapes, and three individuals at some distance from us lost their lives, and it is supposed many more."

Earthquakes. Earthquake shocks of greater or less intensity have passed through some portion or other of the Travancore territory on the following dates:—

1.		February	1823
2.	19th	September	1841
3.	23rd	November	1845
4.	11th	August	1856
5.	22nd	August	1856
6.	1st	September	1856
7.	10th	November	1859
8.	8th	February	1900
9.	28th	May	1903

A short account of the occurrence of each of these earthquakes is given below. :—

FEBRUARY 1823. This shock was felt at Palamcottah slightly, and by the Rev. C. Mault at Nagercoil, and, an account of the shock as felt at the latter place was published in the Madras Government Gazette, by Captain Douglas, then stationed at Nagercoil. Nothing further is known of this earthquake.

19TH SEPTEMBER 1841. The shock as felt at Trivandrum seems to have been pretty severe, as the people at church at the time of the shock, immediately left it, fearing that the building might come down on them. The vessel supplying water to the Wet Bulb thermometer in the Observatory was shaken off its stand and broken, and several mud houses were thrown down in the Fort and elsewhere. It began in the east and passed off to the west. This shock was felt throughout South Travancore and at Palamcottah. The time noted at the Trivandrum Observatory was 11 h. 20 m. A. M.

23RD NOVEMBER 1845. Rev. B. Bailey (in a letter to General Cullen dated 8th December 1845) wrote :— " On Sunday the 23rd ultimo (November) we were visited at about 2 o'clock P. M. by a slight shock of earthquake, succeeded by a rumbling noise resembling that of distant thunder...when my house was shaken to the foundation and the whole of the beams and timber gave a sudden crack as if the house rocked east and west. The shock was felt all over Kottayam". This shock does not appear to have been perceived at Trivandrum.

11TH AUGUST 1856. A shock was felt on this date at 5h. 51m. 25 s. A. M. as noted down by the Assistant on watch in the Observatory. The

shock lasted 20 seconds. The magnetic instruments do not seem to have had any vibration or change of mean positions. The shock has also been felt at Parassala, Quilon, Courtallam and Pallam. It was not felt near Cape Comorin nor at Nagercoil and Agastyamala. Mr. Broun considered that the shock must have come from a direction between north and west.

This earthquake was thus described by Mr. Broun in a letter to the *Madras Athenaeum* in 1856:—

"The Assistant in the Trivandrum Observatory having the watch on the morning referred to (11th April 1856), was entering an observation when he heard a low rumbling sound which he thought at first was distant thunder towards the north-east; in about 3 seconds the rafters of the building began to crack, the windows to rattle and a mirror resting on the table to shake; he immediately looked at the clock and found the time 5 h. 51 m. 30s. which allowing for the clock error would give the mean Trivandrum time of the commencement of the sound 5 h. 51 m. 25s. He then went out to look towards the north-east and immediately thereafter the sound ceased with a louder 'boom'; on looking again at the clock the time by it was 5h. 54 m. and he estimated the duration of noise and shock at nearly 20 seconds. He now examined the magnetical instruments, but could perceive neither vibration nor change of mean position. It is not impossible however that the magnets might have had swinging or dancing motions without being remarked by the observer as vibrations round a vertical axis only are noted. An examination by myself since, of the observations made before and after the shock, confirms the fact of the steadiness of all the magnets. The velocity of the winds from north-west was nearly as usual at the same hour; the sky was nine-tenths clouded, the clouds moving from north-west, the temperature of the air was nearly 73°, the maximum temperature of the day being nearly 78°. The shock it seems was felt at Quilon 'about six o'clock' and Mr. Liddell at Charlios Hope near the road between Quilon and Courtallam says, 'we had a smart shock of an earthquake about 10 minutes before six on Monday morning.'

" I was on the summit of our highest mountains, the Agustier Malay (about 30 miles W. N. W. of Trivandrum) on Monday the 11th but did not perceive any shock. The testimony on the whole seems to indicate a southerly and easterly point as the direction of the origin, all agreeing that the sound was heard before the shock was perceived".

22ND AUGUST 1856. The shock was felt at 4 h. 25 m. 10 s. P. M. The magnetic instruments were found dancing up and down with sharp jerks and a brass weight hanging in a closed box was observed by means of a telescope to dance perceptibly 15 m. after the shock. The shock passed from west-north-west to east-south-east. The Bifilar magnetometer vibration at 4 h. 30 m. was 3·0 scale division, whereas at the hours before and after, it was only 0·6 scale division. This shock was also felt at Quilon about 4 h. and 16 m. and at Pallam. No shock was felt at Cochin or at Courtallam, nor to the south of Trivandrum.

1ST SEPTEMBER 1856. The time of the shock was 12 h. 44 m. 58 s. noon*. The direction of the shock as ascertained by a lead weight hung by a silk thread 17 feet long was from N. 30° W. to S. 30° E. The Bifilar magnetometer vibrated through 14·6 scale divisions at 1 h. 30 m. This shock was felt at Cape Comorin, Nagercoil, Neyyur, and the Tinnevelly District. It does not seem to have been felt at any place north of Trivandrum.

10TH NOVEMBER 1859. A shock was felt at 10 h. 31 m. 47 s. A. M. both the Unifilar and the Bifilar magnetometers were observed to dance up and down. The long pendulum referred to above had a slight motion from N. 30° W. to S. 30° E.

8TH FEBRUARY 1900. A pretty severe shock was felt at 2h. 56 m. A. M. On this date the magnetic instruments were not observed. The shock was felt to pass from N. to S.

28TH MAY 1903. A slight shock was felt at 2h. 46m. P. M. The magnetometers were visibly affected, and the Bifilar vibrated through 10·7 scale divisions.

Besides the above, the magnetic instruments in the Observatory have often indicated the occurrence of earthquakes elsewhere but not felt in Travancore. The most important of such indications were those of the shock that passed through the Districts of Madura and Tinnevelly on March 17th 1856 and the famous Calcutta earthquake of 12th June 1897. An examination of the magnetometer observation on the night of the 17th March 1856 at Trivandrum and Agastyamala shows that the shock may have passed the line of the Ghauts and Trivandrum before 11 h. 30 m. P. M. Mr. Broun says, "the time of the night and the little habit the natives have of observing, may partially explain the fact that the shock was not felt at Trivandrum".

* In a letter published at Page 113, Vol. I New series, of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Mr. Broun, the then Government Astronomer gives the time as 15 m. 0 s. after noon.

CHAPTER III.

Flora.

"Righteous Rama, soft-eyed Sita, and the gallant Lakshman stood
In the wilderness of Dandak,—trackless, pathless, boundless wood,
But within its gloomy gorges, dark and deep and known to few,
Humble homes of hermit sages rose before the princes' view.

* * * * *

Creepers threw their clasping tendrils round the trees of ample height,
Stately palm and feathered cocoa, fruit and blossom pleased the sight,
Herds of tame and gentle creatures in the grassy meadow strayed,
Kokils sang in leafy thicket, birds of plumage lit the shade,
Limpid lakes of scented lotus with their fragrance filled the air,
Homes and huts of rustic beauty peeped through bushes green and fair,
Blossoms rich in tint and fragrance in the checkered shadow gleamed,
Clustering fruits of golden beauty in the yellow sunlight beamed!"

Ramayana (R. C. Dutt.).

The special characteristics of Travancore flora are its diversity, beauty and economic value. The peculiar climate of the country, its rich forest soil and the extraordinary rainfall foster the growth of the several species of the indigenous trees and shrubs. From the middle of June to the middle of December the hills and plateaus are filled with rank vegetation and present a rich green appearance. During this period several valleys are impervious to men and some glens are inaccessible even to day-light. Hundreds of shrubs rise in the shade of the gigantic trees and entwine themselves with the climbing creepers that almost cover the trees. The rains cease with the beginning of December and most of these shrubs and creepers probably die before January closes. In the hot months, the dried underwood may be seen burning on all the hill tops. These fires are sometimes caused by excessive heat of the sun but more often by the hill Kanis for purposes of cultivation.

Of the forest trees, the Teak is the most valuable, being fit for all purposes where strength and durability are required. The Poon is found in the less accessible spots and is specially fitted for masts by its height and straightness. The Anjili affords excellent planks which are largely used in house-building. The stately Cotton tree is generally used for boat-making. The Arayanjili and the Caryota yield good fibres specially adapted to the manufacture of cordage and ropes. The Bamboo and the allied reeds are plentiful on the river banks. The wild Mango, the wild Jack, and the black, red and iron wood trees are common everywhere; those yielding gamboge, dragon's blood, *Muttippal* and other

M. E. PRESS.

Forest View, Pallode.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

kinds of aromatic gums are met with amongst the species of resin trees. Travancore seems to be the home of the Palm of which there are at least six species in the forests, two cultivated—the *Borassus flabelliformis* or Palmyra palm and the *Corypha umbraculifera* or the Talipot palm, and four wild—the *Pinanga dichronii, Caryota urens, Bentinckia condapana* and *Arenga wightii.*

The plains are not so thickly wooded and in certain places are bare as in parts of South Travancore, though this part of the country and the adjacent districts of Pandi must have been at one time covered with dense jungle. The low country trees are of the ordinary type and there is a lamentable absence of good fruit trees. The Jack and the Mango, generally of the inferior sort, are met with in every compound and garden. The Palmyra abounds in South Travancore as does the Cocoanut in Central and North Travancore ; the Tamarind is but poorly represented considering the facilities for its growth. The Bamboo is practically unknown in the plains though the banks of rivers and channels afford fine soil for its growth. The avenue trees are chiefly Banyan, Arasu, Poo-arasu, Ichi and Naval interspersed occasionally with the Mango, Jack and Tamarind. There is a large variety of medicinal plants, and those yielding fibres, gums, resins, and dyes, a reference to which will be made later on.

Mr. T. F. Bourdillon, the Conservator of Forests, after commenting on the similarity of the flora of Travancore and Assam thus observes in an interesting article on the Flora of Travancore* :—

"From this it is reasonable to infer that one continuous forest of uniform character stretched from the west coast of India to Assam and Burma, and that the plants now found in the opposite extremes of India are the descendants of a common ancestor. The forests that still remain are the relic and the development of the great forest that covered the continent, and in the interests of science, the preservation of these remains from complete destruction has not come a day too soon."

Of the general characteristics of the Travancore flora, he writes :—

"Undoubtedly the most remarkable feature of the forests of Travancore is the extent and variety of the Flora. Many writers have commented on the small number of the species in temperate and arctic climates as compared with the variety of species in tropical countries from the time that Darwin published his 'Voyage round the world.' Readers of that inimitable work will remember his description of the dark and sodden forests that clothe the Island of Tierra del Fuego, composed of one species of tree only.

"The most recent authority who has referred to the subject is Gamble, in his preface to the new edition of his Manual of Indian Timbers. He there places

* The Malabar Quarterly Review June 1903.

'the limiting number of species in the woody vegetation of India' at 5,000. This includes shrubs and climbers as well as trees. With this he compares the 397 species mentioned in the Forest Flora of France, which includes many quite small plants, and the 134 species mentioned in Hooker's Student's Flora, as occurring in England.

"Now in Travancore more than 600 species of trees are known to occur which attain a height of 20 feet and upwards, excluding climbers and bushes of all sorts, and so little do we know of the trees that inhabit the interior that it is very probable that another 50 to 60 species will be added to the list when all parts of the forests have been explored. We may say that in this State which covers an area of about 7,000 square miles, there are to be found no fewer than 700 kinds of trees or one new kind of tree for every 10 square miles. When it is remembered that about half of the area is open inhabited country, rich in paddy fields and cocoanut topes and watered by numerous lakes and rivers, the variety of species becomes the more remarkable. This variety is due no doubt to differences of elevation from 0—9,000 feet and to differences of aspect and of rainfall, for according to the locality, the rain falls in different months, and the amount varies from 20 inches to 300 during the year. But there is the result, this astonishing wealth of species, surely nowhere equalled in any other part of the world.

"In one respect this great variety of species may be looked on as an advantage, in another as a disadvantage. Among so many hundreds—nay thousands of trees and shrubs and herbs, there might be a large number capable of producing useful products—timber or fruits, gums, oils, or medicines. The field of work is wide— the results to be obtained both useful and interesting. Who will devote himself to the study? And it must be remembered that there is no finality about the work. We may examine one species of tree or plant and decide that it has no properties which will ever be of any use to man, and the timber, the fruit and the resin may be regarded in the present state of our knowledge as worthless. Let us therefore destroy the plant wherever found, to make way for the betters. But next year some chemical discovery may bring to light the fact that this very despised plant has certain properties possessed by no others, such for instance as the peculiar property of dulling the taste of sweet things, possessed by the pretty little creeper *Cymnema sylvestre*. One of the commonest trees in our low country forests is the Charei or Chera, *Holigarna ferruginea*. From its stem, from its leaves and from its fruit issues a blistering juice, of which nothing is known at present except that when it touches the skin of certain persons, the results are swelling and much pain. The immediate conclusion to be arrived at is that such a tree should be exterminated wherever found, for its timber is soft and worthless and is not suitable even for fuel, but who can say that within a dozen years we shall not be asked to collect the acrid juice of this tree as a valuable medical agent? In this way the great variety of our Flora is interesting because it opens up such a wide field for study, and because it foreshadows the great possibilities and the great discoveries yet to be made.

"But from another point of view the variety is a disadvantage. In his report on the Forests of Ceylon written some 20 years ago, Mr. Vincent expressed the opinion that not more than 2 per cent of the species of trees to be found in Ceylon were of any commercial value, and judged by the standard of our present knowledge, the proportion of useful trees in Travancore is very small. There is an unlimited demand for certain timbers, but for others, hardly inferior to the favoured ones, and much appreciated in other parts of India, there is no demand. Who will be so enterprising as to experiment with the despised woods? Many times have we offered them for sale, and praised their good

qualities, but in vain. The ordinary timber merchant will buy the 20 kinds which he knows readily. All the rest are 'Palmaram', useless species to him and only to be consumed as fuel.

"It has often been said that the trees and plants of India have no flowers and that such flowers as they have are without scent, and that except for the mango and the pine-apples there is no fruit worth eating. This by comparison with Europe. But the comparison is hardly fair. The truth is that the wild products of the one continent are as good as those of the other. Our cultivated plants and fruits are indeed vastly inferior to those of Europe, and the reason is not far to seek. They have not been selected and improved in the way that they have been improved in Europe, because the class of market gardeners and florists, and that of wealthy landowners interested in scientific agriculture does not exist in India, but the material from which to evolve the better product is not wanting.

"It is in the spring time that in Europe the earth puts on her garment of beautiful flowers. Our spring time is in September. It is then that the grassy uplands are covered with balsams, with white and pink orchids and yellow stone-crop. Most of the herbaceous plants blossom then, the pleasantest time of the year when the rains have poured their water on the soil, and the air is cool with soft breezes. So far as the wild flowers go, I do not think that Travancore is far behind other countries. We have no primroses or violets with their sweet scent but we have many beautiful orchids and others such as lilies, and amaryllis all awaiting the art of the horticulturist to improve them almost out of recognition.

"As regards fruits, we have the wild Jack and Mango which bear insipid or acid fruit in the wild state. The difference between the wild and the cultivated forms shows what can be done by cultivation. One of our commonest trees in the forests is the Longan—*Nephelium longana*—which in China produces a fruit of great excellence. It is largely exported from that country. The wild fruit is the size of the top of the thumb, round and wrinkled. Its appearance would not lead one to suppose that it could ever be improved into a fruit for the dessert table. The hillmen recognise many other fruits as fit for food even in their wild state. Some of them are not bad eating, and are at least much better than the wild mango. Perhaps the best of these is the fruit of *Clausena willdenovii*—the 'Potti' of the Hillmen, of which Beddome said, it is 'very delicious, as large as a large cherry, succulent as a grape, and somewhat of the flavour of black currant'. The fruit is not unlike a white grape but instead of growing in bunches, 6 or 8 fruits grow along a common stalk. This and many other wild fruits are well worthy of improvement and cultivation but this Clausena in particular. It does not like being moved from the climate and surroundings in which it is generally found.

"The vegetation and Flora of Travancore are of exceptional interest first, because they are the relic and development of flora which was at one time uniform over a large part of India, secondly, because of the extraordinary variety of species occurring within a small area, and thirdly because many of these species have been taken as types of plants with which others from all parts of the world have been compared."

This chapter * is treated under the following heads :—

* The information for this chapter is based on Mr. Bourdillon's exhaustive "Report on the Forests of Travancore" and his "Notes on some of the commoner trees of the Travancore forests", Drury's "Useful plants of India", and Balfour's "Timber trees of India". The draft as originally prepared, from which this one is condensed, has been kindly corrected by Mr. Bourdillon himself.

(1) Valuable timber trees
(2) Trees yielding gums, resins, and dyes
(3) Avenue trees
(4) Cycads and palms
(5) Bamboos and reeds
(6) Fibrous plants
(7) Medicinal plants
(8) Flowering and Ornamental plants

Valuable timber trees. There are nearly 650 indigenous trees in the forests of Travancore. This number includes many species occurring in North India and others peculiar to Ceylon. The uses only of a very few trees are known in Travancore. Others are considered useless and are popularly known as *Palmarangal*. In other parts of India these trees are highly valued. As the trees which are now considered valuable are getting rarer, the latter trees will in future be looked upon by the people as valuable and will be utilized.

1. Teak, Tèkku — *Tectono grandis.*

This is rightly called "the monarch of the woods" as it is the most highly-priced timber under favourable circumstances and is perhaps the most useful of all the timber trees of India. It generally grows to a height of 80 to 100 feet to the first branch with a girth of 22 feet. In Travancore the tree seldom attains a height of more than 50 feet to the fork and a girth of 10 feet. It thrives best with a rainfall of from 120 to 150 inches and in a temperature ranging from 60° to 90° and attains its maturity in from 80 to 100 years and is sometimes found 400 years old. It grows in open forest, wants much room and light and never occurs in heavy moist forest from sea-level up to 8,000 feet elevation. The teak tree is usually found with such trees as *Dalbergia latifolia*, *Pterocarpus marsupium*, *Terminalia paniculata*, *Anogeissus latifolia*, *Schleichera trijuga*, *Gmelina arborea*, *Sterospermum xylocarpum*, *Careya arborea*, *Phyllanthus emblica* and others. It grows best at an elevation of 1,000—2,000 feet. The Idiyara valley has long been celebrated for the quality and size of its teak. Fifty or sixty years must pass after plantation before the tree can yield serviceable timber. The wood is brown in colour and when fresh sawn has the fragrance of rosewood—hard yet light, easily worked, strong and durable though porous. Its strength and durability are well known; for house-building and furniture it is the best of woods.

The Malabar teak is generally esteemed the best. For ship-building purposes, it is superior to every other sort of wood, being

light, strong and durable whether in or out of water and hence it is extensively used for that purpose. A cubic foot of seasoned wood weighs about 40 lbs., that of unseasoned 55 lbs. or more. Burma teak is much lighter and kole teak is heavier. A commercially valuable oil is extracted from the teak wood.

Kole teak is teak occurring in hard and unsuitable soil and hence growing not more than 3 feet in girth. Most of the teak in the low country is kole teak and its wood is close-grained and heavier than the ordinary teak.

2. Malabar Blackwood (Rosewood), Eattie—*Dalbergia latifolia.*

There are two species which yield blackwood, found in Travancore, viz., *D. latifolia* and *D. sissoides*. It attains an enormous size in Malabar and is often crooked. It is one of the most valuable trees of the Travancore forests. It is heavy and close-grained admitting of fine polish and is much used for furniture but seldom for building. The wood is white externally; in the centre of the trunk and the large branches it is purple or purplish black, often mottled or with light coloured veins running in various directions. The tree grows to a height of 60 to 80 feet and requires a temperature slightly cooler than that in which teak thrives, with a rainfall averaging from 50 to 150 inches. In strength it excels teak, but is very scarce and of slow growth, and less adapted for plantation than the teak. It does not seem to prefer any particular soil. It grows in the Travancore hills at an elevation of 0-3,600 feet and prefers a rather higher elevation than teak. One cubic foot of seasoned wood weighs 52 lbs; unseasoned 60 - 66 lbs.

3. Ebony, Karungali — *Diospyros assimilis.*

This is a large tree 80 or 90 feet in height and 6 or 8 feet in girth growing in the Travancore forest at an elevation of 0-2,000 feet. It requires a considerable rainfall, but still it is very sparingly distributed. The heart-wood is black, hard and heavy, and is most valuable. In strength it excels teak. It is not much used as a building material for the simple reason that wood of this kind, more than 6 inches square, is very seldom obtained. When young the wood is white, but as the tree advances in age the black portion increases until at last in the later stages of its growth the black heart is of considerable size. But there is always a large quantity of sap-wood even in old trees. It is used chiefly for ornamental work, furniture, inlaying, mathematical instuments, rulers &c.

The tree is of very slow growth. More than 100 years should elapse

before an ebony tree attains a diameter of 1 foot. It is not suited for plantations. There are nearly 20 other kinds of Diospyros, but none of them have blackwood except *D. ebenum* which is extremely rare. One cubic foot of seasoned wood weighs 81 lbs; unseasoned 90-100 lbs.

4. Sandalwood — *Santalum album.*

This small tree (height never more than 20 feet) grows in the Travancore hills at an elevation of 3,000 feet, and is celebrated for its highly scented and valuable timber. It is very sparingly distributed in Travancore, being found only in the Anchanad valley. Three varieties of sandalwood are known in commerce, the white, the yellow, and the red—the two former coming under *Santalum album* now under notice. The timber is eminently fitted for carving and other ornamental work such as small boxes, walking sticks, pen-holders and other fine articles. From this wood is produced the paste Chandanam which is used by Hindus for their caste marks. A valuable oil is distilled from the wood, 1 pound of the wood yielding about 2 drams of oil. The fragrance increases as the tree advances in age.

This also is a tree of slow growth, reaching its full development in 60 to 100 years, by which time the tree will have a diameter of one foot of heart-wood. It is well adapted for plantations if suitable land is selected, i. e., land with good soil and elevation not less than 1,000 feet and a light rainfall of 20 to 50 inches.

5. Anjili, Ayani — *Artocarpus hirsuta.*

This lofty and handsome tree (height 100-150 feet, girth 16 feet) grows in the Travancore forests at an elevation of 0-3,000 feet. It yields the valuable wood so well known on this coast for house-building, furniture, frame works, boats etc. It grows very rapidly on yellow loam with a rainfall exceeding 60 inches, reaching its maturity in 25 to 40 years. Its wood is bright yellow turning to brown with age, very straight-grained and free from knots and takes a fine polish. The bark yields a brown dye and the fruit is edible. The tree is well suited for plantations. Weight of seasoned wood 42 lbs. a cubic foot; unseasoned 48 lbs.

6. Thambagam—*Hopea parviflora.*

This lofty tree (height 100 feet, girth 15 feet) thrives best in heavy forest at an elevation of from 300 to 3,000 feet. It is also found to some extent along the banks of rivers in the low country. The wood is close-grained, heavy and yellow becoming darker with age. It is used for bridges and buildings of all sorts and occasionally for boats. It stands

exposure when sawn into scantlings but cracks if sawn into thin planks. It is not attacked by white ants.

This tree grows nearly as fast as Anjili but is difficult to raise from seed. It is well suited for plantations.

7. Venga—*Pterocarpus marsupium.*

This is a large and very beautiful tree, especially when in flower at the beginning of the rains (height 80 to 90 feet, girth 10 feet). It yields one of the most abundant and useful timbers, the Venga wood of South India. It is widely diffused and is found in large numbers in the forests of Travancore. It grows best on stiff soil at an elevation of 0-3,000 feet and is found in company with Eattie, Thembavu and other trees. It is found in abundance where teak is scarce. It is a fast grower and attains maturity in about 60 to 80 years and grows to double that age, but is not suited for plantation as it is not gregarious. The timber is as strong as teak, heavier, and less liable to split after long exposure. The colour of the wood is dirty yellow darkening with exposure. It is never used for house-building in Travancore, as, when wet or unseasoned, it imparts a yellow stain and gives out to wet lime a dark rusty brown colour. It is specially useful for fine furniture and resembles fine Mahogany but must be well seasoned to avoid the yellow stain. Seasoned wood weighs 56 lbs. a cubic foot; unseasoned 65-70 lbs.

This tree yields a resinous substance which is exported in large quantities. This is the gum Kino of commerce used largely for dyeing and calico-printing.

8. Thembavu—*Terminalia tomentosa.*

This is another huge tree (height 80 to 120 feet, girth 12 feet) growing in open grass forest at an elevation of 0-3,000 feet in company with blackwood, teak and other trees. Its growth is fairly fast; it reaches maturity in 80-100 years and lives for more than 200 years. The wood is dark brown, hard and heavy, and is much used for house-building. In matured trees, the wood is exceedingly heavy, of the same weight as water and is not easily worked. It is a disappointing timber. Its strength and durability are uncertain or it would be used even more largely than it is. The weight of seasoned wood is 60 lbs. a cubic foot, and that of unseasoned 75-80 lbs.

The ashes of the burned bark produce a kind of chunam which contains much potash. The bark is used in tanning and the leaves for

manuring the paddy fields. The leaves form the food of the Tusser silk-worm. A dyeing substance is obtained from the bark of this tree which is used for brown colouring.

9. White Cedar, Vellai Agil—*Dysoxylum malabaricum.*

This lofty tree (height 120 feet, girth 16 feet) is found only on the West Coast of India from Canara to Cape Comorin and there, it is abundant and well distributed. It grows in moist forest at an elevation of 0-3,000 feet and attains its greatest size at an elevation of 1,400 feet. The wood is pale yellow with a smooth silky vein, sweet-scented and easily worked and is used for oil casks. It does not stand exposure. Seasoned wood weighs 42 lbs. a cubic foot; unseasoned 52 lbs.

The cedar is a tree of moderate growth, 500 years being the limit of its life; it grows more rapidly in its younger stages.

10. Red Cedar, Madagiri Vembu— *Cedrela toona.*

This large and valuable tree (height 60 feet) is abundant in Travancore. It grows at an elevation of 0-4,000 feet and is common on the Peermade hills. This is well suited for plantations and grows well with Anjili. The wood, coarse, red and sweet-scented, is used for furniture of all kinds, house-building and carving and is called the "Mahogany of India" which it resembles closely, though lighter and not so close in the grain. It admits of fine polish. It is used also for tea boxes, shingles and cigar boxes.

11. Ventekku— *Lagerstræmia lanceolata.*

This is a large tree with a straight stem, (height 120 feet, girth 12 feet), with a smooth, very pale bark scaling off in thin flakes not much thicker than paper and found only on the West Coast from Bombay to Cape Comorin. It grows to its largest size in the forests of the north at a low elevation of 200 to 300 feet; it is never found in the dense moist forests. It lives for more than 200 years but grows very slowly and is not therefore suited for plantations. The wood is light brown, straight-fibred and elastic but splits easily. It is not strong and does not stand exposure to the weather.

12. Jack, Chakka or Pilavu—*Artocarpus integrifolia.*

This valuable fruit and timber tree is much planted and grows largely all over Travancore. It grows best in rich red soil with a rainfall of not less than 50 inches. It grows rapidly when young, but after it has attained a diameter of 2 feet its growth is slow. It lives for more than 200 years. It is much cultivated in the low lands for fruits and along the

roads for shade. It attains a height of about 80-100 feet with thick spreading branches. The fruit is very large weighing from 30 to 40 lbs. The green fruit is used in curries. The tree bears fruit in about 7 years, the fruits appearing in all parts even at the very root. Hence the proverb:— "വേണമെങ്കിൽ ചക്ക വേരിലും കായ്ക്കും."

The wood is excellent and is highly valued; it is yellow when cut, afterwards changing into dull red or mahogany colour. It admits of fine polish. It is used both for building purposes and for furniture of various kinds, such as chairs, tables &c., musical instruments and ornamental work. Of late years jack wood has been superseded by blackwood in the matter of furniture making. The weight of seasoned wood is 42 lbs. a cubic foot; unseasoned 50 lbs.

There are several varieties of the Jack tree, but what is called Varikka or the honey jack is the sweetest and best. The fruits yield a good red dye.

13. Irul— *Kodaxylia dolabriformis.*

This tree is not found in South Travancore, but is common in North Travancore. It is a large tree growing to a height of 80-100 feet with a girth of 9 feet. It is always found in company with teak and requires a rainfall of not less than 100 inches. The wood is dark red, hard, heavy, durable and close-grained but not easily worked. It is used for boats, sleepers, posts, carts, house-building etc. It lasts a long time under water and is hence used in the construction of bridges, but in small scantling it is inclined to split and warp if exposed. It is however not much valued in Travancore. The weight of seasoned wood is 58 lbs. a cubic foot; unseasoned 70 lbs.

14. Mayila— *Vitex altissima.*

This is a large tree with a height of 80 feet and a girth of 12 feet, widely distributed throughout Travancore at all elevations between sea-level and 3,000 feet. It is a moderately fast grower. It increases in diameter 1 inch in 5 years and lives to be nearly 300 years old. The wood is hard, durable and flexible, with a coarse grain, is light brown in colour and does not split nor warp. It is highly esteemed in other parts of India for buildings, carts &c., but here in Travancore the people prefer other trees for such purposes. The unseasoned wood weighs 63 lbs. a cubic foot, and seasoned wood 53 lbs.

The Vernacular name covers two other varieties viz., *Vitex pubescens* and *V. leucoxylon.*

15. Manjakadambu— *Adina cordifolia.*

This lofty tree (height 100 feet, girth 9-16 feet) is found only in the open moist forests between sea-level and 3,000 feet elevation; it is particularly abundant and reaches a very large size in the forests near Konniyur and in North Travancore. The wood is light yellow seasoning to nut brown, close-grained, smooth and light, and admits of a fine polish but does not stand exposure to water. It is used for building, furniture, boxes, turnings &c., in other parts of India, but in Travancore it is not much used. Weight of seasoned wood 42 lbs. a cubic foot; unseasoned 50 lbs.

16. Ceylon Oak, Puvan—*Schleichera trijuga.*

This is a large handsome tree of slow growth (height 100 feet, girth 15 feet). It lives to a great age of nearly 300 years but is not suited for plantation as its growth is too slow and its value too small. It is found in Travancore with Irul, Maruthu &c., on the deciduous forests 0-2,000 feet. Its wood is strong and durable, seasons and polishes well and is used for carts, sugar and oil mills, and a variety of other useful purposes. Weight 67 lbs. a cubic foot.

17. Manimaruthu—*Lagerstræmia flos-reginæ.*

This is a medium-sized tree of very ornamental appearance on account of its handsome pink flowers, found along the banks of streams and in the open forests. It lives to be nearly 200 years old. Its wood is pale red, tough and very durable under water but it decays under ground and is seldom used in Travancore. Seasoned wood weighs 38 lbs. and unseasoned 48 lbs. a cubic foot. Silkworms feed on the leaves of this tree.

18. Mango, Mavu—*Mangifera indica.*

This useful tree is found wild in our moist forests at all elevations up to 2,000 feet. In the low country it is much planted for its fruit. It is not a very rapid grower and lives for a century and a half. The wild fruit is hardly edible but the low country fruit is very wholesome and when unripe is much used in curries, preserves &c. Its flowering time is January, February and March and the fruits ripen from May to July. There are several varieties found in Travancore. The wood, dull grey and porous, is very serviceable for planks when not exposed to wet and hence much used for house purposes. It can also be used for canoes as it bears the action of salt water well. Seasoned wood weighs 42 lbs. a cubic foot and unseasoned 55 lbs. The leaves form an excellent food for silkworms.

19. Malampunna—*Calophyllum tomentosum.*

This is a handsome tree of very large size reaching a height of 120

feet or more and a girth of 10 feet, found all through Travancore in the dense evergreen forests from 300 feet elevation to 400 feet. It requires a rainfall of not less than 100 inches and thrives on very poor soil where no other tree will succeed. The wood is reddish, loose-grained, long-fibred and elastic. In the coffee and tea plantations it is used for reapers, packing cases, rough planking and furniture; its chief use however is for spars of vessels, its great length, lightness, straightness and elasticity making it most suitable for this purpose; a single spar sometimes realises 1,000 Rs., but the demand is uncertain and unequal. The Pinnakai oil so largely used for burning lamps is made from the seeds of the Alexandrine Laurel, *Calophyllum inophyllum*, a small tree abundantly planted in the low country.

20 Cheeni—*Tetrameles nudiflora.*

This is a very lofty tree (height 120 feet) with grey shining bark and small flowers, widely distributed in Travancore. It requires a very heavy rainfall, grows very fast and lives for more than 200 years. Its wood, dirty white, exceedingly light, soft and even-grained, takes a good polish and paint and is used for canoes, boats and catamarans, carved toys &c., but it is neither strong nor durable and white ants eat it. This tree is not suited for plantations on account of its low value.

21. Pathiri—*Stereospermum chelonoides.*

This is another large and handsome tree (height 100 feet, girth 8 feet) with very beautiful pinkish flowers and occurs in Travancore from sea-level up to 3,000 feet both in the dense moist forests of the hills and in the open forests and in grass land, associated with teak and other trees. It is much planted on account of its ornamental appearance. Its wood, orange or reddish brown, is close and even-grained, elastic, durable and easily worked, gives a smooth surface and is used for house-building and for furniture and makes excellent fuel. This is a moderately fast growing tree and lives for more than a century. Seasoned wood weighs 48 lbs. a cubic foot; unseasoned 58 lbs.

22. Cotton Tree, Ilavu—*Bombax malabaricum.*

This large and stately tree (height 150 feet or more, girth 18 or 20 feet) with very large and showy flowers occurs in Travancore from sea-level up to 3,000 feet attaining its greatest height and girth in moist forests at the foot of the hills. Its wood is whitish, coarse-grained and brittle, but stands the action of water well and is hence used for floating rafts and packing boxes. Cotton or the wool of the pods is used for stuffing pillows, cushions &c. This is a fast-growing tree and lives for

more than 200 years. Silkworms feed on the leaves of this tree and the large honey bee makes its nest chiefly in this tree.

23. Karuntagara or Vaga—*Albizzia procera.*

This is a moderate-sized, fast-growing tree (height 60 feet, girth 6 feet), occurring in moist situations as on river banks. It flourishes best in open situations and is not found south of Trivandrum. The sap-wood is yellowish white and not durable while the heart-wood is brown, straight and even-grained, seasons well, works freely, and admits of fine polish and is hence good for furniture, boxes, agricultural implements etc. Weight averages 46 lbs. a cubic foot.

These are the most valuable timber trees of Travancore. Among the other useful trees employed in the low country and having some market value may be mentioned the following:—

1. Malakanjiram—*Anogeissus latifolia.*

This tree is common in the drier districts of South Travancore and on the Peermade hills near Kambam and in the deciduous forests near Konniyur. The wood is dark-coloured and strong and is used for bandy poles and agricultural implements. A valuable gum is obtained from its stem which is used in cloth-printing and its leaves are used for tanning.

2 Ironwood, Nangu—*Mesua ferrea.*

This tree is abundant in the evergreen forests from 0-6,000 feet. Its wood is very heavy, hard and durable; but for its great weight it would be more commonly used for building. It gives out great heat when burnt and makes first rate charcoal.

3. Nedunar—*Polyalthia fragrans.* This is a straight tree abundant in the forests of North Travancore. The wood is light and very elastic and is very well adapted for masts and yards.

4 Shurali—*Hardwickia binata.* A very large tree yielding timber of an excellent quality for beams and a variety of uses, found only on the Western Ghauts from South Canara to Cape Comorin. The wood is brown and exudes a sticky oil resembling Copaiba balsam for which it may be substituted.

5. Indian Copal, Payin—*Vateria indica.* This beautiful tree which is so much planted in gardens and along avenues for the fragrance of its flowers and which is very abundant in the moist forests, is sometimes cut for boats. It is better known for its gum called white dammer, an excellent varnish resembling copal.

6. Malavuram—*Pterospermum rubiginosum* and *P. heyneanum*. These are felled for building and boats; the former especially is said to be very good wood and is an exceedingly handsome tree.

7. Kalasan—*Odina wodier*. This is a small-sized tree with a light reddish wood, very useful for furniture and house-building.

8. Kollamavu—*Machilus macrantha*. A moderate-sized tree of light wood growing in the moist forests, much used for boats.

9. Arayanjili—*Antiaris toxicaria*. An immense tree of the dense moist forests with light wood, not strong or durable, used for boats, tea boxes &c. Its inner bark is composed of very strong tenacious fibres and seems excellently fitted for cordage and matting.

10. Aval—*Holoptelea integrifolia*. Another tree of immense size common in the moist forests of the north. The wood is light and fairly durable if smoked; it is sawn into planks or fashioned into boats.

11. Venkotta—*Lophopetalum wightianum*. A lofty tree found in the evergreen forests and on river banks 0-3000 feet. Wood is light, white, useful and durable if smoked.

12. Mukkampala—*Alstonia scholaris*. A large and handsome tree common in the deciduous forests 0-3000 feet with a milky juice; wood white, and very light but not durable, used for rough planking.

13. Palagapayani—*Oroxylum indicum*. A tree of moderate size, occasionally cut into boats.

14. Maruthu or Pumaruthu—*Terminalia paniculata*. A large tree and one of the commonest of the deciduous forests. Wood is strong and durable but not much appreciated in Travancore, used for buildings to a small extent.

15. Kanakaitha. Two botanical names come under this, viz., *Miliusa velutina* and *Bocagea dalzelli*. These are very elastic woods which may be used for carriage shafts, spear handles and such purposes. The former is found in the deciduous forests, while the latter occurs only in the moist forests.

16. Kar Anjili—*Dipterocarpus bourdilloni*. A large tree resembling Anjili, generally felled for boats; grows in the moist forests of North Travancore.

17. Mulluvenga—*Bridelia retusa*. Wood hard and heavy, used only to a limited extent in Travancore, though much valued in other countries.

18. Pambarakumbil—*Trewia nudiflora*. A moderate-sized tree, possessing light wood used for carving; the image put up in Roman Catholic churches is commonly made of this timber.

These are the only trees yielding timber commercially valuable; many other trees there are, indigenous to the country, used for rough house-building, for posts or for the construction of jungle wood-roofs but they have no commercial value and are used only by the poor or for temporary buildings.

The following is a list of trees exclusively used by the planters living at elevations between 1500 and 4000 feet:—

1. Kattu Iluppa or Pala, of which there are two species viz., *Dichopsis elliptica* and *Chrysophyllum roxburghii*. The latter has very poor timber, while the former yields a reddish brown timber with straight grain, easily worked when young, but hardening with age, and used for shingles. A sticky milky juice exudes from both of them, which is commercially valuable.

2. Puthankalli—*Pœciloneuron indicum*. A large tree occurring in the moist forests up to 2,000 feet yielding a hard, heavy and durable reddish wood used for building.

3. Karuva—*Cinnamomum zeylanicum*. A large tree common in the Peermade plateau; wood dull white resembling mango wood, used for rough planking and building.

4. Kalpayin—*Dipterocarpus turbinatus*. This is another very large tree common in the evergreen forests 0-3,000 feet. It yields soft resinous wood used for reapers, but which decays rapidly with exposure.

5. Shenchandanam—*Gluta travancorica*. A very large forest tree, confined to the extreme south of the Peninsula and ascending the hills to an elevation of 4,000 feet. It yields a beautiful red wood suitable for furniture but not strong.

6. Kattu Puvan—*Nephelium longana*. Wood, hard, yellowish red; suitable for buildings if cut in large scantlings but liable to crack if sawn thin.

7. Wynaad Shingle-tree, Malakonnai—*Acrocarpus fraxinifolius*. Found only in places where the climate is dry; wood pink and splits easily; used for shingles as well as for buildings and furniture.

8. Vellakasavu—*Hemicyclia Venusta*. A small tree common in the evergreen forests growing at an elevation of 2,000 to 4,000 feet, with a

white, hard and heavy wood used for turning and posts. *H. elata* is another tree of the same species possessing a like wood.

Trees yielding gums, resins and dyes. First comes the beautiful Venga tree, *Pterocarpus marsupium*, already described, which yields the dragon's blood or gum kino of commerce. The gum is collected by incisions in the bark. Of dammer there are two varieties, the white dammer or Vella Kundrikam, the product of *Vateria indica* or the Payin tree, and the black dammer, the product of *Canarium strictum or Thellimaram*, a lofty tree very abundant in our dense moist forests from 0-5,000 feet. The gum exudes from all parts of the tree and is semi-transparent in small pieces, but black in masses and tastes like fennel. It is collected and used for bottling and varnishes. A solid oil is also obtained from the seeds of *Vateria indica*, known as vegetable tallow, of which candles are made, which diffuse an agreeable fragrance and give a clear light with little smoke. The oil is used also as a local application in chronic rheumatism.

The lofty *Ailantus malabarica*, common in the evergreen forests of North Travancore, yields a fragrant resinous juice known as Muttipal which is burnt as incense and used also for medicinal purposes. Reference has already been made to the Shurali or *Hardwickia binata* yielding a gum said to be as useful as copaiba. *Butea superba* as well as its allied species *B. frondosa* or the Palasa tree yield a kind of East Indian kino flowing from fissures in the bark, which becomes opaque and dark-coloured after a time. This gum which dissolves in hot water imparting to it a fine red colour contains a large proportion of tannin which might render it useful in the arts and in tanning leather especially for thick hides. The fruit of the Panichimaram, *Diospyros embryopteris*, contains a large proportion of tannin and a gum used for fishing lines &c.

The Kattucheru or *Holigarna arnottiana* is one of the trees yielding the well-known black lacquer varnish. The juice of the fruit is used by painters and also for fixing indelible colours figured on linen cloths. The small and thorny Karuvelam tree, *Acacia arabica*, yields a valuable transparent gum which is used as a substitute for gum Arabic, which itself is the product of *A. vera*. The bark of this tree is used for tanning leather and also for medicinal purposes. The Pattathamara, *Macaranga indica* a very common tree in Travancore, produces a gum of a light crimson colour used for taking impressions of leaves, coins, medallions &c. The stem of the Vilatti or wood-apple, *Feronia elephantum*, yields a transparent gummy substance which is used for mixing with painter's colours, in

dyeing and also in ink and varnish. The gum called in Tamil Velan pishin, resembles the true gum Arabic and is also used for medicinal purposes. The Vembu, *Melia azadirachta*, the Iluppa, *Bassia longifolia*, the Bilva, *Ægle marmelos*, and the Cashewnut, *Anacardium occidentale*, are some of the other common trees yielding useful gums.

The Gamboge tree, *Garcinia pictoria*, abundant in the moist forests yields a very bright orange pigment which is excellent and equal to the best gamboge. Two other trees of the same species also are said to yield good pigments, viz., *G. morella* and *G. travancorica*. The Kamila dye is the product of Ponnagam, *Mallotus philippinensis*, a middle-sized tree found in the secondary and open forests from 0-5,000 feet. Kamila is the powder rubbed off the capsules and is also found though in smaller quantities on the leaves and stalks of the plant. It is of a rich red colour, used all over India especially for silk to which it imparts a fine yellow colour. Two species of myrabolans are gathered from the Kadukai or *Terminalia chebula* and the Tani or *T. belerica*, the former especially being in good demand. They are very astringent and are used for tanning, also for making ink; with alum they make a good yellow dye. The Manjanatti or *Morinda tinctoria*, a very common tree, frequently met with in gardens as well as in the forests, yields a yellow timber which takes a polish equal to jack wood, the interior wood of the old trees yielding a dye. The Noonamaram or *Morinda umbellata*, a common climbing plant, yields a dye of permanent yellow from its root; with the addition of sappan wood a red dye also can be prepared from the same. It is said that the colours dyed with this as well as the other species of the Indian mulberry plant are for the most part exceedingly brilliant and the colouring matter far more permanent than many other red colours and that with improved management the dye would probably rival that of madder. The Manjadi or *Adenanthera pavonina* also yields a red dye. And lastly we have the Sappan wood, *Cæsalpina sappan*, a small tree whose wood called the red wood of commerce is extensively used in dyeing and is exported for that purpose. It grows freely without any care and is of the first quality in Malabar. It yields a first class dye much used on the other coast.

Avenue trees. Foremost among the avenue trees comes the Banyan or Alamaram, *Ficus bengalensis*, an immense tree with branches spreading over a large area. It is remarkable for the singular property of letting a gummy kind of rootlet fall from its branches. These on reaching the ground soon form a natural support to the larger branches of the tree, and several of these extending and increasing from year to year forming a vast assemblage of pillar-like stems, cover a considerable area round the

original trunk. This tree is wild throughout India, and is much planted for avenues everywhere. It is of rapid growth and grows best from large cuttings 6 or 7 feet long planted in the ground. In Travancore it is found both in the moist and deciduous forests from sea-level to 4,000 feet. The wood is light, coarse-grained, brittle and not durable, but lasts under water and is hence used for wells, water conduits &c. The root 'drops' are tough and elastic and are used for tent poles, cart yokes &c. Bird-lime is made of the milky juice which abounds in every part of the tree. The leaves are used as plates and the fruit is occasionally eaten. Birds are very fond of it.

The Arasu or *Ficus religiosa* is found wild in our subalpine forests but is not abundant. It is however very widely planted everywhere near temples and along avenues. It does not ascend the hills to any elevation. It is a sacred tree and is much respected by the Hindus who are very unwilling to cut it down at any time. The wood is white, light and perishable. It is used for fuel, charcoal and packing cases. Elephants eat its leaves and branches and the silkworms feed on its leaves. Stick-lac is produced from it and the glutinous juice which exudes from the stem is made into bird-lime. Eight other varieties of the Ficus species are found in Travancore, viz., *Ficus tomentosa*, *F. altissima* or Kal-atthi, *F. benjamina*, *F. tsiela*, *F. infectoria*, *F. asperrima* or Theragam, *F. hispida* or Erumanaku and *F. glomerata*, or Atthi, of which the last is the most important. This is found throughout Travancore in the secondary and open forests 0-3,000 feet. It grows rapidly and gives a light pleasant shade. It is much planted in coffee estates. The wood is white, light and not durable except under water; it is used for well rings. Bird-lime is made from the milky juice and the leaves are largely used as fodder for elephant and cattle.

The Naval or *Eugenia jambolana* is a very large tree found in the evergreen forests and much planted for avenues. The wood is reddish or dark brown, close-grained, but not straight; it is hard, and heavy but difficult to work and is therefore unsuitable for any use. The fruit is eatable, and the leaves and bark are used in native medicine.

The Poo-arasu or *Thespesia populnea* is another tree planted for road-side avenues, being remarkable for its easy and rapid growth from cuttings and yielding a good shade. It yields when ripe a very strong, hard and durable timber with a colour like mahogany, but its use is limited on account of the difficulty of getting it in large size.

The other trees planted for avenues are the Casuarina, the Tamarind, the Jack, the Mango, the Margosa, the Alexandrine laurel, the Payin and

the Cashew-nut trees. Of these the jack, mango and payin have already been noticed under the valuable timber trees. The casuarina does not grow in the Travancore forests except when planted, as its introduction into Southern India itself from Chittagong, its native province, is only of recent date. It may however be of interest to state that the timber of casuarina which grows well from seeds and is a very rapid grower is without exception the strongest wood known for bearing cross strains and very valuable for fuel.

The Tamarind or Puli, *Tamarindus indica*, is planted largely for its fruit ; it also runs wild in the dry forests from 0-2,000 feet. This is a graceful avenue tree of slow growth but attaining great size. The timber which is hard, heavy and durable is converted to many useful purposes in building, for mills and the teeth of wheels etc., and makes excellent fuel. The pulp of the pods is used both in food and in medicine. The natives have a prejudice against sleeping under the tree as its shade is considered unhealthy, and the tree haunted.

The Margosa or Vembu, *Melia azadirachta*, is a small and beautiful tree much planted in the low country for ornament and shade. Its uses are referred to a little later under medicinal plants.

The Alexandrine Laurel or Punna, *Calophyllum inophyllum*, is another beautiful tree common on the banks of rivers and "not less esteemed for its ornamental appearance than for the delicious fragrance of its flowers".

The Cashew-nut or Parangimavu, *Anacardium occidentale*, originally belonging to the West Indies is now common all over India. As the vernacular name implies, this seems to have been introduced by the Portuguese and has now run wild in the maritime forests all over Western India. Two kinds of oil can be prepared from the hard fruit borne at the end of the fleshy peduncle, viz., (1) a sweet nourishing table-oil from the kernels, pronounced equal to almond oil and superior to olive oil, and (2) a brown blistering oil from the rind (cardol). But this is scarcely done, the kernels being used only as a table-fruit. The wood is of no value but is largely used as fuel.

Cycads and Palms. The most important of the indigenous cycads is the Eentha or *Cycas circinalis*, a small tree very abundant in the deciduous forests 0- 3,000 feet. It produces a good abundance of spherical fruit containing a kernel. The hillmen and the low country people in some parts collect these fruits and convert the kernels into an insipid flour which is baked into cakes. The fruit forms the staple food of some of the hill-tribes for several months together.

Exclusive of the Cocoanut and Areca palms, whose cultivation forms such a striking feature of the garden lands of Travancore, 6 other varieties of palms are known, of which 4 are wild. They are :—the Palmyra or *Borassus flabelliformis*, the Talipot or *Corypha umbraculifera*, the Bastard Sago or *Caryota urens*, the *Bentinckia condapana*, the *Pinanga dichronii*, and the *Arenga wightii*.

The palmyra is much planted in the drier districts of South Travancore. The fruit is not much used and the tree is valued mainly for the juice which is either drunk as toddy, distilled into arrack or made into jaggery. The leaves are used for several purposes like those of the cocoanut palm and the wood is valuable for rafters. The mighty talipot is doubtfully indigenous and is found all through our forests. Its large broad fronds are used for thatching and also for writing on with an iron style. The dried leaf is very strong and is commonly used for umbrellas. A kind of flour or sago is prepared from the pith of the trunk. As observed by Mr. Bruce Foote, late of the Geological Survey of India,

> " The most striking feature in the flora of South Travancore is the immense forest of fan palms (*Borassus flabelliformis*) which covers a great part of the country. The fan palms, or palmyras, attain here to much greater height than they generally do elsewhere. Trees measuring from 90 to 100 feet in height are not uncommon in places, and with their stems greatly covered by white or silvery grey lichens, they present a much finer appearance than the comparatively stunted specimens one is accustomed to see in the Carnatic or on the Mysore and Deccan plateaus. Whether these Travancore trees owe any part of their greatly superior height to superior age, as compared with the palms in the great Palmyra forest in South Tinnevelly, I could not make out; but the white colour of their stems, added to their great height certainly gives them a much more hoary and venerable appearance."

The Bastard Sago, *Caryota urens*, common in the evergreen forests 0-3,000 feet, is a large tree yielding toddy. Sago is prepared from the stem. The tree is valued for the good quantity of sap it yields and also for its fibre. In times of scarcity these trees which are planted about the low country, are felled, and the pith is mixed with water and the resulting fluid is strained, and a flour is prepared from it.

Bamboos and Reeds. The Bamboo is the most gigantic of the grasses and consists of several species all useful to man in a variety of ways. Seven species are known in Travancore, of which the most useful is the ubiquitous bamboo, *Bambusa arundinacea* commonly called Mungil or Mulah. The uses &c., of this and the other species of bamboos in general are thus described by Drury :—

"These gigantic arborescent grasses which cover the sides and tops of the mountains throughout the continent of India form one of the peculiar as well as the most striking features of Oriental scenery. Few objects present a more attractive sight in the wild forest of this country than a clump of these beautiful plants with their tall bending stems and delicate light-green foliage. With the exception of the Cocoa and some other palms perhaps, the Bamboo is the most useful and economical of all the vegetable products of the East. In no other plant is strength and lightness combined to that degree which renders this so important an article in building houses, lifting weights, forming rafts and a thousand other uses which might here be enumerated. It attains a considerable height,—some 70-80 feet—and has been known to spring up 30 inches in 6 days. At the age of 15* years, the bamboo is said to bear fruit, a whitish seed-like rice, and then to die. These seeds are eaten by the poorer classes.

"The purpose to which different species of bamboo are applied are so numerous that it would be difficult to point out an object in which strength and elasticity are requisite, and for which lightness is no objection to which the stems are not adapted in the countries where they grow. The young shoots of some species are cut when tender and eaten like asparagus. The full-grown stems, while green, form elegant cases, exhaling a perpetual moisture, and capable of transporting fresh flowers for hundreds of miles. When ripe and hard they are converted into bows, arrows, and quivers, lance-shafts, masts of vessels, bed-posts, walking-sticks, the poles of palanquins, to floors and supporters of rustic bridges, and a variety of similar purposes. In a growing state, the spiny kinds are formed into stockades, which are impenetrable to any but regular infantry, aided by artillery. By notching their sides, the Malays make wonderfully light scaling ladders, which can be conveyed with facility where heavier machines could not be transported. Bruised and crushed in water, the leaves and stems form Chinese paper, the finer qualities of which are only improved by a mixture of raw cotton and by more careful pounding. The leaves of a small species are the material used by the Chinese for the lining of their tea-chests. Cut into lengths and the partitions knocked out, they form durable water-pipes, or, by a little contrivance are made into excellent cases for holding rolls of papers. Slit into strips, they afford a most durable material for weaving into mats, baskets, window-blinds and even the sails of boats. Finally, the larger and thicker truncheons are exquisitely carved by the Chinese into beautiful ornaments. No plant in Bengal is applied to such a variety of useful purposes as the bamboo. Of it are made implements for weaving, the post and the frames of the roofs of huts, scaffoldings for buildings, portable stages for native processions, raised floors for granaries, stakes for nets in rivers, rafts, masts, yards, oars, spars, and in boat-decks. It is used for building bridges across creeks, for fences, as a lever for raising water for irrigation, and as flag-poles. Several agricultural instruments are made of it, as are also hackeries or carts, doolies or litters and biers, the shafts of javelins or spears, bows and arrows clubs and fishing-rods. A joint of bamboo serves as a holder for pens, small instruments and tools. It is used as a case in which things of little bulk are sent to a distance; the eggs of silkworms were brought into a bamboo-cane from China to Constantinople in the time of Justinian. A joint of bamboo answers the purpose of a bottle, and a section of it is a measure for solids and liquids in bazaars. A piece of it is used as a blow-pipe and as a tube in a distilling apparatus. A small bit of it split at one end, serves as tongs to take up burning charcoal, and a thin slip of it is sharp enough to be used as knife in shelling betel-nuts &c. Its surface is so hard, that it answers the purpose of a whet-stone upon which the ryots sharpen their bill-hooks and sickles."

* According to Mr. Bourdillon, 30.

2. Male Bamboo or Kalmulah — *Dendrocalamus strictus*. This species of bamboo (culms up to 3 inches in diameter and 30 feet high) has great strength and solidity and is very straight; hence it is better suited for a variety of uses than the common bamboo. The natives make great use of it for spears, shafts &c. It is clearly a distinct species, growing in a drier situation than other bamboos. In Travancore its habitat is the Anchanad valley 3,000-4,000 feet.

3. Arambu — *Oxytenanthera bourdilloni*. A species of thornless bamboo growing on rocky cliffs found only at elevations between 2,000 and 3,000 feet. It attains a diameter of about 4 inches and a height of 40 feet. The hillmen use this for making combs and other household implements.

4. *Oxytenanthera thwaitesii*. Found in the evergreen forests 3,000-6,000 feet; reeds not exceeding 1 inch in diameter and 10 feet high.

5. Tha Eetta or Eeral reed — *Ochlandra travancorica*. This forms the undergrowth in many parts of the Travancore forests and is used by the hillmen for temporary huts, the reeds themselves being employed for frame work and the leaves serving as thatch. The reeds are also used for fencing, basket-making, mats &c., and an excellent paper is made out of the fibre.

6. *Teinostachyum wightii*. Another reed found on the hills and evergreen forests 3,000-4,000 feet; reeds not exceeding 1 inch in diameter and 10 feet high.

7. Amma — *Ochlandra rheedii*. Found on the banks of rivers in the low country; reeds up to 3/4 inch in diameter and 10 feet high, used for basket-making.

There are also many other kinds of reeds not yet identified. Of grasses the most important is the lemon grass, *Andropogon schænanthus*, from which the famous lemon grass oil is extracted.

Fibrous plants. The Vakkanar, a very strong and durable fibre exclusively used for the dragging of timber by elephants, is made of the bark of *Sterculia villosa*, a small tree of rapid growth with straight trunk and smooth bark. All the layers of this tree can be stripped off from the bottom to the top with great facility and fine pliable ropes are formed from the inner layers while the outer ones yield coarser ropes. The fibre is unusually strong as the strands not only run lengthwise but are formed into a net-work by other strands crossing them

diagonally. *Sterculia guttata* is another tree of the same species yielding a useful fibre which is generally used for making coarse bags.

The Arayanjili, *Antiarius toxicaria*, yields, as we have already noticed, strong fibres which are excellently fitted for matting, sacking and cordage. The Kaivanar so largely used by the Chalpans of Trivandrum, and the low-caste dhobies of Central and North Travancore for making coarse cloths, gunny bags and sacking is obtained from the bark of Valampiri or *Helicteres isora* which occurs as an undershrub in most of the lower and outer forests of Travancore. The fibres are strong and white-coloured and are well adapted for ropes and cordage. A fortnight's soaking of the fresh stems in running water yields a fibre of very good colour with a pearly lustre. Strong fibres are also made from the bark of Pulimanji or *Hibiscus cannabinus* and its allied species *H. tiliaceus* (Nirparuthi), of Cherutali or *Antidesma bunias* and Nagavalli or *Bauhinia scandens* and from the roots of *Butea superba* and its allied one *Butea frondosa*. A species of Crotalaria resembling *Crotalaria juncea* or sunn-hemp is largely grown in Shencottah and the northern districts of Ampalapuzha, Shertallay, Vaikam, Alangad, Kunnatnad and Parur, especially in Vaikam. Here the plant as well as its fibre are called Wuckoo, the latter being largely employed in the manufacture of fishing net and tackle. Some specimens of strong canvas made of this fibre were sent to the Madras Exhibition of 1851, which have been much approved of by competent judges from the compactness and strength of the manufacture. The Erukkalai plant, *Calotropis gigantea*, a plant growing wild in Travancore, generally on hot stretches of bare sand as well as in dry, rocky and exposed situations, yields useful fibres which are soft, white, silky and very tenacious. But the comparative shortness of the staple and the difficulty of extracting the fibres probably explain the sparing use made of them in the arts and manufactures. The fibre possesses many of the properties of the European flax and can be spun into the finest thread for sewing and weaving cloth. The white silk-like material of the pods has been successfully tried to mix with silk.

Among other common plants of Travancore yielding useful fibres may be mentioned, the Indian hemp largely grown for Ganja, Inja, Chiyakka, Jack and Anjili, Rattans, Ilavu, Mul Ilavu, Murunga, some species of Banyan, Nedunar, Poonga, Venga and Poovarasu. Of the plants yielding useful leaf-fibres the commonest are the plantains, of which there are several species. A regular industry has grown up on the plantain fibre, an account of which is given in the Chapter on Arts and Industries. Next come the Aloes, of which the Mexican

aloe or Anakkattazha and the green aloe of St. Helena have become naturalised in the country. The pine-apple which is now regularly cultivated in some of the districts, especially in the South, yields an excellent fibre which from its silky lustre and great strength has been suggested as a fair substitute for flax.

The fibre of the palms requires special mention. The cocoanut, the palmyra, the talipot, the bastard sago and the wild dates, all yield good fibres which are "characterised by extreme tenacity, a certain degree of elasticity, firmness and gloss," and are specially adapted for the manufacture of brushes, cordage, ropes and cables. The *Kittul* fibre of commerce is obtained from the fronds of *Caryota urens* which is much valued for its sago and toddy as well. Coir, the produce of the cocoanut palm, is not a true fibre but only a seed-hair like cotton and other vegetable flosses.

Medicinal trees and plants. The number of medicinal plants seems to be legion. The native doctors use a very large variety of plants and shrubs for medicinal purposes. A short notice of only a few of them is attempted here.

We will start with those trees that are poisonous as well as medicinal. Of these, the Yettimaram or Kanjiram, *Strychnos nux-vomica*, comes first. It is a tree of middle size common throughout Travancore. The seeds are most valued both in native and European medicine, and the well-known poison Strychnine is prepared from the kernel of the fruit. The pulp of the fruit is harmless and eaten by birds, monkeys and cattle. It is believed that the seeds of the fruit if taken for two years one or two every day have the effect of rendering innoxious bites of poisonous cobras. The Tettankotta or *Strychnos potatorum* is harmless and is used for several medicinal purposes. The seeds of this tree have the singular property of clearing muddy water, if it is poured into a vessel of which the sides have been rubbed with bruised or sliced seeds. They are devoid of all poisonous properties aud are used as a remedy in diabetes and gonorrhea.

The Odallam, *Cerbera odollam*, a small tree growing largely on the banks of canals and backwaters, yields a very poisonous fruit somewhat resembling a mango. The Vellai-oomatha, *Datura alba*, and the Kari-oomatha, *Datura fastuosa*, are both very common weeds famous for the intoxicating and narcotic properties of their fruits. Their medicinal and poisonous properties are well known. Of the two the former is said not be quite so virulently poisonous as the latter. Both are used as anodyne and antispasmodic. Among other poisonous plants mention may be made

of *Sapium insigne*, a small tree growing on the upper hills, from which exudes a very poisonous and acrid juice, and the Chera or *Holigarna ferruginea*, a lofty tree found both on the slopes of the hills up to 3,000 feet and in the low country. This latter yields a sap which on exposure to air becomes dark like tar and when it falls on the body raises large blisters. The root of Mettonni or *Gloriosa superba*, a very handsome climbing plant, "one of the most ornamental plants any country can boast of," is used medicinally by the natives and is commonly believed to be very poisonous. It is applied in paste to the hands and feet of women in difficult parturition; mixed with honey it is given in gonorrhea. It is not poisonous in twelve-grain doses; on the contrary it is alterative, tonic and antiperiodic.

The following are some of the commoner medicinal plants arranged in the alphabetical order of their botanical names:—

Vettila Kasturi—*Abelmoschus moschatus*. A very common plant in Travancore, whose seeds have been given with the best effect in counteracting bites of venomous reptiles, being applied internally and externally.

Peruntutti—*Abutilon indicum*. The leaves of this shrub in decoction are used by European and native physicians as an emollient fomentation and an infusion of the roots is given as a cooling drink in fevers. The root is also used in leprosy and the seeds are reckoned laxative.

Kuppameni—*Acalypha indica*. The root of this small plant bruised in hot water is employed as cathartic, and the leaves as a laxative in decoction; mixed with salt the latter are applied externally in scabies. A decoction of the plant mixed with oil is a specific against gout and mixed with chunam is applied externally in cutaneous diseases.

Nayuri—*Achyranthes aspera*. The seeds are given in hydrophobia and in cases of snake-bites, as well as in ophthalmia and cutaneous diseases. The flowering spikes rubbed with a little sugar are made into pills and given internally in cases of dog-bites, while the leaves taken fresh and rubbed to a pulp are considered a good remedy for scorpion-bites. The root is used as a sort of tooth-brush in some parts of India.

Vasamboo—*Acorus calamus*. An aromatic bitter principle exists in the rhizomes of this plant, on account of which they are regarded as useful additions to tonic and purgative medicines, being much given to children in cases of dyspepsia, especially when attended with looseness of bowels. It is also beneficially employed in chronic catarrh, asthmatic complaints and intermittent fevers.

Adatoda — *Adhatoda vasica.* The flowers, leaves and root are all considered antispasmodic and are given in cases of asthma and intermittent fever. The leaves given in conjunction with those of Tooduvala and Kandankathri are employed internally in decoction as anthelmintic.

Bilva — *Ægle marmelos.* The root, bark, leaves and the fruit are all medicinally used. The half-ripe fruit, especially newly gathered, is a very good remedy for chronic diarrhœa and dysentery. The root bark is a remedy in hypochondriasis, melancholia and palpitation of the heart and the leaves in decoction are used in asthma.

Chittaratta — *Alpina galanga.* The tubers which are faintly aromatic, pungent and somewhat bitter are the larger galangal of the shops and are used as a substitute for ginger. They are given in infusion in fevers, rheumatism and catarrhal affections.

Lemon grass — *Andropogon schænanthus.* An infusion of the fragrant leaves which are bitter and aromatic is given to children as an excellent stomachic. It is also diaphoretic. The oil prepared from it is a most valuable remedy in rheumatism applied externally.

Vilamicham — *Andropogon muricatum.* An infusion of the roots is given medicinally as a gentle stimulant and a grateful drink in feverish cases. The roots reduced to powder are given in bilious affections, and mixed with milk and applied externally as cooling applications to the skin when irritated. They are delightfully fragrant and aromatic and contain a volatile oil used in perfumery. The root in infusion is also used in cases of gout and rheumatism.

Karuntumba — *Anisomeles malabarica.* The juice of the leaves of this shrub is given to children in colic and indigestion and fevers arising from teething; it is also employed in stomachic complaints, dysentery and intermittent fevers.

Samudrachedi — *Argyreia speciosa.* The leaves are used in the preparation of emollient poultices and also in cutaneous complaints being applied externally to the parts affected.

Perumarundoo — *Aristolochia indica.* The root which is nauseously bitter is said to possess emmenagogue and antarthritic virtues. It is said to be a valuable antidote to snake-bites, being applied both internally and externally. Mixed with honey the root is given in leprosy and the leaves internally in fever.

Nirmulli — *Asteracantha longifolia.* This plant is commonly met with by the side of paddy fields and other damp situations. The roots

are considered tonic and diuretic; administered in decoction, they are also employed in dropsical affections and gravel.

Kattu Atthi — *Bauhinia tomentosa.* The dried leaves and young flowers are administered in dysenteric affections and a decoction of the bark of the root is given in cases of liver and phlegmatic complaints and also as a vermifuge. The bruised bark is also occasionally applied to tumours and wounds.

Alpam — *Bragantia wallichii.* This is peculiar to the Malabar Coast. The whole plant mixed with oil and reduced to an ointment is said to be very efficacious in the treatment of inveterate ulcers. Bartolomeo refers to this plant as "the only Malabar plant which I can with certainty call an antidote to poison". The root is powdered and administered in warm water to those who are poisoned. The familiar Malayalam proverb is "Alpam akathu visham porathu" i. e., as soon as as the Alpam root enters the body, poison leaves it.

Erukkalai — *Calotropis gigantea.* The acrid milky juice flowing from every part of this shrub is used by the natives for medicinal purposes in many different ways, besides preparations of the plant itself in epilepsy, paralysis, bites of poisonous animals, as a vermifuge &c. The root, bark and juice are used as powerful alteratives and purgatives. The plant as we have seen already is also valuable for the fine strong fibres with which it abounds.

Modakattan — *Cardiospermum halicacabum.* The root of the plant is diaphoretic and diuretic and is given in decoction as an aperient; the leaves are administered in pulmonic complaints and mixed with castor oil are internally employed in rheumatism and lumbago, and the whole plant boiled in oil is rubbed over the body in bilious affections. The leaves mixed with jaggery and boiled in oil are a good specific in sore eyes.

Seema Agathi — *Cassia alata.* The juice of the leaves mixed with lime-juice is a useful remedy for ringworm; the fresh leaves simply bruised and rubbed on the parts affected sometimes remove the eruption. The plant is also considered a cure in all poisonous bites, besides cutaneous affections.

Karuva or Kattulavangam—*Cinnamomum zeylanicum.* This small tree is very common in the jungles on the western coast. The seeds bruised or mixed with honey or sugar are given to children in dysentery and coughs and combined with other ingredients in fevers.

Elumichai — *Citrus medica.* Lime-juice is much used in medicine

by native practitioners, possessing all the virtues attributed to that of the English lemon. It is considered to possess virtues in checking bilious vomiting and to be refrigerent, astringent, stomachic and tonic; diluted with water and sweetened it forms a refreshing drink. The dried rind of the fruit also is used as a vegetable drug.

Sankhapushpam—*Clitorea ternatea.* The seeds of this common creeper are a useful purgative. The root is used in croup; it is also given as a laxative to children and is diuretic.

Nervalam—*Croton tiglium.* The seeds of this small plant yield the well-known Croton oil. They are of the size of a sloe and are considered one of the most drastic purgatives known. The oil is chiefly employed in incipient apoplexy, visceral obstruction and occasionally in dropsy. The seeds mixed with honey and water are often applied to obstruct buboes. The expressed oil of the seeds is a good remedy externally applied in rheumatic and indolent tumours.

Mavilangam or Nirmathalam—*Crataeva religiosa.* This small tree is abundant on river banks from 0-5,000 feet. The bark, leaf and root are all used medicinally. The leaves are slightly aromatic and bitter and are considered stomachic. The root is supposed to possess alterative properties. The juice of the bark is given in convulsions and flatulency and boiled in oil is externally applied in rheumatism.

Kuvamanjal — *Curcuma angustifolia.* An excellent kind of arrow-root is prepared from the tubers of this species, especially in Travancore, where the plant grows in great abundance, and this is a favourite article of diet. The flour powdered and boiled in milk is an excellent diet for sick people or children.

Wild Turmeric, Kasturimanjal—*Curcuma aromatica.* This is an ornamental and beautiful plant abounding in our forests. The root is used as a perfume and also medicinally both when fresh and dried. It possesses aromatic and tonic properties and is less heating than ginger.

Veliparuthi — *Dæmia extensa.* This twining plant abounds in milky juice. In medicine the natives use the whole in infusion in pulmonary affections; if given in large doses it will cause nausea and vomiting. The juice of the leaves mixed with chunam is applied externally in rheumatic swellings of the limbs.

Karusalankanni — *Eclipta erecta.* The whole plant is alterative, tonic, purgative and diuretic. In paste with gingelly oil it is a good remedy

for elephantiasis, applied externally. It has a peculiarly bitter taste and strong smell. The root has purgative and emetic properties assigned to it, and is also used in case of liver, spleen and dropsy.

Mullumurunga— *Erythrina indica.* The leaves and bark of this prickly tree are used in cases of fevers. The leaves pulverised and boiled with ripe cocoanut are also applied to venereal buboes and pains in the joints, and mixed with jaggery are applied externally to the stomach in grips and colic.

Devadaram — *Erythroxylon monogynum.* The young leaves and tender shoots of this small tree are reckoned refrigerent. Bruised and mixed with gingelly oil they are applied as a liniment to the head. The bark is occasionally administered in infusion as a tonic.

Kammatti — *Excœcaria camettia.* This shrub grows abundantly along our backwaters and canals. It abounds in an acrid milky juice which is poisonous and blinding and is known as the "Tiger's milk tree." The juice is applied with good effect to inveterate ulcers. The leaves also are used for the purpose in decoction.

Karunochi — *Gendarussa vulgaris.* The leaves and tender stalks of this shrub are prescribed in certain cases of chronic rheumatism. The leaves in infusion are given internally in fevers, and a bath in which these leaves are saturated is very efficacious in the same complaint. The juice of the leaves is administered in coughs to children and the same mixed in oil as an embrocation in glandular swellings of the neck and the throat; mixed with mustard seed it is also a good emetic.

Choratti — *Gomphia angustifolia.* The root and leaves which are bitter are given as tonics in these parts. A decoction of the leaves is given in heart-burn and also applied in ulcers. The leaves, flowers and fruits boiled in water are administered as a wash in gingiva and for strengthening the gums. The root boiled in milk and mixed with cummin seeds is said to allay vomiting and the root and bark pulverised and mixed with oil are made into an ointment for scabies and other cutaneous affections.

Kazhanchi—*Guilandina bonduc.* The kernels of the nuts are very bitter and said to be powerfully tonic. They are given in cases of intermittent fevers mixed with spices in the form of powder. Pounded and mixed with castor oil they are applied externally in hydrocele.

Narunindi or Nannari—*Hemidesmus indicus.* This is the

country Sarsaparilla very common in Travancore. The root is used largely for the thrush in children, a drachm every morning and evening of the powder fried in butter. Dried and reduced to powder and mixed with honey, it is reckoned a good specific in rheumatic pains, boils &c., and in decoction with onions and cocoanut oil is internally recommended in hæmorrhoids, and simply bruised and mixed with water in diarrhœa. This has been employed as a chief and efficacious substitute for Sarsaparilla in cachectic diseases, increasing the appetite and improving the health. The milky juice of the fresh plant boiled in oil is applied externally in rheumatism and an infusion of the whole plant is given in fevers. Carivilandi or *Smilax ovalifolia* also possess all the virtues of the true sarsaparilla.

Kodagapala—*Holarrhena antidysenterica.* This is a common but handsome flowering shrub in the Malabar Coast. A medicine is prepared from the long pods, which is efficacious in cases of dysentery. The plant has astringent and tonic properties in its bark and is a remedy in fevers.

Modirakanni—*Hugonia mystax.* This is a handsome shrub with beautiful golden yellow flowers. The bruised roots are used in reducing inflammatory tumours, as a febrifuge and anthelmintic, especially for children, and also as a remedy in the case of snake-bites.

Maravetti—*Hydnocarpus wightiana.* The fruit if eaten occasions giddiness. An oil is extracted from the seeds given in cutaneous diseases and ophthalmia, causing an excessive flow of tears.

Vallarai—*Hydrocotyle asiatica.* The leaves of this wildly distributed herb are roasted and given in infusion to children in bowel complaints and fevers. They are also applied to parts that have suffered from blows and bruises as anti-inflammatory. The plant is also said to be an excellent specific for leprosy.

Orelataınara—*Ionidium suffruticosum.* The fruit in infusion is diuretic, and is a remedy in gonorrhœa and affections of the urinary organs. The leaves and tender stalks are demulcent and are used in decoction and electuary; also employed mixed with oil as a cooling liniment for the head.

Indian Jalap, Shevatai—*Ipomœa turpethum.* The fresh bark of the root is employed as a purgative mixed up with milk. Being free from any nauseous taste or smell, the root possesses a decided superiority over jalap for which it might well be substituted.

Kattumallika—*Jasminum angustifolium.* The bitter root of this twining shrub ground small and mixed with lime-juice and Vasamboo root is considered a good remedy in ringworm. The leaves of its allied species, Jirakamulla or *J. sambac* if boiled in oil exude a balsam which is used for anointing the head in eye-complaints. It is said to strengthen the vision. An oil is also expressed from the roots used medicinally.

Kattamanakku—*Jatropha curcas.* The seeds of this shrub are purgative occasionally exciting vomiting. A fixed oil is prepared from the seeds useful in cutaneous diseases and chronic rheumatism applied externally, also for burning in lamps. The leaves warmed and rubbed with caster oil are applied to inflammations when suppuration is wished for, and the juice of the plant is used for hæmorrhoids. The oil is a very much more powerful purgative than castor oil but very uncertain in its action. The Chittamanakku or ordinary castor oil plant belongs to a different species, *Ricinus communis,* whose oil is used largely as a mild laxative and for burning lamps.

Vembu or Neem tree—*Melia azadirachta.* This is a beautiful tree whose leaves, bark, seeds and oil are all medicinally used by the natives. The bark which has a remarkably bitter taste is considered a most useful tonic in intermittent fevers and chronic rheumatism, administered either in decoction or powder. The oil which is of a deep yellow colour and much used for burning lamps, is a useful remedy in leprosy and is moreover anthelmintic and stimulant, being used externally in bad ulcers and as a liniment in headaches and rheumatic affections.

Champaka—*Michelia champaca.* The bark of the root is red, bitter and very acid and when pulverised is reckoned emmenagogue; the flowers beaten up with oil are applied to fetid discharges from the nostrils, and all parts of the tree are said to the powerfully stimulant.

Thottavadi—*Mimosa pudica.* This is the common sensitive plant. Mixed with gingelly it is given as a drink in gonorrhœa.

Karuveppila—*Murraya kœningii.* This is the curry-leaf tree whose leaves are used for flavouring curries. The leaves are further used in dysentery and to stop nausea; the root is laxative and both bark and roots are stimulants and are used externally as remedies in eruption and in infusion to check vomiting in cholera.

Wild Nutmeg, Jatikkai—*Myristica laurifolia.* This is a large tree common in the evergreen forests. The mace of this kind of nutmeg has not the same virtues as that of the common one. Mixed with honey it is

administered in coughs and pectoral affections but generally in combination with other ingredients.

Sweet Basil, Vellatulasi—*Ocimum bacilicum.* The whole plant is aromatic and fragrant. The seeds are cooling and mucilaginous and are said to be very nourishing and demulcent. An infusion is given as a remedy in gonorrhœa, catarrh, dysentery and chronic diarrhœa, and the juice of the leaves is squeezed in the ear in ear-ache. It is said the seeds are a favourite medicine with Hindu women for relieving the after-pains of parturition.

Tulasi—*Ocimum sanctum.* The juice of this plant is given in catarrhal affections in children and mixed with lime-juice is an excellent remedy in cutaneous affections, ringworms &c. The root is given in decoction in fevers.

Nelli — *Phyllanthus emblica.* The seeds are given internally as a cooling remedy in bilious affections and nausea, and in infusion it makes a good drink in fevers. They are are also used in diabetes. The bark of the tree is used for dysentery and diarrhœa, and mixed with honey it is applied to aphthous inflamations of the mouth. The fruit is pickled or preserved in sugar. The young branches of the tree are put into wells to impart a pleasant flavour to the water, especially if it be impure from the accumulation of vegetable matter or other causes.

Kilanelli—*Phyllanthus niruri.* The root, leaves and young shoots are all used medicinally, the two first in powder or decoction in jaundice or bilious complaints and the last in infusion in dysentery. The juice of the stem mixed with oil is employed in ophthalmia.

Pevetti—*Physalis somnifera.* The root of this shrub is said to have deobstruent and diuretic properties. The leaves moistened with warm castor oil are externally employed in cases of carbuncle. They are very bitter and are given in infusion in fevers. The root and leaves are powerfully narcotic; the latter is applied to inflamed tumours, while the former in obstinate ulcers and rheumatic swellings of the joints mixed with dry ginger.

Black Pepper, Nallamilagu—*Piper nigrum.* This is indigenous to the forests of Malabar and Travancore. For centuries past pepper has been an article of export to the European countries and even to-day a considerable quantity is annually exported from Travancore. The cultivation of this very common vine is described elsewhere. The berries medicinally used are given as stimulant and stomachic, and when toasted have been

employed successfully in stopping vomiting in cases of cholera. The root is used as a tonic, stimulant and cordial. A liniment is also prepared which is used in chronic rheumatism. The watery infusion is used a gargle in relaxation of the uvula. As a seasoner of food, it is well known for its excellent stomachic qualities. Pepper in over-doses acts as a poison by over-exerting the inflammation of the stomach and its acting powerfully on the nervous system. It is also successfully used in vertigo, and paralytic and arthritic disorders.

Kodiveli— *Plumbago zeylanica.* The fresh bark bruised is made into a paste, mixed with rice conjee and applied to buboes. It acts as a vesicatory. It is believed that the root reduced to powder and administered during pregnancy will cause abortion.

Pomegranate, Mathalam— *Punica granatum.* All the parts of this tree are used medicinally. The rind of the fruit and flowers which are powerfully astringent are employed successfully as gargles, in diarrhœa and dysentery; the pulp is sub-acid, quenching thirst and gently laxative, while the bark is a remedy for tape-worm given in decoction.

Nagamalli— *Rhinacanthus communis.* The fresh root and leaves of this shrub bruised and mixed with lime-juice are considered a useful remedy in ringworm and other cutaneous affections. Milk boiled in the root is reckoned aphrodisiacal and the roots are used as a cure for bites of poisonous snakes.

Karinghota—*Samadera indica.* This tree grows abundantly in Travancore and Cochin. The bark has febrifugal properties and is used by the natives for this purpose. An oil extracted from the kernels of the fruit is extensively used in rheumatism.

Sandalwood—*Santalum album.* Sandal reduced to powder is supposed to possess sedative and cooling properties and is hence prescribed in fever and gonorrhœa. Mixed with butter it is applied in headaches. Internally it is given in fevers and bilious affections and externally in prickly heat and cutaneous eruptions. It yields by distillation a pale-yellow volatile oil, which is stated to be a successful remedy in gonorrhœa.

Belamodagam—*Scævola kœnigii.* The leaves of this common shrub made into a poultice are powerfully emollient in tumours. Boiled in water a drink is prepared from them and administered internally to excite the flow of urine and in lochial obstructions.

Ealettadi-maravara—*Scindapsus pertusus.* The pericarp of this singular looking plant common in the jungles between Quilon and Courtallam is used in leprosy and scabies generally combined with other ingredients and in infusion for cough and rheumatism. Anattippili, *Scindapsus officinalis*, another plant of the same species, is reputed to have stimulant, diaphoretic and anthelmintic virtues.

Senkottai—*Semecarpus anacardium.* The acrid juice of the shells is given in small doses in leprous and scrofulous affection. An oil is prepared from the kernels useful in rheumatism and sprains; undiluted it acts as a blister.

Agathi—*Sesbania grandiflora.* The bark is powerfully bitter and is used as a tonic. The tender leaves, lagumes, and flowers are all eaten by the natives in their curries. An infusion of the leaves is given in cases of catarrh.

Kandankathri—*Solanum jacquini.* There are two varieties of this prickly creeper. The fruit is bitter and sub-acid and considered as an expectorant by the natives and given by them in coughs and consumptive complaints; also in decoction in humoral asthma. They are said to be good for the digestion.

Tooduvala—*Solanum trilobatum.* This is another creeper of the same species, much used in native medicine. The roots and leaves are given in decoction or powder in consumptive complaints, while the berries and flowers are given in decoction for coughs. Cheruchunda or *Solanum indicum* is also used largely in medicine.

Tanikai—*Terminalia belerica.* The kernel of the nut mixed with honey is given in certain cases of ophthalmia. The juice of the bark and root is given in decoction with rice and milk in colic. The fruit is astringent in taste, and is tonic and attenuent; it is also used in dropsy, diarrhœa, piles and leprosy, as well as for coughs. In large doses it becomes a narcotic poison.

Indian Almond, Vadankotta—*Terminalia catappa.* The kernel of the nuts of this tree has the taste of an almond and may be used for the same purposes but does not contain so much oil. The juice of the leaves with infusion of rice is given for bile, headache and colic pains. An ointment is made from the young leaves and milk of the nut, which is applied medicinally in scabies, leprosy and similar cutaneous affections.

Kadukai—*Terminalia chebula.* The gall-nuts when rubbed with

an equal portion of catechu are used in aphthous complaints and considered a valuable remedy. The unripe dried fruits are recommended as purgative by the natives; mixed with honey the fruit is given in infusion in dropsy and diabetes, and hæmorrhoidal affections and externally in cases of sore eyes &c.

Sirukanjori—*Tragina cannabina.* The root of this stinging plant is considered diaphoretic and is prescribed in decoction as an alterative; also in infusion in ardent fevers.

Nerunji—*Tribulus lanuginosus.* The leaves and root are said to possess diuretic properties, and are prescribed in decoction, while the seeds powdered are given in infusion to increase the urinary discharge, also in dropsy and gonorrhœa. The herb is said to be astringent and vermifuge and the seeds cordial.

Peppodal—*Trichosanthes cucumerina.* The seeds are reputed good in disorders of the stomach and the tender shoots and dried capsules are very bitter and aperient and are reckoned among the laxative medicines. In decoction with sugar they are given to assist digestion. The juice of the leaves is emetic and that of the root very purgative, while the stalk in decoction is expectorant.

Narumpanel—*Uvaria narum.* This climbing shrub seems peculiar to Travancore. A sweet-scented greenish oil is obtained from the roots by distillation, which as well as the root itself is used in various diseases. The roots which are fragrant and aromatic are also used in fevers and hepatic as well as cutaneous diseases.

Chembaravalli—*Vitis indica.* The juice of this plant mixed with oil is applied to affections of the eyes. The root beaten up and mixed with oil and cocoanut milk is said to be a cure for carbuncles, pustules and boils, and the juice of the root mixed with sugar is cathartic.

Ginger, Inji—*Zingiber officinale.* The ginger plant is extensively cultivated all over Travancore and its method of cultivation is described elsewhere. The ginger from Malabar is reckoned superior to any other. Ginger from its stimulant and carminative properties is used in toothaches, gout, rheumatism of the jaw and relaxed uvula with good effect and the essence of ginger is said to promote digestion. It is said to act powerfully on the mucous membrane though its effects are not always so decided on the remoter organs as on those into which it comes into immediate contact. Beneficial results have been arrived at when it

has been administered in pulmonary and catarrhal affections. Headaches have also been frequently relieved by the application of ginger poultices to the forehead. The native doctors recommend it in a variety of ways, externally in paralysis and rheumatism, and internally with other ingredients in intermittent fevers.

Jujube, Elantha—*Zizyphus jujuba.* The fruit of this small tree is sweet and palatable, and the seeds are given internally with other ingredients to allay irritation in the throat, coughs &c., Mixed with buttermilk the seeds are also given in bilious affections, and mixed with oil externally in rheumatism. The bark of root powdered and mixed with oil is applied to ulcers. A drink prepared from the leaves boiled in milk is given in virulent gonorrhœa; the leaves boiled and applied to the navel in the form of a plaster take away dysuria and strangury, and the juice of the root mixed with castor oil seeds is used as a purgative in bad stomachic complaints.

Flowering and Ornamental plants.

Allamanda cathartica. This showy plant was introduced into India from Guiana in 1803. It has become quite naturalised and is one of the handsomest ornaments of gardens. If allowed to climb up large trees, the effect is very striking and beautiful owing to the clusters of bright yellow flowers it is covered with.

Samstravadi— *Barringtonia acutangula.* This as well as its allied species, *B. racemosa,* are both handsome trees with long pendulous racemes of scarlet flowers, commonly to be met with along the banks of our backwaters.

Mandarai. There are two varieties. The Velutha mandarai, *Bauhinia acuminata,* is a favourite shrub in gardens, the large white fragrant flowers having a pretty appearance; the Chuvanna mandarai, *Bauhinia variegata,* is a small handsome and ornamental tree in gardens having beautiful purple flowers.

Porasu, or Palasa— *Butea frondosa.* This is a middle-sized tree which when in flower has a very striking appearance from its bright scarlet corollas. The natives are fond of offering the flowers in their temples and the women by intertwining the rich scarlet blossoms in their hair assume a very attractive and pleasing appearance.

Saralkonnai—*Cassia fistula.* This is easily recognised by its beautiful and fragrant long pendulous racemes of yellow flowers and is used

largely in medicine. The flowers form a favourite offering to the God Siva.

Chirutekku—*Clerodendron serratum.* This is a very ornamental shrub cultivated in Travancore. Its flowers are pale blue with lower lip indigo-coloured.

Sankhapushpam—*Clitorea ternatea.* This a very common creeper with pretty blue or white flowers. It is very ornamental for trellis work but by its quick spreading it is apt to become a little troublesome in gardens.

Kasturimanjal—*Curcuma aromatica.* An ornamental and beautiful plant, abounding in the Travancore forests with flowers, largish, pale-rose coloured with a yellow tinge along the middle of the lip.

Murunga—*Erythrina indica.* A small tree with scarlet flowers much used in these parts for the support of the betel vines and serving as an excellent hedge plant from its being armed with numerous prickles.

Gloriosa superba. This splendid creeper with flowers yellow and crimson-mixed is commonly met with in the Travancore forests. It is considered one of the most ornamental plants any country can boast of.

Chemparuthi—*Hibiscus rosa-sinensis.* This shrub is generally cultivated in gardens and grows to a height of 12-15 feet. Throughout the year may be seen its large flowers, single or double, crimson, yellow or white.

Adakodien—*Holostemma rheedii.* The flowers of this creeper found largely in the Covalam jungles near Trivandrum are remarkably pretty and would answer well for trellis work in gardens.

Thetti—*Ixora coccinea.* The Ixoras are all very ornamental plants with white, cream or orange-coloured flowers. The shurbs grow to a height of 4 or 5 feet and flower all through the year. The name ixora is derived from the Hindu deity Iswara to whom the beautiful scarlet flowers are offered in temples.

Kattumallika—*Jasminum angustifolium.* The flowers of this twining shrub are large, white with a faint tinge of red, star-shaped and fragrant.

Kattujirakamulla—*Jasminum hirsutum.* This is a fine-looking plant and very desirable in gardens from its white fragrant flowers which open in succession. Jirakamulla or *Jasminum sambac* is another plant of the same species commonly cultivated in gardens for its fragrant flowers.

Manimaruthu—*Lagerstrœmia flos-reginœ*. This, as already referred to, is without exception one of the most showy trees of the Indian forests when in blossom. It is now commonly cultivated in gardens on this coast where the moist damp climate is most suitable for its growth and the full development of its rich rose-coloured blossoms. In the forests near the banks of rivers it grows to an enormous size, some having purple flowers and forming a most beautiful and striking appearance.

Nedumchetti—*Memecylon amplexicaule*. A handsome flowering shrub common in our forests. In April and May it is covered with numerous very small bluish purple flowers. *M. tinctorium*, another shrub of the same species, is also common and highly ornamental in gardens when in flower, the stem being crowded with beautiful sessile purple florets.

Champaka—*Michelia champaca*. This tree is celebrated for the exquisite perfume of its flowers and is highly venerated by the Hindus, being dedicated to Vishnu. The natives adorn their heads with them, the rich orange colour of the flowers contrasting strongly with their dark black hair. Its medicinal properties have already been referred to.

Indian Cork tree—*Millingtonia hortensis*. This tree with numerous, large, pure white and fragrant flowers is very handsome and ornamental and well adapted for avenues and plantations.

Vellila or Vellimadantai—*Mussœnda frondosa*. A common shrub having gold-coloured flowers all through the year. The white calycine leaf contrasting with the golden coloured flower gives this shrub a conspicuous appearance.

Lotus, Tamara—*Nelumbium speciosum*. The large white or rose-coloured flowers of the lotus common in tanks throughout India are held specially sacred among the Hindus.

Sweet-scented Oleander, Arali—*Nerium odorum*. There are two or three varieties of this shrub common on the banks of rivers and channels with deep red, white, rose-coloured, single and double flowers.

Parijatakam or Pavazhamalli—*Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*. The bright red flowers of this small tree give it a very lively and attractive appearance, especially in the evenings and nights when a very delicious fragrance is given out.

Alli—*Nymphæ rubra*. This beautiful flower is common in ditches and tanks but neither so common nor so grand as the Tamara.

Kaitha, Tazhai—*Pandanus odoratissimus*. This large and singular-looking shrub is very common along the banks of our canals and backwaters where they are planted to bind the soil. The flowers are very fragrant but are seldom visible; the large red fruit much like a pine-apple is very attractive. There is a special variety of this in Central Travancore, known by the name of Kanaganaire.

Venga—*Pterocarpus marsupium*. This has been already referred to as being a large and very beautiful tree especially when in flower, with flowers small, sweet-scented and bright yellow.

Nandiyavatta—*Tabernæmontana coronaria*. There is a variety with double flowers which are fragrant at night. It is more common in gardens than the single one.

Among the other indigenous flowers may be mentioned, the Javanti (*Vicoa auriculata?*), the common rose, found only in gardens, the Andimallika, a small violet flower blossoming in the evening, and the Kolundu, a shrub whose leaves are very fragrant.

Concluding remarks.—The foregoing account of our forests might produce an impression on the general reader of the abundance of forest wealth in Travancore. This however is a chimera, whatever might have been their condition in bygone times, when Travancore forests are said to have been indented upon for the building of the British Navy, and Travancore Teak entered largely in the construction of ships that fought the battle of the Nile and gave victory to Nelson at Trafalgar. Such is not the case at any rate now. In the first place, there is no part of Travancore known as the 'Impenetrable forest' marked in Ward and Conner's maps, except in the sense of underwood and 'Inja-padappu' (thicket of *Acacia intsia*) growing luxuriantly to the detriment of the jungle-wallah's easy movements. In the second place, Travancore-grown teak has been found not enough to satisfy local Marahmut or D. P. W. wants. Burma teak has been imported more than once. And there is besides a perennial complaint from the people that they cannot get fairly good teak, nor in sufficient quantities, for their own house-building purposes. Considered in any light, it may be safely stated that the 'untold wealth' of the Travancore forests is a thing of the past; it cannot apply to present-day conditions. If a sustained policy of care and economy is vigilantly followed for the next 100 years or so, the Travancore forests may be resuscitated with real advantage to the State and prosperity to the agricultural ryots. The work of devastation has been unfortunately carried out with such activity, especially in the sixties and seventies of the last century. But there is no

doubt that a vast field for private enterprise exists in the Travancore jungles and Travancore minerals. It requires knowledge, perseverance, capital and combined effort to utilize them. Mr. T. Ponnambalam Pillay* M. R. A. S. has collected some valuable data on this subject while he acted as Conservator of our Forests, 3 years ago. He believes that there are 1,000 species of trees in Travancore against 1,200 for all India and 160 in Europe. Out of this, the Forest Department of the State respects only 4 Royal and 20 Reserved trees. There is a piece of forest known as the Yerur Reserve. It has an area of 100 square miles, each square mile containing timber of the 24 species to the value of 1 lac of rupees. Thus for 100 square miles the value of this timber is 100 lacs. The extent of the total reserved area in Travancore is about 2,350 square miles. Of this, some tracts such as Kulattupuzha, Ranni, Konni and Malayattur are superior to Yerur, while there are others inferior to it. To add to these, there are unreserved forests in which are to be found the superior species already referred to, besides the Royal trees found in private property. Thus following the calculation, the amount of the value of the timber from those trees can be put down at 2,500 lacs of Rupees or 25 years' revenue of the State. Only a few species of trees are made use of by the people in Travancore. This is due either to ignorance of the quality of the other species, or to sentiment on the part of the consumers. The timber called Irul or Irupul or Iron-wood (Xylia dolabriformis) is largely used in Burma and Ceylon for building purposes. Though it is a very hardy wood it is not in requisition in Travancore. For a long time Thambagam or Kongu (Hopea parviflora) was not used in Travancore, and it is only some time since its virtues were known to the house-building public. It is therefore possible to introduce into the market those species that are now not known. Again there are certain trees which are not close-grained and of a perishable nature. Scientists have found out a method by means of which certain chemical substances are injected into the trees to render the timber durable, and to secure immunity from the attacks of insects. Thus the wealth of the Forests can be increased. It has been seen that the value of the 24 species of timber in the forests came to 25 years' revenue of the State, and the value of the remaining ones can safely be put down to an equal amount. In speaking of timber, fire-wood has not been included. This article of daily want is obtained from the country and not imported from outside Travancore. Every individual of the State consumes at the rate of a chuckram (six and three-fourth pies) worth of fuel every day. Omitting one-fourth of the population who live on the sea-board towns

* In a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Public Lecture Committee, Trivandrum, in 1902.

and villages and use cocoanut shells for fire-wood, and omitting another one-fourth of the population who are able to get their fuel from their private compounds, and a third one-fourth of the population who gather dried leaves and twigs on the road side and other places and use them and cow-dung cakes in the place of fire-wood, there remains but one-fourth of the whole population of the State who get their fire-wood from the forest and the value of the quantity used by them comes to Rs. 25,000 daily. The value of the large quantities that are exported as well as those used for the several mills and factories, and for the manufacture of sugar, lemon-grass oil, and charcoal may be put down at Rs. 5,000. Thus the cost of the total quantity of fire-wood used in a day may be put down at Rs. 30,000. To this an equal amount which rots away in the forests may well be added without exaggeration. The amount of Rs. 60,000 is the value of the fire-wood at the place of consumption or outside the forests. Its value at the forests themselves may be put down at one-third of that value. Thus the amount consumed in a year is 73 lacs of Rupees worth of fire-wood which is the lowest figure possible. The capital amount that will be required to produce the 73 lacs must be another 2,500 lacs of Rupees. Notwithstanding the fact that a large quantity of fuel is available in the country the public demand is not met. There is not a single private depot in all Travancore, excepting at the mills where the rates are exorbitant. People go in for cocoanut shells because they cannot get fire-wood. These are not only costly but also not suited for cooking, owing to the violent way in which they burn. At the present moment it may not pay to bring in all the fire-wood that rots away in the forests. But certainly there is a large quantity that could be brought with advantage in order to create a trade in it. In Madras there are fuel-depots in every street. Though the proprietors do not take the commodity from long distances, still they manage to get about 10 per cent profit. In Trivandrum and other populous centres south of Quilon, excepting in small bazaars, we cannot get fire-wood unless we take advantage of the carts that perambulate the streets in the mornings. This industry has not yet been touched; undoubtedly there is plenty of money in it. The sap-wood of all coloured trees and the entire volume of all colourless trees, provided there is cellulose substance in them, can be made use of for making wood-pulp, which plays an important part in the manufacture of paper. The cellulose substance found in them should be separated from the rest. This is done by putting together small pieces of fresh cut wood and grinding them in a mill where water must constantly be poured in. By constant repetition of this process the fibrous substance will be retained and ground down. The same substance is also obtained by boiling the fresh

cut pieces already referred to, and separating the cementing substances from the fibres. By either process one-fourth of the original weight can be obtained as pulp. It is largely in demand in all manufacturing countries, and the quantity that is annually imported into Great Britain and Ireland is alone worth four millions of pounds sterling. Young shoots of bamboos, portions of matured bamboos and the surplus quantity of those that are not wanted for domestic purposes, several kinds of reeds, the wild sugar-cane and the refuse of the sugar-cane mills are considered to be good paper materials. Teak, Sandalwood, Lemon-grass and Cherupunna can give oils of commercial value and will form a basis of remunerative industry. Tar, gums, resins, tannic acid and dye are also obtainable from ordinary trees if people will come forward and take up the matter. The abundance of fibre-material in Travancore is already known. It can be increased still more. The well-known senna-leaves are found largely in South Travancore. It is as good as the Tinnevelly senna which is in great demand in the European markets. Gum kino is not only useful for dyeing, but it is also a very valuable medicinal product. The value of 1 lb of it when sent back from England with English labels on is about Rs. 17, but if it is locally prepared it will not exceed Rs. 6. It is believed that the Travancore forests contain wealth to the extent of 100 years' revenue of the State, or 1,000 millions sterling and thus afford an inexhaustible field for private industry.

CHAPTER IV.

Fauna.

(Contributed by Harold S. Ferguson Esq. F. L. S., F. Z. S.)

"The early progenitors of man must have been once covered with hair, both sexes having beards: their ears were probably pointed, and capable of movement; and their bodies were provided with a tail, having the proper muscles. Their limbs and bodies were also acted on by many muscles which now only occasionally reappear, but are normally present in the Quadrumana ... These early ancestors of man, thus seen in the dim recesses of time must have been as simply, or even still more simply organised than the lancelet or amphioxus."

Darwin.

(*Prefatory Note.*—To my old friend and brother-officer, Mr. H. S. Ferguson F. L. S., F. Z. S., I am beholden for this chapter on the Fauna of Travancore—a subject upon which he is an authority having spent nearly the whole of his life in the country, first as a Planter for several years on the Travancore Hills, then as the Guardian of the Princes, then as Commandant of one of the battalions in the Travancore army (Nayar Brigade), and lastly as the Director of the Government Museum and the Public Gardens at Trivandrum. He is a good shikari and has always been a diligent student of Natural History, both of which qualifications entitle him to be reckoned as an authority on the subject. He has delivered several lectures on kindred subjects in pursuance of the scheme of Public Lectures instituted by the Travancore Government, and these lectures have generally drawn large audiences from among the educated classes of the Trivandrum Public. The value of the contribution has been enhanced by the fact that he himself kindly offered to write the chapter unsolicited by me—an offer with which I readily fell in as I could not think of a more competent authority.

He drafted this chapter about two years ago, but finally corrected it just as he was leaving Trivandrum on furlough in March 1904. As his contribution to the Natural History section of the State, he has discovered several species of reptiles and insects new to science; his observations upon cetaceans have been received with interest and his study of the growth of tadpoles the result of which he has embodied in Notes which he has made known to the scientific world, all point him out to be a naturalist of no mean order.

The chapter is inserted here just as he left it. Not being a specialist myself on the subject, I have not taken the liberty to correct, abridge or modify it in any way.

(V. N.)

General. Travancore is a narrow strip of land more or less triangular in shape with a maximum breadth of 75 miles and a length of 174 miles. It is bounded on the west by the sea and on the east by the watershed of the hills which run from Cape Comorin to the extreme north, ending in the Kannan Devan hills or High Range, which is connected with the Anamalays on the north and the Pulneys on the east. The annual rainfall varies in different parts but is abundant everywhere except in the extreme south. The average temperature in the low country is 85° and at 2,100 feet elevation it is ten degrees less. The dry season which lasts from the middle of January to the middle of April is well marked. As is usually the case where there are dense forests and a heavy rainfall, cases of melanism are not uncommon and seasonal variation in colour constantly occurs. All countries are characterised by the different kinds of animals that inhabit them and they can be grouped into regions, subregions &c., in accordance with the way in which these animals are distributed. In this respect Travancore belongs to the great Indo-Malay, or Oriental Region, which includes the whole of India, Ceylon, Assam, Burma, Formosa, Hainan, Cochin China, Malacca, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Philippine Islands and part of China. It is divided into three subregions, Cisgangetic, Transgangetic and Malayan. The first of these comprises "India proper from the base of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the Arabian Sea and eastern boundary of the Panjab tract to the Bay of Bengal and the hills forming the eastern limit of the Gangetic alluvium with the addition of the island of Ceylon", and in this Travancore is included. It has, however, affinities in its hill fauna with that of the Himalayas and the south-western hill-group in Ceylon, but they are not sufficient, says Mr. Blanford, "to enable the S. Indian and Ceylonese areas to be classed with the Himalayan forest area in a separate subdivision or subregion". It has also affinities with the Malayan subregion as is shown by the occurrence of such genera as *Loris* and *Tragulus* among Mammals, *Draco* among Reptiles, and *Ixalus* among Amphibians. Travancore itself may be divided into four divisions:—(1) The forest-clad hill range up to and including the Cardamom Hills with an average height of 4,500 feet. (2) The Kannan Devan Hills or High Range more open in character and with an average height of 6,500 feet. (3) The low country from the north as far as Nagercoil. (4) The low country south of Nagercoil. Here the rainfall is only 25 inches and the palmyra takes the place of the cocoanut palm. The fauna resembles that of the east coast and here only in Travancore are found among Mammals the S. Indian Hedgehog (*Erinaceus micropus*), among Birds the smaller white Scavenger-vulture (*Neophron*

ginginianus), the grey Partridge (*Francolinus pondicerianus*) and some others, and among Reptiles, *Gongylophis conicus* and *Eryx johnii*.

Mammals. There are no Mammals peculiar to Travancore, but the Toque Monkey (*Macacus pileatus*), the Ceylonese Palm-civet (*Paradoxurus aureus*) and the Ceylon brown Mungoose (*Herpestes fulvescens*), formerly believed to be confined to Ceylon, are found in Travancore, and lately two Dolphins, *Tursiops fergusoni* and *Sotalia fergusoni*, have been taken off the coast.

There are four species of Monkeys, two of which, the grey, or Bonnet monkey (*Macacus sinicus*) and the Toque monkey (*M. pileatus*), are found only in the low country and do not ascend the hills to any height. The other two species are (*Macacus silenus*) the Lion-tailed monkey, and (*Semnopithecus johnii*) the Nilgiri Langur, which are only to be found on the hills at elevations over 2,000 feet. The former may be met with in small herds but often goes about solitary. The latter is always found in small troops. The loud booming note of the male is a familiar sound in the hills. They are very gentle and easily tamed and are clean in their habits in captivity. Coolies on the tea estates are very fond of the flesh of these animals and are always anxious to get them as medicine. The Malabar Langur (*Semnopithecus hypoleucus*), a grey monkey with a black face, is found in the Cochin hills and in the the Kambam valley on the eastern slopes of the Cardamom Hills; but I do not think it has been actually recorded from Travancore. Of the Lemuroids there is only one representative the Slender Loris (*L. gracilis*) found in the lowland forests; according to Jerdon it is "rare on the Malabar Coast", but so far as Travancore is concerned this does not hold good as it is decidedly common. Some years ago I saw two specimens of a larger species and the Kanis about Ponmudi say they know of two kinds. To describe their respective sizes they point to their wrists and then to their thighs. I have failed to obtain a specimen, however, and have no record of the ones I saw.

The Carnivora are well represented in Travancore. To begin with, there are six Cats varying in size from the Tiger to the little Rusty-spotted Cat (*Felis rubiginosa*). Tigers are not uncommon on the hills, but in the south where there is an abundance of forest and very little grass, they are not easy to get. The next in size, the Leopard (*F. pardus*), is very common and many skins are brought in by villagers yearly for the Government reward. The black variety is common and is usually bolder and fiercer than the ordinary one. The Fishing Cat (*F. viverrina*) is a fine cat, coloured as its name implies, like the civets, grey with black

spots and lines. It is usually found about the neighbourhood of the backwaters. I cannot agree with Blyth that it is "a particularly tamable species". Those we have had in captivity in the Public Gardens have invariably been very shy, sulky and fierce. The Jungle Cat (*F. chaus*) is the commonest of all and is found in the low country; in and about villages, it breeds freely with domestic cats. The Leopard Cat (*F. bengalensis*) used to be common some years ago about Kottayam but is now confined to the hills. This beautiful little cat is about the size of a domestic cat and is marked with black spots on a fulvous ground colour. It is commonest now in the High Range. The smallest of the six cats is the Rusty-spotted Cat (*F. rubiginosa*) which is found in the low country but is not common. The young of the Jungle Cat are very like the young of this species and it is difficult to distinguish them till they grow up. There are two Civets one of which (*Viverra civettina*) is very much larger than the other. Both are kept in captivity for the sake of the "musk" secreted by a gland near the tail.

Three Toddy Cats are found, one of which, *Paradoxurus jerdoni*, is confined to the hills at elevations over 3,000 feet. They are all nocturnal and feed on fruits though they are not above taking a meat diet when they can get it. The common Toddy Cat (*P. niger*) is a perfect pest as it invariably finds its way into houses and takes up its abode between the roof and ceiling where its movements and its smell make it a most undesirable visitor. The third species (*P. aureus*) I have only found in Trivandrum.

The Mungoose family are represented by four species of which the stripe-necked (*Herpestes vitticollis*) is the largest. It is found only in the forests and has very strong claws which enable it to dig out any prey that it has run to ground. *H. fuscus* is confined to the hills, but the common mungoose *H. mungo* and *H. fulvescens* are found in the low country.

Fifty years ago Hyænas were common in the neighbourhood of Trivandrum. Col. Drury in his *Life and Sport in Southern India* says " my shikari brought in this mornining two Hyænas he had killed about seven miles from this". But now there are hardly any to be found. Jackals are plentiful and in the hills packs of wild dogs (*Cyon dukhunensis*) hunt and clear the district they happen to be in of every kind of game. When living on the hills I often heard them in full cry and on one occasion, attracted by the sound, three of us ran in the direction and arrived in time to find them pulling down a Barking Deer (*Cervulus muntjac*). We

drove them off and took the deer ourselves. On the other hand I have also seen them running mute. My own belief is that this is their usual habit but they give tongue when their quarry is in view. I am the more convinced of this as the sounds we heard were not continuous nor of long duration.

The Indian Marten (*Mustela flavigula, var Gwatkinsi*) is found on the hills, rarely in the south but more commonly in Peermade and the Cardamom Hills. They are nocturnal and sometimes give trouble by breaking into fowl-houses. In the backwaters both the common Otter (*Lutra vulgaris*) and the Smooth Indian Otter (*L. macrodus*) are to be met with. The last of the carnivora is the Sloth-bear or Indian Bear (*Melursus ursinus*). This is found on the hills at all elevations and is more dreaded by the hillmen than any other animal as it will attack at once if suddenly disturbed.

The next great group of Mammals is the Insectivores. About their habits there is little to be said. They are all nocturnal. The only Hedge-hog found in Travancore is the South Indian (*Erinaceus micropus*) and it is only found in the extreme south about Nagercoil. Of the Shrews the so called "Musk rat" (*Crocidura murina*) is the best known and there are one or two other species of this genus recorded from the hills, but I have not come across specimens and have failed to obtain them from the hillmen.

The bats are well represented from the great dull coloured fruit-eating Flying-fox (*Pteropus medius*), conspicuous everywhere by its habit of associating in large colonies, to the little richly coloured Painted Bat (*Cerivoula picta*), hardly larger than a good-sized butterfly, that hides itself in the recesses of a plantain tree. The Fruit-eating Bats play an important part in the dispersion of seeds as they usually carry off the fruits to some distance and drop the seed when they have fed on the pulp. Insectivorous Bats enter houses very frequently at night and feed on the insects that are attracted by the light. So far, I have identified about fourteen species; but there are many more, I am sure, to be found on the hills.

Of the Rodents, our next group which includes the Squirrels, Rats, and Mice, Porcupines, Hare &c., the Porcupine (*Hystrix leucura*) is the largest. It is found only in the hills and is very destructive to garden produce. The Black-naped Hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) is common in the low country and on the hills. There are two kinds of Flying-squirrel both found only on the hills, the larger (*Pteromys oral*) is not uncommon

but the smaller (*Sciuropterus fuscicapillus*) is somewhat rare. The large black and red Squirrel (*Sciurus indicus*) is only found on the hills from 500 feet elevation upwards; its loud cry may be often heard in the forest. There are three small striped squirrels of which the Palm-squirrel (*S. palmarum*) is a familiar visitor to human habitations where its loud persistent chirrup when alarmed or exited renders it often most unwelcome. The other two kinds, (*S. tristriatus*) and (*S. sublineatus*), are found only on the hills, the latter only at elevations of over 2,000 feet. There is, however, one exceptional locality in the low country, seven miles from Trivandrum, where I have obtained specimens. Here there are remains of the old forest which once covered the whole of the country but is now confined to the hills. Of the Rat tribe the Malabar Spiny Mouse (*Platacanthomys lasiurus*) is the most interesting. It is found only on the hills where it lives in hollows made in old forest trees. It is something like a dormouse. The Antelope-rat (*Gerbillus indicus*) may often be seen at dark crossing the roads; it makes its burrows in open places such as the Parade grounds and the Public Gardens in Trivandrum. Of the remaining species, some six in all, the Bandicoot-rat (*Nesocia bandicota*) is the largest and the common Indian Field-mouse (*Mus-buduga*), an elegant little beast, the smallest. The common rat is ubiquitous and frequents human habitations most persistently; it is a splendid climber and runs up a punkah rope with the greatest ease.

From the small Rodents to the lordly Elephant is a great step, but this animal is the first member of the next order we have to consider viz., the Ungulates. Elephants are protected in Travancore and their ivory is a royalty of the Government so that they are fairly numerous in the hills. Mr. T. F. Bourdillon in his *Report on the Forests of Travancore* writes as follows:—

"These animals are wild in the forests, and are in some places particularly abundant. They do not always remain in the same spot, but move about over large areas, their movements being regulated by the quantity and condition of the food available, and by the state of the weather. Over the greater part of Travancore they descend from the hills as soon as the water begins to fail there, that is to say about January, and they are then to be found in the thickest and coolest parts of the lower forests in the vicinity of some river. As soon as the showers begin to fall in April, their instinct tells them that they can again obtain water on the hills, and that fresh grass has sprung up where the dry herbage was so lately burnt, and they immediately commence an upward movement to the higher ground. There they remain till about September when some, but not all of them, descend to the lower slopes of the hills and even to the low country, to see what they can get from the fields of hill-paddy then beginning to ripen, and they often destroy large quantities of grain. In November these migrants again ascend the hills and join their companions. Advantage is taken by us of the annual descent from the hills in the hot weather to catch these animals in

pits, but in November no attempt is made to capture them as the pits are then full of water. The question has often been debated whether the number of elephants in the country is increasing or decreasing. I believe that most people would say that elephants are more numerous than formerly, but I am inclined to think that this impression is formed from the increased damage done to cultivation of all sorts. If we recollect that cultivation is yearly extending, we can well understand that elephants are much more troublesome now than formerly, without there being any increase in their numbers; and if we could take a census of them we should probably find that their numbers are about stationary. I once attempted to estimate how many there are in the State; and I came to the conclusion that there must be from 1,000 to 1,500, the greater number of them being found in North Travancore, especially the Cardamom Hills. Sometimes elephants die in large numbers, as in the year 1866, when a murrain attacked them in the forests near Malayathur, and 50 pairs of tusks were brought to the Forest Officers at that place and Thodupuzha in April and May of that year. Such epidemics would doubtless occur more frequently if the number of elephants increased unduly and the supply of food fell short and their rarity is a sign that the animals are not troubled for want of food though their migrations show that it is not always to be obtained in the same place."

The Gaur, the so called "Bison" of Europeans (*Bos gaurus*), is the finest representative of the existing bovines. They go about in herds of which one old bull is the acknowledged leader and master. When age tells upon him he may be driven out after severe fight by a younger and a stronger one and he then abandons the herd and wanders about solitary. It is these solitary bulls that generally afford the finest trophies to the sportsman.

There are no wild Sheep in Travancore and the Goats are represented by a solitary species, the Nilgiri Wild Goat (*Hemitragus hylocrius*) miscalled by Europeans the Ibex. They are to be found in herds on the hills in suitable localities where there are grassy slopes and precipitous rocks. The bucks leave the herd from December to April when the does breed and go about with their kids. No Antelopes are found in Travancore but the Deer are represented by four species, the Sambur (*Cervus unicolor*), found at all elevations where there is a forest; the Spotted Deer (*Cervus axis*) that go about in herds and frequent open forests and bamboo jungle at the foot of the hills; the Rib-faced or Barking-Deer (*Cervulus muntjac*), usually found solitary, or in pairs at all elevations on the hills in thick forest; and the tiny little Mouse-deer (*Tragulus meminna*) that stands only about a foot high, and is also to be found only on the hills, where it leads a solitary and retired life except in the breeding season when the male and female keep together.

The Indian Wild Boar is the last of the Ungulates. Herds or "Sounders" of these animals are to be met with at the foot of the hills and about the cultivated patches where they do much damage to the crops. The young

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Elephant at bath in the Karamanai River.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

are striped and spotted. Of the Cetaceans that frequent the coast no, much is known. The little Indian Porpoise (*Neophocæna phocænoides*) the False Killer (*Pseudorca crassidens*), the Common Dolphin (*Delphinus delphis*), *Tursiops catalania*, *Tursiops fergusoni* and *Sotalia fergusoni* are the only ones so far identified. The Indian Pangolin (*Manis pentadactyla*) is the only representative of the order Edentata. It feeds almost entirely on white ants which it seeks at night; during the day it lies up in a burrow scooped out under ground. There is a Game Preservation Regulation which is in force in the hill districts of Central and North Travancore. The close season for all Big Game is from 31st May to 1st October.

Birds. The birds cannot be treated of at such length as the mammals, as there are about 330 species found in Travancore. Of these, two only are peculiar to it while the third is only found elsewhere on the Pulneys. They were first brought to notice by Mr. Bourdillon and two are named after him, Bourdillon's Babbler (*Rhopocichla bourdilloni*) Bourdillon's Black-bird (*Merula bourdilloni*). This extends to the Pulneys and Blanford's Laughing-thrush (*Trochalopteron meridionale*) which is only found in the extreme south above 4,000 feet on the tops of the hills in forest. As it is not possible with the limited space at my disposal to enumerate all the birds, it will perhaps be the best way to point out those that are characteristic of the different divisions into which, as I have said, Travancore may be separated. To take the low country first. Two species of crows, the Indian House-crow (*Corvus splendens*) and the Jungle-crow (*Corvus macrorhynchus*) are ubiquitous, while the Drongo or King-crow (*Dicrurus*) *ater* is the next most conspicuous bird with the exception perhaps of the common House-sparrow which is found wherever there are human habitations. Flocks of Rose-ringed green Paroquets (*Palæornis torquatus*) may be seen feeding on fruit trees or rapidly flying in search of food and uttering shrill cries as they fly. Perched on the telegraph wires or seated on the ground, a little green bird with a long bill and tail, the outer feathers of which are elongated and pointed, may be constantly met with moving from its perch in short flights after its insect prey. This is the coomon Bee-eater (*Merops viridis*). A relation of it, the white-breasted Kingfisher (*Halcyon smyrnensis*) is a much more gorgeously-clad bird; its white breast, chestnut brown head and blue black make it evident to the eye, while its high pitched tremulous cry forces itself on the ear. It frequents gardens and feeds on insects mainly, while a smaller edition of it *Alcedo ispida*, the common Kingfisher, is found on the banks of every tank or stream looking for fish to which its diet is limited. Another common Kingfisher is the Indian Pied (*Ceryle varia*), a black and white bird which

may be seen hovering over water and shooting down with a direct plunge when it descries a fish. Towards dusk another relation, the Common Indian Nightjar (*Caprimulgus asiaticus*) may be heard. It is known as the "ice bird" as its cry resembles the sound of a pebble skimming along the ice. Another bird that forces itself on the ear is the Tailor-bird (*Orthotomus sutorius*), it is a tiny plain greenish brown bird, white below, with a remarkably loud voice which it constantly exercises in crying "ptetty, pretty, pretty," or as some described it "towhee, towhee, towhee". The prettiest of all our garden birds are the Honey Suckers or "Sun-birds," tiny little creatures shining with glorious metallic colours. Nothing can be more charming than to watch a flock of the commonest kind, *Arachnechthra zeylonica*, skirmishing through a bush in flower, never still, at one time spreading their tails like fans, anon fluttering their wings up and down and keeping up a constant chatter. There are two other kinds, *A. lotenia* and *A. asiatica*, but these are not so conspicuous. The smallest and brightest of all, *A. minima*, is abundant at the foot of the hills and may be found at all elevations. Every one has heard of the "Seven sisters". This name is given to various kinds of babblers in different parts of India which have a strong family likeness and go about in small flocks of about half a dozen. They are mostly earthy brown and they vary in the colour of the throat. Our commonest species is the Southern Indian Babbler (*Crateropus striatus*), but there are two other kinds found, *C. griseus* and *C. canorus*, the latter chiefly at the foot of the hills. Another well-known bird is the Madras red-vented Bulbul (*Molpastes hæmorrhous*), a plain brown bird with a black head, white upper tail coverts and crimson lower ones. It is often kept as a pet by natives. A bright-coloured bird with a good deal of yellow and white about it may often be seen about the trees and bushes hunting for insects; this is the common Iora (*Ægithina tiphia*). The female is green and white. Its presence may always be known by its peculiar note which sounds like a prolonged plaintive indrawn whistle on D sharp falling to a short note on F sharp.

There are three Shrikes that may be seen not uncommonly, two of which go about in flocks. One, the common Wood-shrike (*Tephrodornis pondicerianus*), a plain ashy-brown bird with a broad white eyebrow has a tuneful whistle well described by Mr. Aitken as "Be thee cheery". The other, the small Minivet, has a finer dress of black orange and scarlet but this is only sported by the males, the females and young having it more subdued. The third, the Large Cuckoo Shrike, is a grey bird considerably bigger than the others. Conspicuous by their colour are the Orioles commonly known as "Mango birds", fine yellow fellows with some black

about them. The Black-naped Oriole (*Oriolus indicus*), which is only a winter visitor, has it on the nape, while the other the Black-headed Oriole wears it on the head. They have a rich flute-like whistle. No one can fail to notice the common Myna (*Acridotheres tristis*), a plain brown bird with a black head and breast shading off into vinous brown often seen walking after cattle and as its name implies hunting for grasshoppers, its favourite food. It is a splendid mimic and in captivity can be taught to talk and it readily picks up the notes of other birds. Another Myna, the Jungle Myna very like it in colouration and habits, is also common. It is a smaller bird than the Common Myna and may be distinguished from it by its size and the absence of the bare skin round the eyes. A white bird with a black crested head and two very long white tail feathers may often be seen flitting in undulating flight from tree to tree. This is the Indian Paradise Flycatcher (*Terpsiphone paradisi*), commonly known as the "Cotton thief", as he looks as if he were making off with a load of that staple. His wife, the "Fire thief", has an almost equally long tail, only it is red; hence her nickname. The young males take after their mother at first and only get to the white stage in the fourth year. Another common bird is the Fantail Flycatcher; it is dark brown with white forehead and eyebrows, it has a quaint song that reminds one of the opening of a valse tune. One of the few birds that has a really pretty song is the Magpie-robin (*Copsychus saularis*), a familiar bird in its white and black livery, to be met with in the neighbourhood of human habitations. Its sweet notes are the first one hears just as the dawn is beginning to break. Another sweet songster is the Large Pied Wagtail also clad in black and white. The Indian Skylark too (*Alauda gulgula*), may often be heard both in the low country and on the hills in open ground. Another Lark, the Madras Bush-lark (*Mirafra affinis*), is common. It has a habit of sitting on some exposed spot such as the roof of a house, whence it rises in a short soaring flight while it utters a shrill trilling note. Both it and the Indian Pipit (*Anthus rufulus*) frequent grass land and are to be found in crowds on the rice fields after the crop is cut and the ground has dried. Most people can recognise a Woodpecker when they see it and there are at least three species that are found in the low country, but it is not easy to describe them in a few words. The Yellow-fronted Pied Woodpecker (*Liopicus mahrattensis*) may be recognised by its bright yellowish brown head. The Malabar Rufous Woodpecker (*Micropternus gularis*) is a uniform dull rufous. The third is well called the Golden-backed Woodpecker (*Brachypternus aurantius*), its loud screaming call, which it utters as it flies, is a familiar sound. So too is the call of the "Copper smith",

the Crimson-breasted Barbet (*Xantholæma hæmatocephala*). It is a green thick-set bird with a yellow throat bordered below by a crimson band and with a crimson forehead; it has a strong coarse beak. A near relation, the small Green Barbet (*Thereiceryx viridis*), is also common and to be heard frequently. Two not uncommon birds, the Hoopœ (*Upupa indica*) and the Indian Roller (*Coracias indica*), are conspicuous by their plumage. The latter is very like an English Jay. The former is a brown bird with a long bill and a large fawn-coloured crest, all the feathers of which are tipped with black. Another bird that intrudes upon one's notice by its persistent cry is the common Hawk-cuckoo (*Hierococcyx varius*). It is a grey bird very like a Shikra, hence its English name; but familiarly it is known as the "Brain-fever bird" for, as the hot weather approaches, its voice may be heard first running up a scale and at the end shrieking, time after time, what sounds to one's heated imagination like the words "brain fever," again and again repeated. It is heard by night as often as by day which makes it all the more disturbing. Of the birds of prey there are not a few that frequent the plains; many being, however, only winter visitors may be safely left out of account. The most familiar of our residents are of course the Brahminy and the Common Kite; these are too well known to need description. The Crested Hawk Eagle (*Spizætus cirrhatus*) is a fine bird, for the most part brown, the feathers having darker centres; it has a long crest black tipped with white. It is most destructive in the poultry yard as it takes up a station on a tree hard by and seizes its opportunity to dart down and carry off whatever it can; this it will do day after day unless it is driven off. The Shikra is also a common bird, while at night the Little Spotted Owlets (*Athene brama*) and (*Scops bakkamœna*) may often be heard.

Of the Pigeons the only one common in the plains is the Indian Blue Rock (*Columba intermedia*) which may often be met with in the dry paddy fields after the crops are cut.

Turing now to the marsh and water birds, we find them pretty well represented as the backwaters along the coast afford them shelter and food. In or about every tank where there are bushes, a dark slaty grey bird with a white breast may be seen for a second, feeding in the open, but not longer, as it skulks off rapidly into cover with its perky little tail uplifted. This is the white-breasted Water-hen (*Amaurornis phœnicurus*). The Water-cock (*Gallicrex cinerea*) is not its husband but has a wife of his own. They are larger birds clad alike, in winter in dark brown with paler edges to the feathers ; in summer, however, the male dresses more or less in black with some white below. They are common

in standing paddy. On every weed-covered tank the elegant Jacanas, both the bronze-winged (*Metopidius indicus*) and the Pheasant-tailed (*Hydrophasianus chirurgus*), are to be seen like Agag treading delicately over the water leaves. The latter in its breeding plumage is a lovely sight. Two Lapwings, the Red-wattled (*Sarcogrammus indicus*) and the Yellow-wattled (*Sarciophorus malabaricus*), may be frequently heard and seen. The former prefers the neighbourhood of water and when flushed goes off remonstrating "why did you do it". The other prefers dry plains, where it circles about uttering much the same cry but with one note less. Its cry may be heard for some time after dark. These are residents and the Little Ringed Plover (*Ægialitis dubia*) may almost be reckoned so, as there are few months in which individuals may not be met with. It frequents the shores and paddy fields. Other winter visitors are the Sandpipers commonly called "Snippets", the most numerous of which are the Common Sandpiper (*Totanus hypoleucus*) and the Wood Sandpiper (*T. glareola*). Both the Common and Fantail snipe afford sport to the gunner in winter while the beatiful Painted Snipe (*Rostratula capensis*) is a permanent resident. Seated on the posts that mark the channel in the backwaters, numbers of Terns are to be seen in winter, they are the Smaller-crested (*Sterna media*), and on the seashore the common Tern (*Sterna fluviatilis*) is fairly numerous. In the paddy fields the Pond Heron (*Ardeola grayi*) is always abundant and so are the Little Green Heron (*Butorides javanica*) and the Chestnut Bittern (*Ardetta Cinnamomea*). So far as I have been able to ascertain, the Duck are represented by four species of Teal, the Whistling, the Cotton, the Common and the Blue-winged, while the Spotted-billed Duck is occasionally met with. The Little Grebe (*Podiceps albipennis*) completes the list of water birds to be found commonly in the plains.

Bird life is most abundant at the foot of the hills. Here the "Seven sisters" are represented by the Jungle Babbler (*Crateropus canorus*) which has the same colouring and habits as the others of its class. The Bulbuls are represented by Jerdon's Chloropsis, a green bird with a black chin and a blue moustache, a cheerful little fellow frequenting trees and not to be easily distinguished as its colour harmonises so well with the foliage. The Southern Red-whiskered Bulbul (*Otocompsa fuscicaudata*) is even more abundant and might perhaps be considered to have a prescriptive right to the epithet 'cheerful', I have used in describing the Choloropsis, for to Jerdon he was always "Jocosa". If you see a plain brown bird with a snow white throat and breast and with a perky black crest bending forward over its beak you will know it at once. Another

bright coloured bird is the Yellow-browed Bulbul (*Iole icterica*). It is mostly yellow with brown wings. It is common up to 2,000 feet. Flocks of Malabar Wood-shrikes are to be met with up to 3,000 feet, grey birds with a black band through the eye. They keep up a harsh chattering as they search the trees for insect food. The Black-backed Pied Shrike (*Hemipus picatus*) is also fairly common and easily recognisable, some of the most familiar sounds are the notes of the Southern Grackle (*Eulabes religiosa*). It is a black bird, and its yellow beak, yellow legs and yellow wattles on the back of the head render it unmistakable. It has a powerful voice and a variety of notes, some harsh and some pleasing; towards sunset it makes itself particularly heard. Most of the Flycatchers are winter visitors and are to be found at high elevations, but the little Brown Flycatcher (*Alseonax latirostris*) is an exception. It is resident and is found from the foot of the hills to about 2,000 feet. It takes up its perch on a branch and sits motionless until it makes a dash after some passing insect when it returns to its perch again.

Flocks of little Munias, small finch-like birds of three kinds, the White-backed (*Uroloncha striata*), the Spotted (*U. punctulata*) and the Black-headed (*Munia malacca*) may be seen feeding on the ground or clinging to the lantana bushes in which they love to perch.

Two small Woodpeckers, the Ceylon Pigmy Woodpecker (*Iyngipicus gymnophthalmus*)and the Heart-spotted (*Hemicercus canente*), are fairly common. The latter is easily recognised in the first place by its peculiar cry something like that of the Kestril and secondly by its black plumage with heart-shaped black spots on the buff coverts of the wing. The former is a small bird brown with white streaks on the plumage about 5 inches long of which one and a half are tail. The Western Blossom-headed Paroquet (*Palæornis cyanocephalus*) is here conspicuous going about in flocks and the Little Indian Grey Tit (*Parus atriceps*) may be seen at almost all elevations. It has a black head with white cheeks and grey back. As one ascends the hills the Southern Tree-pie (*Dendrocitta leucogastra*) is commonly seen. It is a beautiful bird with a black head, a snow-white breast, chestnut-bay back and a tail 12 inches long of grey and black. They go about in parties of three or four and are somewhat noisy. Another bird that is often heard is the Southern Scimitar Babbler (*Pomatorhinus horsfieldii*). Its peculiar rolling chuckle tells one it is there, but the thick underwood it affects renders it difficult to discover. The peculiar inconsequent whistle of the Malabar Whistling Thrush (*Myiophoneus horsfieldii*) is to be heard near every stream in the forests. "The Drunken Plough Boy" is the name it has obtained by

its musical efforts. It is a fine bird to look at, black with a considerable amount of blue about it. From the foot of the hills to about 2,000 feet, another bird, the Racket-tailed Drongo (*Dissemurus paradiseus*), makes itself continuously heard and its rich metallic notes are characteristic of the forest. It is a glossy black bird with a fine crest, the lateral tail feathers are greatly elongated, bare for a certain distance and webbed at the end; hence its English name. In the tops of the trees flocks of the fairy Blue Bird (*Irena puella*), one of the most beautiful of all our birds, are a feature of the jungle life to about 2,000 feet. At a distance they seem plain enough, but if you get a closer view the metallic blue of the back and crown of the male contrasting with the black of the other parts shows a scheme of colouring that cannot be surpassed.

Creeping among the leaves the Little White-eyed Tit (*Zosterops palpebrosa*) is a common sight. Its green plumage and the conspicuous ring of white round the eye render it easy to recognise. In the winter two Rock-thrushes are to be commonly met with, the Blue-headed (*Petrophila cinclorhyncha*) and the Western Blue (*Petrophila cyanus*), the former in forest in the neighbourhood of cultivation, the latter generally in open clearings or in grass land where there are rocks. The males are handsome birds; when in their winter plumage the former has a blue head, black back, red upper tail coverts and a blue spot in front of the shoulder. The latter is bright blue with dark brown wings and tail, the female is dull blue throughout with buffy white under plumage each feather of which has a black edge. The female of the Blue-headed Rock-thrush is quite unlike her husband being brown above and white below, thickly barred with dark brown.

On every path the elegant little Grey Wagtail (*Motacilla melanope*) may be seen tripping along. It is our earliest visitor and stays the latest.

Three Woodpeckers frequent the higher elevations, the common Golden-backed three-toed (*Tiga javanensis*), Tickell's Golden-backed (*Chrysocolaptes gutticristatus*), and the Malabar Great Black Woodpecker (*Thriponax hodgsoni*). The first of these is common everywhere, the second in the neighbourhood of streams, while the third is the commonest in open jungle. The peculiarities noted in their names are sufficient to discriminate them. The presence of a pair of the great Horn-bill (*Dichoceros bicornis*) is manifested for some distance. Their hoarse croaking roar may be heard for miles and the beating of their wings as they fly across a valley attracts one's attention at once. They are not

abundant nor so common as their relation, the Jungle Grey Horn-bill (*Lophoceros griseus*). These also make their presence known by their peculiar cry which is like the laugh of our old friend Mr. Punch, but they frequent heavy forest and are not so often seen.

The "whish" of the brown-necked Spine-tail (*Chætura indica*) is a familiar sound as it rushes by at more than double the rate of the fastest express. They are more often heard than seen, but at times they play, and the rate of flight is then moderate. The Indian Edible-nest Swiftlet (*Collocalia unicolor*) is the other swift that is most common in the hills. A very beautiful bird that frequents heavy forests over 2,000 feet is the Malabar Trogon. It has a broad black head set on a thick neck, a yellowish brown back and a long black tail with chestnut centre feathers. The breast is black bordered by a white band and below this again it is pale crimson. The female has the head, neck and upper breast brown, no white band and the under parts are brownish buff.

Another beautiful bird is the velvet-fronted Blue Nuthatch. At elevations of about 2,000 feet and upwards, it may be seen creeping about the trunks of trees. As its name describes, it is blue with a dark velvety-black band on the forehead.

At about this elevation or perhaps a little higher and up to the extreme summits, the Southern Indian Black Bulbul (*Hypsipetes ganeesa*) is very common; it is a dark grey bird with a black head and an orange-red beak. Its cheerful notes are a sure sign that you are a long way above the sea-level.

Flocks of the Blue-winged Paroquet(*Palæornis columboides*) take the place of the Blossom-headed as one ascends the hills, and the little Indian Loriquet inconspicuous by its small size and green colouring is to be met with.

The note of the Brown Hawk-owl (*Ninox scutulata*) is frequently heard at night while by the day the scream of the Crested Serpent-eagle (*Spilornis cheela*) as it soars aloft, is equally common. The Black Eagle (*Ictinætus malayensis*) may be seen quartering the tops of the trees in search of small birds' eggs and young at all seasons while the Kestril and the Indian Hobby are winter visitants.

The whistle of the Grey-fronted Green Pigeon (*Osmotreron affinis*) is not uncommonly heard and also the booming note of Jerdon's Imperial Pigeon (*Ducula cuprea*), while the Bronze-winged Dove (*Chalcophaps indica*) may be seen in heavy jungles feeding on the ground. The Grey

Jungle-fowl *(Gallus sonnerati)* may be met with on jungle paths either early in the morning or after sunset.

On the High Range the Palni Laughing-thrush (*Trochalopterum fairbanki*) takes the place of *T. meridionale*. Here too may be found the Nilgiri Babbler (*Alcippe phæocephala*), a plain brown bird with ashy brown forehead and crown that was called by Jerdon the "Neilgherry Quaker Thrush," no doubt on account of the want of brilliancy in its plumage. In the grass lands the Red-headed Fantail Warbler (*Cisticola erythrocephala*) is fairly common.

The three Flycatchers that are most abundant at high elevations are the Nilgiri Blue Flycatcher (*Stoporola albicaudata*), an indigo blue bird with a lighter blue forehead and eyebrow, the Grey-headed Flycatcher (*Culicicapa ceylonensis*) and the Black and Orange Flycatcher (*Ochromela nigrirufa*), whose English names sufficiently describe them for purposes of identification. About Peermade and the High Range are found numbers of the Southern Pied Bush-chat (*Pratincola atrata*). They are always in pairs, the male is black with white upper tail coverts and a white patch on the wing, the female is grey with reddish upper tail coverts and black tail. Other birds peculiar to the High Range are the common Rose Finch (*Carpodacus erythrinus*) which come there in flocks as winter visitants, the White Wagtail (*Motacilla alba*) is also to be found there only in winter, and the Nilgiri Pipit is a permanent resident in the grass lands. Here too is often seen the Malabar Crested Lark (*Galerita malabarica*) also a permanent resident, and the great Alpine Swift (*Cypselus melba*) congregates in numbers and hawks for insects through the smoke of the grass fires. The commonest Quail is the Painted Bush-quail (*Microperdix erythrorhyncha*), and of other game birds the Wood-cock and the Wood-snipe are sometimes met with in winter.

To return to the low country: the birds peculiar to the extreme south of Travancore are the White-throated Munia (*Uroloncha malabarica*) which is common there, though to my surprise I have not met with it elsewhere, the smaller White Scavenger Vulture (*Neophron ginginianus*), the Little Brown Dove (*Turtur cambayensis*), the Indian Ring Dove (*Turtur risorius*), the Grey Partridge (*Francolinus pondicerianus*), and the Brown-headed Gull (*Larus brunneicephalus*).

The Palm Swift (*Tachornis batassiensis*) though not confined to the south is far more abundant there, and the little Scaly-bellied Green Woodpecker (*Gecinus striolatus*) I have only obtained near Cape Comorin.

Reptiles. All the backwaters and most of the larger rivers of Travancore are infested with crocodiles and in North Travancore small ones may be found even in the tanks, the water of which is used for various purposes; the people take no notice of them until they get fairly large (over 4 feet or so) when they either destroy them or force them to move away. By far the commonest kind is *Crocodilus palustris*. In the south they do not generally exceed 8 feet in length but in North Travancore specimens are said to be found up to 20 feet. At the mouths of the rivers in North Travancore *Crocodilus porosus* is found. There is one specimen in the Museum taken at Tannirmukham and there was a skull presented by General Cullen of which he gives the following account :—

"The animal was killed several years ago in the backwaters between Alleppey and Cochin at a place called Tannirmukham. It had killed several natives and on the last occasion seized a woman far advanced in pregnancy as she was washing. She died of the injuries she received, and the husband and others vowing vengeance against the brute, at last caught and killed it. They brought it with another one and left it before me at Cochin. It was about 10 feet long. I have records of alligators up the river at Cochin near Verapoly of 18 to 22 feet in length."

The sea yields four kinds of turtles, (*Chelone imbricata*) the one that produces the tortoise-shell of commerce, *Chelone mydas*, *Thalassochelys caretta* and the great Leathery Turtle, *Dermochelys coriacea*. In the rivers the fresh-water turtles, *Trionyx cartilagineus* and *Pelochelys cantori*, may be found.

In the tanks, the Ceylon Pond-tortoise, *Emyda vittata* and *Nicoria trijuga*, are common, while on the hills in the extreme south, the land-tortoise (*Testudo elegans*) may be met with and *Testudo platynota* throughout the range. Among the lizards, the Flying-lizard (*Draco dussumieri*) is the most remarkable as it has a lateral wing-like membrane supported by the last five or six ribs which enables it to glide through the air from one tree to another in downward flight. It is found at the foot of the hills most commonly. In houses numbers of the House Gecko (*Hemidactylus leschenaulti*) are always to be seen stalking insects on the walls at night. The lizard that has been victimised with the name of "Blood-sucker" is *Calotes versicolor*. It is very common in the low country while its relation, *C. ophiomachus*, is equally common in the hills. On the sides of the roads in forest on the hills, a fat-bodied lizard, olive brown above, with a a series of rhomboidal spots along the middle of the back, *Sitana ponticeriana*, is common at low elevations. While on the High Range *Salea anamallayana* is abundant. Into houses *Mabuia carinata*, a brown lizard with a lighter band on each side, often finds its way. It is essentially a

Ground-lizard and never climbs. The most formidable of the lizard tribe is the monitor called by Europeans "Guana" found in the neighbourhood of water both in the low country and in the hills. It has a powerful jaw and can kill rats as well as any terrier and then swallow them whole with the greatest ease. Lastly we have the well-known Chameleon (*C. calcaratus*) which is not uncommon about the low country.

Only two lizards are peculiar to Travancore, *Ristella travancorica* and *Lygosoma subcœruleum*.

Snakes are fairly common in Travancore and there are about 67 species represented. When one is met with, the first question that is asked is, "Is it a poisonous one", to this most of the people at once reply in the affirmative and, needless to say, they are generally wrong. There are only three poisonous snakes that are found in the low country and they are easily recognisable:—(1) The Cobra(*Naia tripudians*) whose hood at once proclaims it (2) The Russel's Viper (*Vipera russellii*) whose thick body, broad head covered with little scales, and the chain pattern down the centre of its back easily identify it (3) The "Krait" (*Bungarus cæruleus*), this is bluish black above with narrow transverse white streaks or spots, a scheme of colouring which is adopted by a harmless snake (*Lycodon aulicus*) that is often found about houses and is mistaken for the Krait; the Krait, however, can be easily discriminated by its blunt head and by the fact that the scales running down the centre of the back are enlarged and hexagonal. No other poisonous snakes than these are likely to be seen in the low country. On the hills and at their foot the Hamadryad (*Naia bungarus*) is found. Here again the hood betrays it. Two species of Callophis, *C. nigrescens* and *C. bibronii*, may be met with occasionally but so rarely as not to need description, and there are three Tree-vipers (*Ancistrodon hypnale*), *Trimeresurus anamallensis*, and *T. macrolepis* which are easily recognised by their broad flat heads and by the pit just in front of the eye. The bite of these last, though painful, in effect is not fatal to man. There are several species of Sea-snakes, all of which are poisonous. They are entirely marine and may be distinguished by their compressed oar-like tails. The only harmless snake that lives entirely in water is *Chersydrus granulatus* which is found at the mouths of the rivers and along the coast, its tail is not compressed like that of sea-snakes. Among the harmless snakes there is a family of burrowing ones, the Uropeltidæ that have truncated tails. They feed on earth worms and may be met with on the roads on the hills after rain. The people call them "double-headed snakes". Of these, two species, *Rhinophis travancoricus* and *Rhinophis fergusonianus*,

the latter taken by Mr. Sealy on the High Range, are peculiar to Travancore. Rat Snakes (*Zamenis mucosus*) are common about the paddy fields and most tanks contain specimens of *Tropidonotus piscator*. The commonest Tree-snake is the green one (*Dryophis mycterizans*), while *Dipsas trigonata* is sometimes found in bushes near houses. Snakes of this genus are sometimes mistaken for poisonous ones as their heads are somewhat flattened and triangular, but their long thin bodies and the presence of shields on the head distinguish them from vipers with which alone they are confounded. One species, *Dipsas dightoni*, is peculiar to Travancore having been taken by Mr. Dighton in Peermade. The largest snake found in Travancore is the Python (*P. molurus*). I have seen a specimen 18 feet long and one now in the Public Gardens is 15 feet. It is harmless, but the next largest the Hamadryad is deadly. The largest specimen I have seen is 13½ feet long. It is said to make unprovoked attacks on people but though I have met many specimens they have always gone off as hard as possible and I have not heard of any one in Travancore being molested by this snake.

Batrachians, which include Frogs, Toads and Cæcilians are naturally abundant in Travancore as there is plenty of water. There are 34 species of which three, *Rana aurantiaca*, *Ixalus travancoricus* and *Bufo fergusonii* are peculiar to Travancore. The croaking of the frogs and toads in the paddy fields as the rains set in is a familiar sound at night. In the low country the largest and commonest frog is *Rana tigrina*, a great cannibal, of which large specimens may be caught in any tank by using a small one as bait. The commonest toad is *Bufo melanostictus*. Small specimens of this are very partial to taking up their abode under the edge of the matting in any room and here they sit and croak happily till the lights are put out when they sally forth to feed. Two kinds of "Chunam frog", *Rhacophorus malabaricus* and *R. maculatus*, also come into houses and seat themselves on pictures or in between the venetians or on any other convenient perch and thence make prodigious leaps, the discs on their dilated toes enabling them to stick even to a perpendicular surface. On the hills, *Bufo parietalis* is found in abundance and five species of the genus *Ixalus* may be met with. The Cæcilians are not so abundant. They are worm-like burrowing Batrachians and are usually found in damp situations. There are three kinds found in Travancore, *Ichthyophis glutinosus*, *Uræotyphlus oxyurus*, and *Gegenophis carnosus*.

Fish. Several species of sharks are found along the coast. Of the family *Carcharidæ* some of which grow to a considerable size and are dangerous, the most curious looking is the Hammer-headed shark (*Zygæna*

blochii), which has the front portion of the head laterally elongated from which it derives its name. The great Basking-shark (*Rhinodon typicus*) is sometimes found; one 27 feet and 1 inch in length was washed ashore at Puntura (Trivandrum) in 1900. It is quite harmless. Another innocuous form is *Stegostoma tigrinum* which grows to 15 feet in length but feeds mostly on molluscs and crustaceans. Two kinds of Saw-fish, *Pristis cuspidatus* and *Pristis perotteti*, frequent the coast, the beaks of which are sometimes 5 feet long. In most of the rivers, Mahseer (*Barbustor*) are to be found. Shoals of Flying-fish (*Exocœtus micropterus*) are not uncommonly to be seen winging their way over the waters. The great Sword-fish (*Histiophorus gladius*) may occasionally be seen sunning itself on the surface with its great blue dorsal fin fully extended. It is a dangerous animal and cases of injury inflicted by it on unfortunate fishermen have been treated in the hospital at Trivandrum. In one of these, about nine inches of the sword were taken from the fleshy part of the shoulder of one man who while sitting on his catamaran had been wantonly attacked. Another species, *H. brevirostris*, is also found, one specimen in the Museum is 10½ feet long. A curious fish is *Echencis*, which has the first dorsal fin modified into an adhesive disc by means of which it clings to the bodies of sharks and so profits by the superior powers of locomotion of its host in finding food. Goby fish of the genus *Periothalmus*, though only able to breathe by gills, are fond of the land and may be seen climbing about the rocks; when pursued they use their tails and ventral fins to leap out of harm's way. The fishermen call them Sea-toads. They are very wary and hard to catch. The Sea-horse (*Hippocampus guttulatus*) is often found about Cape Comorin and there are many others of strange shape and varied colour. Of the former, *Ostracion turritus* having a solid coat of armour composed of angular bony plates is a quaint example. So are the fish of the genus *Tetrodon*, sometimes called Sea-porcupines, which are covered with small spines. They are able to inflate their bodies with air and float on the water upside down, hence they are called Globe-fish. *Holocanthus annularis*, a fish with a body vertically broad, coloured sienna, with a blue ring on the shoulder and six or seven curved blue bands upon the sides, and a yellow caudal fin, is an example of the latter, and so are *Chætodon vagabundus*, *Psettus argenteus* and *Heniochus macrolepidotus*. There are many that are edible, of which perhaps the best are the Seer-fish of the genus *Cybium*, Red Mullets of the family *Mullidæ*, Grey Mullets of the family *Mugilidæ*, Pomfret of the family *Stromateidæ* (*Strombillidæ?*) and Whiting (*Sillago sihama*).

So far I have described the animals comprising the subkingdom of

the vertebrates or as they are now called the Chordata. Formerly all the remaining animals were lumped into one subkingdom and called Invertebrates, but a fuller knowledge has shown that they must be split up into eight subkingdoms, each of which is equivalent to the subkingdom of the Chordata. They are:—(1) *Arthropoda* (Insects, Spiders and Crustaceans), (2) *Echinodermata* (Star-fish and Sea-urchins), (3) *Mollusca* (Cuttle-fish, Oysters &c.), (4) *Molluscoida* (Lamp-shells and Corallines), (5) *Vermes* (Worms, Leeches &c.), (6) *Cœlenterata* (Jelly-fish, Sea-anemones and Corals), (7) *Porifera* (sponges) and (8) *Protozoa* (Single-celled animals). Of these I can only speak of the Arthropods, and of them only imperfectly. The remaining seven subkingdoms have not as yet been worked at all in the Museum.

The Arthropods are divided into seven classes :— 1. Insects, 2. Centipedes, 3. Millipedes, 4. Scorpions, Spiders, Ticks &c., 5. Kingcrabs, 6. Crustaceans, and 7. Prototracheata. There are no representatives of clsses 5 and 7 in Travancore. The remaining classes will be taken in the order given.

Insects are divided into nine Orders:— 1. *Hymenoptera* (Ants, Bees Wasps), 2. *Diptera* (Flies), 3. *Lepidoptera* (Butterflies and Moths), 4. *Coleoptera* (Beetles), 5. *Neuroptera* (Dragon-flies, White-ants &c), 6. *Orthoptera* (Grasshoppers, Crickets, Mantises), 7. *Rhyncota* (Bugs), 8. *Thysanoptera* (Thrips) and 9. *Thysanura* (Spring-tails and Bristle-tails).

Hymenoptera. The Order Hymenoptera which includes ants, bees, wasps, sawflies and Ichneumon-flies has, with the exception of the last two, been lately worked out for India. It contains some of the most familiar insects, and the habits of some of them are of particular interest. Those of the Fossors have been very well described by M. Fabre.

The young of this tribe are meat-eaters and have to be nourished on the flesh of other insects, the mother therefore lays up a store of these in readiness for the young one as soon as it emerges from the egg, but two things are necessary; first, that the stored-up insects should not decompose, and secondly, that they should not have the power of injuring the tender grub which is the first form of the perfect insect. There must be life but life only of the interior organs combined with absolute immobility of the limbs. This is marvellously insured by the instinctive power the Fossors have of stinging their prey at certain spots which are the seat of the nerve centres which control the movements of the limbs and so paralysing them. One of the largest of the Fossors is *Scolia indica*. It is a large dark

hairy insect with thick legs. Its colour is black throughout, with the exception of some ferruginous red bands on the abdomen, the wings are fuscous brown with beautiful purple reflections. Its young lives on the flesh of the larvæ of beetles that undergo their metamorphosis beneath the ground. The Scolia burrows until it finds such a larva, stings it and renders it incapable of movement, lays an egg on it and leaves the egg to mature amid this supply of food. The family *Pompilidæ* may be at once recognised by their long hind legs. They have great powers of running rapidly over the surface of the ground and while so doing their wings are constantly quivering and their antennæ vibrating. Most of them dig holes in the ground and lay up a store of spiders for the benefit of their young.

Macromeris violacea is a good example of the family; it is black with beautiful purple and blue reflections, the wings dark brown with brilliant purple effulgence changing in different lights. Others of the genus *Salius* i. e., *S. flavus* and *S. consanguineus* are common.

The family *Sphegidæ* are rather a mixed lot of varying form. *Liris aurata* is a beautiful insect black with more or less red legs, with silvery bands on the abdomen and with a golden gloss on the face. It is common about Trivandrum; it makes its nest-hole in the ground and stores it with young crickets. One often finds the back of a book or the folds of a paper filled with clay cells containing spiders. This is the work of *Trypoxylon pileatum* or *T. intrudens*, both are small black insects with very long bodies and transparent wings. "A slender waist, a slim shape, an abdomen much compressed at the upper part, and seemingly attached to the body by a mere thread, a black robe with a red scarf on its under parts" is the very apt description M. Fabre gives of the genus *Ammophila*, three species of which are common about Trivandrum. They make vertical tunnels in the ground and store them with caterpillars.

In a corner of the glass pane of a window or on the side of a table or chair one often sees what looks like a splash of mud with rays of mud branching from it. This is the nest of *Sceliphron madraspatanum*, a black insect with a long slender yellow waist and yellow and black legs; if the nest is opened it will be found to be made up of four or five cells filled with spiders. There are three more species of this genus common in Trivandrum. The genus *Sphex* contains some beautiful species, they all make burrows in the ground and store their nests with various species of Orthopterous insects (crickets, grasshoppers &c.). There are seven species common about Trivandrum, of which *Sphex lobatus* is the most striking as it is a brilliant blue green with transparent wings.

Ampulex compressa is another very beautiful insect. It is brilliant metallic blue with some deep red on the legs with transparent wings slightly clouded. It stores cockroaches. *Bembex* is the last genus of the Sphegidæ I need mention. They are stout black insects with yellow bands on the abdomen, their prey consists of flies of different kinds. They make their burrows in sandy banks and use their legs like a dog in digging them. Unlike the other Fossors, they do not supply a store of food and close the burrow once for all, but return day by day and feed the young larva until it refuses to take more and settles down into the pupa stage towards its final transformation. The next tribe, the *Diploptera*, are distinguished by having a fold in the wings when in repose; it includes the *Eumenidæ*, solitary wasps, and the true or social wasps. Among the former are several familiar insects of the genus *Eumenes*, *E. petiolata*, *E. conica*, *E. flavopicta*, all large conspicuous wasps with elongated waists. The thorax has usually some yellow about it and the abdomen also. They come into houses about August and September and build clay cells which they store with caterpillars. Another very common wasp is *Rhynchium brunneum*, a stout insect brownish red with black bands on the abdomen. It comes into houses and builds a clay nest which it stores with caterpillars, or makes use of any hollow such as the mouth of an old gun barrel or the hole for a window bolt. Among the social wasps are some of the genus Ischnogaster. They are brown and yellow with a very long waist. They build cells of papery stuff more or less hexagonal in shape connected by a pedicel but without any exterior envelope. Others again of the genus. Icaria build from 5 to 43 cells attached by a stout pedicel to twigs. *Icaria ferruginea* is the commonest species. The great papery nests of *Vespa cincta* are often to be seen under the eaves of houses or in a bush. The insect is black with a broad yellow band on the abdomen. They form vast communities and are very dangerous if disturbed.

The next tribe includes the bees. The most conspicuous of these are the Carpenter-bees, *Xylocopa latipes* and *Xylocopa bryorum*. The former is a large robust hairy insect black all over with dark wings that shine with brilliant coppery or purple reflections. The latter is yellow in front and has a black abdomen and more or less dark wings with a purple effulgence. As their name implies, they bore holes in wood in which they make their nests. *Megachile lanata*, one of the leaf-cutting bees, a black insect with a good deal of fulvous red hair about it and with narrow transverse white bands on the abdomen, often comes into houses and makes use of any hollow space it finds, or the back of a book for its nests which it forms of clay partitions.

Anthophora zonata is another familiar insect rufous in front with a black abdomen on which there are narrow bands of metallic blue hairs and wings more or less transparent. They form burrows and live in colonies. Then there are the true honey-bees of which there are three kinds, *Apis indica*, *dorsata*, and *florea*, and lastly the dammar-bees of the genus *Melipona* that make their nests in hollows of trees mostly of more or less resinous wax.

Ants, which form another tribe of the Hymenoptera, are numerous, there being over sixty species in Travancore. They live in large communities consisting of a queen, a perfect female, of imperfect females which may include workers of two kinds and soldiers, and of young, the latter comprising all these forms and also perfect males. At certain seasons, generally after the first showers in April or May, the perfect males and females, which are winged, emerge from the nest and rise into the air for their nuptial flight; they couple and the males die while the females cast their wings and are ready to lay eggs. They are divided into five subfamilies. The first of these, the *Camponotidæ*, have no true sting but are able to produce an acid poison and to eject it to some distance. The best known of all is the "red ant", *Œcophylla smaragdina*. This forms shelters in the leaves of trees or bushes by fastening the edges together by a silky substance. The mature ants are unable to produce this but the larvæ can, as they spin a silken cocoon for themselves in which to pupate; when therefore it becomes necessary to form a new shelter, or to mend a damaged one, some of the mature workers hold the edges of the leaves close, while others carry a larva each in their jaws, apply the mouth of the larva to the edge of the leaf and the sticky secretion from it fastens the leaves together. The larva are not damaged by this operation but are carefully laid by when done with. A small yellow ant, *Plagiolepis longipes*, which has, as its name implies, very long legs, is very common in houses. Companies of them may be seen dragging any dead insect up a wall to its nest. *Prenolepis longicornis* is an equally familiar ant but is black; it has no settled home and does not frequent houses so regularly as the last. The large black ant that forms vast nests under ground is *Camponotus compressus*. They are regular cattle keepers as they keep herds of caterpillars of certain of the family of the Lycænid butterflies which includes the Blues and Coppers. These have two erectile tentacula near the end of the body and close to them is an opening from which exudes a sweet liquor that the ants very much appreciate. When an ant wishes to milk the caterpillar it gently strokes it with its antennæ and a drop of liquid exudes which the ant licks up. The ants regularly attend the caterpillars

and when they are about to pupate conduct them to a safe place in which to undergo transformation, and do not allow them to stray too far. They also attend and herd plant-lice or aphides. There are five species of the genus found in Travancore. The nests of ants differ very much, but those formed by a genus of ants called *Polyrachis* are peculiar in that they consist of a single cavity which is lined with a silky substance. They are built on leaves usually. There are four species known from Travancore. The next family of the *Dolichoderides* is a small one, of which the most familiar member is a small ant, *Tapinoma melanocephalum*, with a black head that contrasts with the semi-transparent abdomen. It has no sting, nor power of ejecting fluid to a distance, but it secretes a very strongly malodorous fluid from the anal glands which it uses for defence. Among the next subfamily are some of the most elaborate nest builders, *Cremastogaster rogenhoferi* builds a more or less round brown-papery nest of vegetable fibre, often eighteen inches long and almost as broad, round a branch which it uses as a central support. These nests may be seen commonly on the hills. The ants have a curious habit of turning their abdomens over their backs. There are some species of ants that make roads for themselves and the result of their labours may be seen in partial tracks and tunnels running across the paths. Of these the commonest is *Solenopsis geminata*, a reddish yellow ant. *Holcomyrmex criniceps*, a brown ant, also has this habit, both of them store grass seeds in their nest but ants of the genus *Phidole* are the best known harvesters: round the entrance to their nests may be seen the husks of the seeds they have stored below and to prevent rain penetrating to their galleries they make embankments round the nest which effectually protect them. There are four species in Travancore of which *P. rhombinoda* is the commonest. To this family also belongs a very small reddish-yellow ant, *Monomorium destructor*, that is commonly to be met with in houses.

The next family, the *Ponerina*, are hunting ants and are flesh eaters. They have a curious way of carrying their prey underneath their bodies between the forelegs. There are several genera represented in Travancore of which the best known is *Lobopelta*: long lines of *Lobopelta chinensis* may be seen going, usually in single file, on foraging expeditions about four in the evening. They hunt by night and by eight in the morning they retire underground. They have a very fairly powerful sting which they use freely if disturbed. There are also *L. dentilobis*, *L. dalyi* and *L. ocellifera* which behave in the same way.

The last family is the *Dorylides*: they lead a nomadic social life notwithstanding the fact that the eyesight of the workers is very imperfect.

It includes the genera *Dorylus* and *Œnictus*: of the latter there are four species in Travancore. They are small ants and march three or four abreast with great regularity carrying their prey as does Lobopelta.

Diptera. This Order which includes Mosquitoes, Gnats, Flies and Fleas has not had the attention paid to it that it deserves. Since however the connection between malaria and mosquitoes has been established, considerable study has been bestowed on the particular family the *Culicidæ*, which includes the various species of those insects. In Travancore there are at least 4 species of the genus *Anopheles*, the members of which are the intermediate hosts of the Sporozoa which give rise to malarial fever. These four species are *Anopheles fuliginosus*, *A. jamesii*, *A. sinnensis* and *A. rossii*. There are many other species of mosquitoes. Among them, *Toxorynchites immisericors* is conspicuous by its size and is known as the Elephant Mosquito. Of the genus *Culex* there are five species. The family *Tipulidæ* contains the Daddy-longlegs or Crane-flies. There are several species in Trivandrum, one of which is conspicuous by its long legs being banded alternately black and white. The *Tabanidæ* or Horse-flies are numerous, one species known as the Elephant Fly is most troublesome on the hills at considerable elevations in the dry weather. They can easily bite through thin cloths and can draw blood. The use of a folded newspaper is absolutely necessary when seated on a cane-bottomed chair. Another species of the genus *Pangonia* has a stiff proboscis, more than half an inch long, which is a formidable weapon of offence. The Robber Flies constituting the family *Asiliidæ* are common. The largest is more than an inch long having a black body with narrow grey bands, the wings are smoky. It preys on other insects but fortunately it does not suck the blood of vertebrates. Another very curious member of this family is *Laphria xylocopiformis*, a large hairy insect very like one of the carpenter-bees; hence its name. The flies that one sees commonly hovering over flowers belong to the family *Syrphidæ* or Hover-flies, their food is chiefly pollen. The family *Muscidæ* contains the House-flies, Blue-bottles &c., which are so common about our dwellings. They lay their eggs on dung or any kind of soft damp filth and the larvæ feed on this. The so-called flying-tick which infects dogs is really a fly of the family *Hippoboscidæ*. Lastly we have the *Pulicidæ* or Fleas which though wingless constitute the suborder *Aphaniptera* of the order Diptera.

Lepidoptera. SERIES I. RHOPALOCERA. This order includes the

Butterflies and Moths. There are about two hundred and thirty species of the former and at least ten times the number of the latter to be met with in Travancore. So far as ornament is concerned, they are the highest of the insect world. Insect angels, they have been well termed by Wendell Holmes. In the larval form they are worm-like and are called Caterpillars and in this stage some are often very destructive to crops as they are nearly all vegetable feeders. They pass a considerable portion of their lives in the pupal state. Many of the butterflies differ according to the season; there being wet and dry season forms, the former being always darker than the latter. The pupa of butterflies is also called chrysalis from the fact that some of them are partially or entirely of a golden hue; this is found chiefly in the family *Nymphalidæ*, a good example of which is *Euplœa core* a plain brown butterfly whose pupa is like a pear drop of burnished gold. There are six families, specimens of all of which are to be found in Travancore though one of them, *Lemoniidæ* has only two species representing it. The family of the *Nymphalidæ* includes the greatest number and is divided into six subfamilies.

The Euplœinæ are characterised by their slow flapping flight and their fearless behaviour, this is probably due to the fact that they possess acid juices which render them unpalatable to birds and lizards with the exception of *Limnas chrysippus* and *Salatura genutia*, which are bright ferruginous with black markings, the others are sombrely clad. The *Euplœas* are mostly brown with some white spots. The most remarkable member of the subfamily is *Hestia malabarica* which is to be met with in the hills in dense forest. Whoever has seen a number of these floating aimlessly about in a forest grove like animated pieces of spotted tissue paper is not likely to forget the scene.

The *Satyrinæ* are all very soberly clad and have the underside of their hind wings marbled or mottled in such a way as to render them almost invisible when settled. They have a way too of dropping the front wings between the lower ones which adds to the difficulty of seeing them. They never take long flights but may be seen on the sides of shady roads and in the forest, and many of them frequent grass lands. There are twenty one species in Travancore of which two are peculiar to it, *Ypthima ypthimoides*, a meadow brown found only in the hills at considerable elevations and *Parantirrhœa marshalli*, a dark brown insect with a pale violet band on the forewing which is most commonly to be seen in Eetta jungle (*Beesha travancorica*) from May to October on the Peermade hills.

The caterpillar of *Melanitis ismene* is said in other parts of India to do damage to the rice plants, but in Travancore there is such an abundance of vegetation that it is not driven to rely on them for food. Seasonal dimorphism is well marked in this subfamily so much so that the wet and dry season forms of one butterfly have received different names, for example, ***Melanitis leda*** and *Melanitis ismene*, *Orsotriœna mandata* and *Orsotriœna* ***mandosa***, *Calysisme mineus* and *Calysisme visala*. The next subfamily ***Elymniinæ*** has only one representative, *Elymnias caudata*, which is very like ***Salatura genutia*** and is therefore said to "mimic" it. The *morphinæ* have two, both of which are very rare, the *Acræinæ* and *Telchinia violæ*, which is very common both in the low country and on the hills. It is red with a narrow black border to the forewing and a broader one on the hind on which are some yellow spots. The next subfamily *Nymphalinæ* are eminently sunshine-loving. They are mostly brightly coloured and have a strong flight, but the habits of some are not so nice as their colouration, for the mango butterflies of the genus *Euthalia* are fond of rotten fruit and those of the genus *Charaxes* may be attracted by carrion and *Charaxes* ***fabius*** some times gets drunk on toddy. There are forty-seven species in Travancore; of which the largest are *Cynthia saloma* and *Parthenos* ***virens***. *Cyrestes thyodamas*, one of the Porcelains, is perhaps the most curiously coloured. The leaf butterflies of the genus *Kallima*, of which there are two species, *K. philarchus* and *K. wardi*, are so called from the fact that the underside of the wings so exactly represents a leaf with the mid-rib marked that it is most difficult to discover the insect when it alights which it does very suddenly. They are only found in forest on the hills and are far from common. *Pyrameis cardui*, the Painted Lady, is probably the most widely distributed of all butterflies as it is found everywhere except in the Arctic regions and South America.

The Family *Lemoniidæ*, as I have said before, is only represented by two forms, *Lybithea myrra* common on the High Range and *Abisara prunosa* common on the hills at the sides of roads in jungle.

The Family *Lycœnidæ*, which includes the Blues, Coppers and Hairstreaks, is represented by nearly sixty species. The males and females are often very differently coloured on the upper side but are marked alike below. Some of them are very small, covering not much more than half an inch with the wings expanded. Those of the genus ***Centaurus***, of which there are three species, are the largest, being nearly two inches in expanse. They are brilliant metallic blue above, and are unmistakable. *Lampides elpis*, a light blue insect, is about the commonest of all the family. Some of them have very long tails, for example, *Cheritra*

jaffra which is common at 2,000 feet on the hills, and *Bindahara sugriva* fairly common in the low country. The caterpillars of the family are very peculiar being usually short, broad in the middle and naked. As pointed out when describing the Hymenoptera, some of them yield a fluid of which ants are fond, hence they are domesticated and tended by the ants. The tastes of some are peculiar as they feed not, as is usual, on vegetable substance but devour aphides and scale insects. The caterpillars of the genera *Lampides*, *Virachola* and *Deudorix*, feed on the interior of fruits of different kinds. *Lampides elpis*, for example, bores into cardamoms. *Deudorix epijarbus* feasts on the pomegranate, but the most curious of all is the caterpillar of *Virachola isocrates* which feeds on the guava, pomegranate and some other fruits. The mature female insect, which is dull purple with a patch of yellow in the forewing, deposits her eggs in the calyx of the flower; the caterpillar when hatched bores into the young fruit, where it remains throughout its transformation. By the time it is ready to change to a pupa it has so damaged the fruit that further growth is stopped and the fruit dies, there is therefore the danger that the fruit should drop and destroy the larva. This however is prevented by the extraordinary instinct of the caterpillar which leads it to emerge from the fruit just before pupating. It then spins a strong web over the base of the fruit and stem which effectually prevents the falling of the fruit even though it should separate from the stem and so it returns to its abiding place in the centre of the fruit and pupates in safety.

The *Pieridæ* which form the next family include the Whites, Brimstones, Clouded-yellows and Orange-tips. White yellow and red are the predominant colours. There are about twenty-five species in Travancore. *Terias hecabe*, a small yellow insect, is about the most abundant in the hills and the low country. But the large yellowish white butterflies of the genus *Catopsilia* of which there are three species are almost equally common. At times great migrations of these take place and hundreds of them may be seen flying in one particular direction.

The *Papilionidæ* are known as the swallow-tails and include the largest and most conspicuous of all the order. The great *Ornithoptera minos*, nine inches in expanse, a black butterfly with yellow on the hind wings, is fairly common in the low country and on the hills. *Iliades polymnestor* (black with lavender spots on the hind wings) is also fairly abundant, as is too *Menelaides hector*, black with red spots on the hind wings. On the hills, *Charus helenus*, black with a cream spot on each hind wing, is most conspicuous, while *Achillides tamilana*, black having

a large metallic spot on each of the hind wings of blue with green reflections, is perhaps the most beautiful. The larvæ of some, especially of *Orpheides erithonius* do considerable damage to orange trees by feeding on the leaves. They rest fully exposed on the upper side of the leaves, but are so coloured that they resemble birds' droppings. *Pattiysa naira* is a rare butterfly peculiar to Travancore. The members of the last family, the *Hesperiidæ*, are called skippers from their peculiar jerky flight. They are a very distinct family and closely allied to the moths. There are about forty species in Travancore. The largest is *Gangara thyrsis* which is common in the low country, its caterpillar which is covered with white fluff is destructive to palms as it feeds on their leaves cutting and rolling up a leaf to form its habitation. The caterpillar of *Matapa aria* behaves in the same way towards the leaves of the bamboo, while that of *Chapra mathias* is said to do damage to the rice plant.

SERIES II. HETEROCERA MOTHS.—The old divisions of the moths into five subsections is now more or less abandoned and no larger division than that of families is recognised. There are thirty four of these: it will not therefore be possible to mention them all, a few examples of the most prominent are all that can be cited.

The family of the *Saturniidæ* or Emperor-moths contains the largest individual of all, *Attacus atlas* which is twelve inches in expanse; one noticeable feature in this family is the presence of transparent spaces on the forewings. This is found in several other species. *Actias selene*, a large greenish white moth with long tails, is another beautiful example of the family; it is fairly common both in the hills and plains. The most useful member is *Antheræa paphia*, the Tussur-silk moth, which is to be found about Trivandrum; *Lœpa katinka* in the Hills and *Cricula trifenestrata* on the plains also spin cocoons of silk. The family *Eupterotidæ* is represented by three rather common insects, *Eupterote mollifera*, *Nisaga simplex* and *Sangatissa subcurvifera*. The scheme of colouring is the same in all brown or drab with curved black lines on the forewings. Their larvæ are hairy and the hairs produce great irritation if the caterpillar is handled. The family of the *Sphingidæ* or Hawk-moths is perhaps the most easily recognisable. They have long stout bodies elongated narrow pointed forewings and small hind ones. They fly usually by day or in the evening. The best known is *Acherontia lachesis*, the Death's-head moth, so called from the marking on the thorax being like a skull. When handled the moth can produce a fairly loud squeak. One of the most beautiful is *Calymnia panopus*. *Daphnis nerii*, the Oleander Hawk-moth, is the most wide spread being found all over Europe, S. Africa and

India. The Humming-bird Hawk-moths of the genus *Macroglossa* have a very long proboscis and the tip of the abdomen is furnished with a tuft of dense long scales which is capable of expansion. *Macroglossa gyrans* is common on the hills and *M. bengalensis* in the low country. *Cephonodes hylas* is peculiar in having the wings clear and transparent. The larvæ are remarkable for their colour and form. They nearly always have a conspicuous stiff horn-like tail. In the genus *Chærocampus*, of which six species may be met with about Trivandrum, the caterpillar can retract the front segments into the fourth which is capable of expansion and makes the caterpillar more or less like a small hooded snake. The *Sesiidæ* are a small family of day-flying moths remarkable for having a large part of one or both wings clear of scales, hence they are known as clear-wings. *Sesia flavipes* which is a good example is found only on the hills. Another family of semi-diurnal habit are the *Syntomidæ* which have the body as well as the wings highly coloured. Many of them are like wasps. *Euchromia polymena*, a very common insect in the plains, though not a mimetic form, is a good example of the family. The *Zygænidæ* or Burnet-moths number a good many day-flying insects that are very like butterflies. *Cyclosia australinda*, which is not uncommon about Trivandrum, might very well be mistaken for one of *Pieridæ* or Whites and *Histia nilgira* found on the hills is very like one of the Swallow-tailed butterflies, while *Himantopterus caudatus*, a tiny reddish moth with orange lined wings with black spots, is a regular miniature one. *Heterusia virescens* and *Chalcosia affinis* are common on the hills. The *Psychidæ* are interesting from the fact that their larva cover themselves with a case composed of grass sticks, bits of leaves and lined with silk. The female remains always in the case and is wingless. The males pass their pupa stage in the case but emerge from it as winged insect. *Clania variegata* which is fairly common, forms its case of small bits of stick. The *Cossidæ* or goat-moths are chiefly interesting from the fact that the larvæ bore into trees and often do considerable damage. Mr. Bourdillon has brought to notice the harm done to teak by the caterpillar of *Cossus cadamba*, a brown moth about an inch and a half in expanse. The family *Callidulidæ*, which are day-flying moths of medium size, is represented by *Cleosiris calamita*, a plain brown insect like one of the Nymphalid butterflies. The family *Limacodidæ* contains one form peculiarly interesting to planters as the larva of *Thosea cana*, an insignificant looking moth, does great damage to tea bushes by feeding on the leaves. The *Lasiocampidæ*, Eggers or Lappet moths, are mostly of large size. *Suana concolor*, a somewhat sphinx-like moth having dark red brown

wings with a lighter margin and one or two yellowish spots, is a good example, the caterpillars are hairy with the tufts directed downwards, the hairs causing irritation. The family *Hypsidæ* though small contain some species that are very common of which *Hypsa alcephron* is perhaps the most abundant; it has buff forewings with one white spot and yellow hindwings with round black spots. The *Arctiidæ* are a very extensive family containing four subfamilies. Those constituting the *Certhinæ* are known as Tiger-moths. They are well represented in Travancore. The caterpillar of *Arctia ricini*, as its name implies, is destructive of the castor oil plant. The moth has the forewings brown with numerous light-ringed blackish spots and the hind wing crimson with irregular wavy blackish bands. *Nyctemera laticinia* having brown forewings with a white band and white hind wings with a brown border is a very common moth both in the hills and plains. *Argina cribraria, Deiopeia pulchella* and *Eligma narcissus* are all abundant about Trivandrum; of these *Deiopeia pulchella*, about an inch in expanse having white forewings with black and red spots and white hind wings with an irregular black marginal band, is very wide spread being found in Europe, Africa, all over India, the Malay Archipelago and Australia. The *Noctuidæ* or Owl-moths form a large assemblage of night-flying insects of sombre colours usually marked with large eye-like spots. Some of them are of considerable size. Many of the caterpillars feed under ground on the roots of plants and are in consequence very destructive. *Nyctipao macrops*, a dark coloured moth about five inches in expanse, often comes into houses in Trivandrum, and two other smaller species, *N. crepescularis* and *N. hieroglyphica*, sometimes do the same. The moths of the genus *Ophiderœ*, unlike them, are brightly coloured having green or red brown forewings and yellow hind ones with black markings and usually a black lunule. There are four species, *Ophideres ancilla, Ophideres hypermnestra, Ophideres salaminia* and *Ophideres fullonica*; the latter is said to have the power of piercing with its proboscis and to do damage to crops of oranges by thus inserting it through the peel and sucking the juices. The *Uraniidæ* are not a large family but contain some conspicuous insects. They are more or less day-flying. Some are white with ample wings and light bodies. Two very common species in the hills are *Strophidia fasciata* and *Micronia aculeata*; the latter is also not uncommon about Trivandrum.

The *Geometridæ* are a large family of moths of slender build with large wings and a narrow elongated body; they are semi-nocturnal, the larvæ are called "loopers" from their mode of progression which consists in moving the fore and hind segments alternately the centre of the body

being raised in a loop. *Eumelia rosalia*, a yellow insect with crimson specks and a crimson band across both wings common about the low country is a good example. *Naxa textilis* is white. *Euschema percota* is a day-flying brightly coloured insect blue with purple markings. Its caterpillar does great damage to the leaves of lilies. Another common species is *Macaria fasciata*, slaty grey with a white band across both wings and two orange blotches on the hind-wings. The *Pyralidæ* include a large number of small or moderate-sized moths of fragile structure often having long legs. The genus *Glyphodes* is very well represented in Travancore, there being five species that are common about Trivandrum. *Glyphodes glauculalis* is blue green, *G. celsalis* white with some brown markings, *G. sinuata* yellow with some crimson on the forewings, *G. laticostalis* white with a brown band, and *G. actorionalis* brown with diaphanous white bands. They are all small and more or less insignificant. *Dichocrocis punctiferulis* is a small straw-coloured moth with black spots on both wings common about Trivandrum; *Lepyrodes neptis*, yellowish brown with black edged white bands, is also very common.

Coleoptera. The Coleoptera or beetles are well known. Most of them are possessed of a hard exterior, and the front pair of wings, called Elytra, are not used for flight but serve as cases to protect the body. They are very numerous and are divided into six series. The first of these, the *Lamellicornia*, are so called as the terminal joints of the antennæ are leaf-like. They include the Stag-beetles, Chafers, Dung-beetles and Rose-chafers. *Odontolabis cuvera* is an example of the first which is common on the hills. Its thorax is black and the wing cases are dull yellow with a triangular black mark down the middle. The male has the mandibles produced at least three quarters of an inch. The female is coloured like the male but the mandibles are not produced into horn-like processes. The *Scarabæidæ* or Chafers are divided into several subfamilies, one of the most interesting of which is that of the Scarabæ whose members may be recognised by their habit of rolling about balls of dung and earth. One species of *Ateuchus*, a black insect is very common about Trivandrum. They act as scavengers by breaking up and removing the droppings of cattle and other animals. Another subfamily includes the Cockchafers or Melolonthides. *Agastrata orichalcea*, which is brilliant metallic greenish all over with purple reflections, is a good example common about Trivandrum. So is *Heterorhina elegans var cyanoptera*, a dark metallic blue insect also with purple reflections. Some of them do damage to cultivation as for instance *Serica pruinosa* which defoliates coffee bushes. Another subfamily, the *Dynastidæ*, though small contains

some very large insects with curious horns and projections. *Eupatorius cantori*, 2½ inches long reddish brown with reddish yellow margin having a long recurved horn in front and two others rising from the middle of the thorax, is a good example; another is *Oryctes rhinoceros*, a large black or brown beetle with a minute rhinoceros-like horn in front. It does great damage to the palms in the Public Gardens in Trivandrum by boring into the stems. The second series, the *Adephaga*, contains the Tiger-beetles, Ground-beetles and Water-beetles; of the first *Collyris insignis* is a good example. It has no wings and the Elytra are firmly soldered together. It has a long rounded thorax somewhat globular in the middle. They are very swift on foot and prey on other insects. *Cicindella sexpunctata* is another example which is of use as it preys on the destructive Rice-sapper. Of the Ground-beetles or *Carabidæ*, a species of *Calosoma* is not uncommon in Trivandrum and a species of *Brachinus* which is able to eject an explosive liquid, also *Pterosophus bimaculatus* dark blue with yellow markings. The Water-beetles or *Dytiscidæ* are carnivorous both in the larval and in the adult stage. *Cybister limbatus* is a common species in water about Trivandrum, and *Hydaticus festivus* and *H. vittatus* are also numerous. The former is a gaily coloured insect having a yellow or orange ground colour with shiny black or dark brown markings.

The third series, the *Polymorpha*, is a very large one containing about fifty families of which the most interesting are the curious Burying-beetles, the Lady-birds, Fire-flies and Glow-worms, Click-beetles and the beautifully coloured Buprestidæ. The *Histeridæ* or Burying-beetles are very compact insects with a very hard shell, they dig under any carcase and so gradually bury it and they were supposed to live on it, but it is now ascertained that they are really predaceous and live on the larvæ of flies which are found in the carcase. There are several species of *Hister* to be found in Trivandrum. The Lady-birds are useful as they prey upon plant lice. *Epilachna innuba*, a small red and yellowish beetle with black spots, is a not uncommon species in the low country. A nearly allied family contains those curious insects which have the elytra flattened to form a rim under which the legs are hidden. They look like animated golden nuggets. Unfortunately when dead the colour fades completely. Their identity has yet to be determined. The family *Bostrichidæ* are very injurious as they attack timber. There are several species some of which do damage to teak while *Bostrichus æqualis* attacks the cotton tree, *Bombax malabaricum*. A small brown beetle of a closely allied family, the *Ptinidæ* of the genus *Dinoderus*, damages bamboos by boring into

them. Another of this family *Lasioderma testaceum*, a small brown beetle with white grubs, is most destructive to cheroots into which the larvæ bore holes. A species of Glow-worm of the genus *Lampyris* is not uncommon, the female is wingless and luminous. The Fire-flies which are so numerous and beautiful at certain seasons belong, I believe, to this family of the *Malacodermidæ*, but their identity has not been made out. The click beetles or *Elateridæ* have the power when lying on their backs of jerking themselves into the air at the same time giving a distinct click. *Agryphnus fuscipes*, a brown insect, is common about Trivandrum and *Alaus speciosus*, a white insect with a curious black irregular line down the centre of the thorax and some black spots, is common in the hills. The last family I need notice, the *Buprestidæ*, is a large one and contains many insects remarkable for the magnificence of their colour. A very common example is *Sternocera dasypleura*, a reddish brown insect having the thorax deeply pitted, and coloured metallic green with golden reflections while beneath it is uniform metallic green also with golden reflections. *Belionota scutellaris* is another example, it is uniform metallic golden green, with some violet on the posterior margin and on the sides of the thorax. The larva is said to do damage by boring into the wood of *Acacia catechu*.

Of the fourth series, *Heteromera*, the great family *Tenebrionidæ* contains the greater number, they are mostly black ground-beetles. There are several species to be found in Trivandrum but they are as yet unidentified. The most interesting are the *Cantharidæ* or *Meloidæ*, Blister-beetles or Oil-beetles. One of the commonest is a species of *Mylabris* black with red markings on the elytra very common on grass.

The fifth series, the *Phytophaga* or plant-eaters, contains among other families, the *Chrysomelidæ* which are as a rule leaf-feeders and the *Cerambycidæ*, or Longicorns, which are wood and stem feeders. Of the former, *Corynodes peregrinus* and *Corynodes corulentus* are examples as also *Crioceris impressus*. The larvæ of some species of this genus have a peculiar method of protecting themselves. "The anus", says Dr. Sharpe, "is placed on the upper surface and formed so that the excrement when voided is pushed forward on to the insect; here it is retained by means of a slimy matter, and a thick coat entirely covering the creature is ultimately formed". Some of the longicorn-beetles are very large. One rather common species is quite four inches long dark brown and the male has the mandibles produced almost as largely as some of the stag-beetles. The name of this species I do not know. The well-known coffee-borer *Xylotrechus quadrupes*, a slender beetle some three quarters

of an inch long belongs to this family. Other examples are *Batocera albofasciata*, about two inches long reddish brown with white spots and beneath dirty brown margined with white. *Mecotagus gnermi* (?) about an inch long is dull brown with some white lines on the thorax and head and white vermiculations on the elytra. *Clytus annularis* about half an inch long is yellowish white with reddish brown markings. *Oleocumpus belobus* rather more than half an inch long is ashy brown with four white round marks on the elytra, the first two approximating the sides of the head and thorax margined with white.

The sixth series, the *Rhyncophora*, contains the Weevils. They can be recognised by their having the head more or less prolonged in front to form a mouth or beak. Some of them are large, for instance, the Palm-weevil, a reddish brown insect some two inches long whose white fleshy legless grubs tunnel into the trunks of various palms. Another curious insect is *Cryptorhyncus mangifera*. It is an earth-coloured weevil and as a grub lives inside the stone of the mango fruit finally eating its way out when full grown.

Neuroptera. This is the last Order of insects that undergo a complete metamorphosis. The mouth organs in the adult are adapted for biting and grinding. The wings are membranous and are covered with a net-work of veins. It includes the Caddis-flies constituting the suborder *Trichoptera*, and the Scorpion-flies, Lace-wing Flies, Ant lions and Mantis-flies constituting the suborder *Planipennia*.

The larvæ of the Caddis-flies are with few exceptions aquatic and construct cases of all sorts of materials. There are several species in Travancore but not yet identified. Among the *Planipennia* there is a remarkable insect of the family *Sialidæ* that has large sickle-shaped mandibles, it belongs to the genus *Corydalis*. The *Mantispidæ* or mantis-flies are well represented but have not been worked out. The Ant-lions are well known. The larvæ make pit falls to catch crawling insects. Wherever there is a dry sandy spot these funnel-shaped pits may be seen and at the bottom the larva sits with its sickle-shaped jaws extended ready to seize its prey when it falls down the loose sandy sides of the pit. The adult Ant-lions are winged insects whose wings when at rest spread like a roof over the hinder part of the body. Some have the wings plain, others spotted. There is one large species whose wings are marked with obliquely transverse brown bands. The expanse is over 4 inches. It often finds its way into houses at night and flutters about against the ceiling. When the larva is full-fed it encloses itself in a more or less

spherical cocoon made of sand grains fastened together with silken threads, the interior of which is lined with silk, within this it undergoes its metamorphosis.

Orthoptera. This Order includes the Dragon-flies, May-flies, Stone-flies, Termites or White-ants, Crickets, Grasshoppers, Locusts, Stick and Leaf-insects, Mantises, Cockroaches and Earwigs.

None of these undergo a distinct metamorphosis but by the gradual succession of changes pass from the larval to the adult stage, the larvæ are wingless at first, and the wings are developed during the moults, being fully formed only at the last moult. The mouth organs are adapted for biting. Most of the members of the group are of large size.

The Dragon-flies (*Odonata*) live entirely upon insects, which they capture on the wing. In the larval and pupal stages they live in water and are equally carnivorous. In both stages there is a peculiar structure fixed under the head known as "the mask" which is a jointed weapon armed at the end with a pair of toothed processes. It can be protruded with great quickness and serves to seize the prey. There are three families, the *Libellulidæ*, *Æschnidæ* and *Agrionidæ*. In the two first the head is rounded but in the third it is much wider than long, almost cylindrical and set on the body like the head of a hammer on its handle. Many of the species are very beautiful as their wings often glitter with varied iridescence. There are many species in Travancore of all three families, but no attempt has yet been made to ascertain their specific names.

The Termites or White-ants (*Termitidæ*) are well known on account of their destructive habits. They live in colonies which consist of a queen and king with some supernumerary individuals which may, by a system of diet, be matured into royalties if required, another lot of individuals with very large heads and formidable jaws, who may be called soldiers and finally the workers, who are by far the most numerous. The perfect individuals have compound eyes but the soldiers and workers are as a rule eyeless. The mouth parts are formed for biting. Just before the rains, when the first showers fall, great swarms of winged termites make their way out of the nest. Most of these are destroyed by birds or lizards but the survivors may form new colonies. Their food consists generally of decaying wood or other vegetable matter. On the hills a species may be seen which tunnel into the branches of trees and make nests round them. Another species seems to live on grass, but so far, these, like so many other insects, await identification.

Crickets (*Gryllidæ*) belong to the suborder of true Orthoptera which differ from those so far mentioned in having the two pairs of wings unlike, the first pair being usually stiff and horny, and serving as covers to the hinder pair which are membranous and folded. The chirping noise made by crickets is produced by rubbing the base of one wing-cover over the other. It may often be heard at night in houses; it is uttered only by the male and is supposed to attract the female. The abdomen bears two flexible appendages and the female has in addition a long ovipositor. A black insect of the genus *Gryllus* is common in houses and a green one of the genus *Calyptotrypus* is found in the fields, but the one that forces itself most into notice is the mole-cricket, *Gryllotalpa vulgaris*, as it flies into the verandah attracted at night by the light and flaps about in an irresponsible way. It is a large insect and can at once be recognised by the form of its front legs which are greatly thickened for digging. It burrows underground and so destroys the roots of plants. All crickets lay their eggs in holes in the ground glued together in masses.

The long-horned Grasshoppers (*Locustidæ*) are so called because they have very long bristle-like antennæ. The true locusts do not belong to this family but to the next. They are usually green or brown in colour. Like the crickets they produce sound by rubbing the base of one wing-cover over the other. The females have a long sabre-shaped ovipositor. *Mecopoda elongata*, a large greenish brown insect with very long hind legs is a common species. Some have the wing-covers very much enlarged and veined like leaves. *Onomarchus leuconotus* is an example, the wing-covers are light green and quite leaf-like. A species of *Aprion* also has green wing-covers but is not so large an insect. Another very curious insect is *Acanthodis ululina*; its wing-covers are like lichen-covered bark.

The Locusts (*Acridiidæ*) have short antennæ and they produce sound in a different way to that by which the crickets and grasshoppers produce it namely, by rubbing the innerside of the hind legs, which has certain bead-like prominences, against the outer face of the wing-cover in which there is a prominent sharp-edged vein. The females have only a short ovipositor. In Travancore we are not troubled by swarms of migratory locusts but there are several species of locusts to be found. One of the largest is *Acridium flavicorne*. The most abundant and widely distributed of the migratory locusts is *Pachytylus cinerascens* which may be found throughout the Oriental Region, in Europe and even in New Zealand. It is common in Travancore but does not swarm. Another species of

short-horned grasshopper common about Trivandrum is *Aularches miliaris*. Its thorax is curiously rugose, highly polished and with a yellow margin, the wing-covers are bluish green with round sealing-wax-like yellow spots and in fact it is highly ornamental. Another species, *Œdaleus marmoratus*, has the wing-covers and the base of the hind wings yellow bordered with brown. A very curious looking insect is *Acrida turrita* which has the head very much prolonged into a cone-shape with the antennæ and eyes near the apex.

The Leaf and Stick-insects (*Phasmidæ*) are very curious and derive their name from their likeness to dry sticks and leaves. The wings of the stick-insects are rudimentary and their legs very long and are usually stretched out unsymmetrically. They are generally to be found amongst underwood or on the stems of long grasses. They are vegetable feeders. The female lays eggs singly dropping them casually on the ground. Each is enclosed in a capsule and they are very like seeds of plants. One species over a foot in length is found on the hills. It is, I believe, a species of *Lonchodes*. Wingless species of the genus *Bacillus* are common about Trivandrum. The only leaf-insect found here is *Phyllium scythe*. Its body is flat and broad and the wing-covers are leaf-like. Its colour is more or less green. The legs have broad leaf-like expansions. It is not very common.

The Praying Insects (*Mantidæ*) usually have the prothorax very much longer than the other two segments of the thorax. The two hinder pairs of legs are long and are used for progression but the front pair are peculiarly formed and are used to seize their prey, for they are carnivorous, the thighs are strong and are provided with two rows of spines and the shanks are also furnished with two rows of spines and can be folded back on the thighs. When at rest these joints are thus kept folded as if the insect were at prayer, hence their name. They lay eggs in masses which are attached to plants and are surrounded by a parchment-like capsule. The commonest form is *Gongylus gongyloides*. Another species very like *Harpax ocellata* of Africa has eye-like marks on the wing-covers. There are many species and they often come into the verandah at night attracted by the light.

Cockroaches (*Blattidæ*) are very common. Their legs are eminently fitted for running and they can move very quickly. They have strong horny jaws well fitted for biting. They generally have two pairs of wings, the front pair being stiff and horny, while the hinder pair are more membranous. The ordinary large form that infests houses is *Periplaneta*

americana. *Periplaneta decorata* is a smaller insect having some brown markings. *Leucophaca surinamensis* is another common insect about Trivandrum. On the hills a rather ornamental form is found, *Corydia petiveriana*. The under wings and sides of the body are yellow and the upper side of the front wings are black with cream-coloured marks. The eggs are laid in a capsule formed in the interior of the females. The capsule is a horny case which is carried about for sometime by the mother protruding from the hinder part of the body. Eventually it is laid in some suitable locality and the young make their way out. Earwigs (*Forficulidæ*) can be at once recognised by the fact that they bear at the end of the body a pair of forceps or callipers. Many are wingless but in those forms that possess wings they are folded in a complicated way. They are not common and so far none have been identified in Travancore, though there are several species. The females lay eggs and are said to watch over them with great care.

Rhynchota. This Order also called Hemiptera includes the Bugs and is well represented in Travancore. It is divided into two suborders, *Hemiptera heteroptera* and *Hemiptera homoptera*. Few however have given attention to the order and only lately has any attempt been made to work it out in India. The insects constituting it may be readily recognised by the possession of a long proboscis which is usually bent under the body. Some are vegetable feeders and some carnivorous. Many of them are brilliantly coloured. In the family *Pentatomidæ* or Shield-bugs, which is one of the largest and most important, there are several such, *Scutellera nobilis* is metallic bluish green or purplish with indigo blue spots and bars. It is a common insect about the low country. *Chrysocoris stokerus*, also common, is bluish green with black spot and *Catacanthus incarnatus* is reddish yellow with black spots. The best known members of the family, however, is the green bug *Nezara viridula* on account of its evil scent. Most bugs possess the power of emitting an unpleasant odour but the green bug seems to exercise it more particularly. Some are injurious to plants as the well-known Rice-sapper, *Leptocorisa acuta*, which destroys young paddy, also those of the genus *Helopeltis* which are most destructive to the tea plants. On the other hand *Aspongopus nigriventis* is of use in effecting the pollination of the Sago palm. Some bugs feed exclusively on other insects, especially those of the family *Reduviidæ* of which *Conorhinus rubrofasciatas* and *Euagoras plagiatus*, common insects about Trivandrum, are examples. Unlike the other land-bugs they have no smell. When writing of carnivorous bugs mention must be made of the common Bed-bug, *Cimex lectularius*, which is unfortunately too well

known throughout the world. The water-bugs, like the *Reduviidæ* are innocent of smell. A species of *Naucoris* which swims about on its back is very common, also one of *Hydrometra*. These fly well and at night are often attracted by the lights to enter houses. A species of *Belostoma*, a huge brown insect over three inches long, is sometimes attracted in this way. Water-scorpions of the genus *Nepa* are also common; their fore-legs are specially modified to serve as prehensile organs and they have a long slender siphon behind. Of the suborder *Hemiptera homoptera*, *Cicadas* are most in evidence. One does not meet with them in the low country but from the foot of the hills to the summits their voices are to be heard at times in a chorus which is almost deafening. The males alone possess the power of emitting sound, hence a Greek poet has written "Happy the Cicadas' lives, for they all have voiceless wives". There are several species in Travancore but they have not yet been indentified. The Lantern flies of the family *Fulgoridæ* have a horn-like extension of the top of the head which was supposed to be luminous, hence their name. The species common on the hills here is *Fulgora delesserti*. Its forewings are brown with yellow spots and the hind are blue with the apical area dark brown. The genus *Flatta* is represented by *F. acutipemis* and *F. tunicata*, their forewings are green and the hind are white. The family *Membracidæ* have the prothorax prolonged backwards into a hood or into other strange forms. There are several curious examples to be seen about the low country, of which *Centrotypis flexuosus* is about the commonest. The frothy masses seen at times hanging to branches of trees or bushes are the work of the larvæ of the Frog-hoppers or *Cercopidæ* of which there are many species. Others of this family secrete fluid so abundantly as to make it appear to drop like rain from the trees in which they are. The Plant-lice or *Aphidæ* are another family of this suborder and, though small, are from their enormous numbers most injurious to trees and plants. There are many species in Travancore. The Scale-insects or Mealy-bugs of the family *Coccidæ* are also very injurious but on the other hand some produce useful substances, as for instance white wax is formed by a Lecaniid, *Ceroplastes ceriferus* and lac is the shelly covering of *Carteria lacca*, unfortunately neither of these species occurs in Travancore but only the injurious forms of which there are many.

Thysanoptera and Thysanura. The insects comprising the first of these Orders are all very small and feed upon the juices of flowers and sometimes do great injury as they are often found in large numbers. The most familiar members of the *Thysanura* are the little silver-fish which may always be found among papers or books that have been allowed to lie

for any length of time undisturbed. They do damage to books by feeding on the paste used in binding them and they also eat old paper.

Myriapoda. This group includes the *Millipedes* and *Centipedes*. The former are distinguished by their slow movements and are exclusively vegetable feeders. They have no weapons of offence but are able to secrete a strong smelling liquid. Their bodies are more or less cylindrical. They include the Pill-millipedes *Oniscomorpha* and the worm-like Millipedes or *Helminthomorpha*. The former are not quite so much in evidence as the latter, but one species which I believe to be *Arthrosphæra inermis* is fairly common. There are several species of the latter of which *Spirostreptus malabricus* is the commonest; it is a long black millipede about ten inches to a foot in length and is found abundantly both in the hills and on the plains: the liquid it secretes smells strongly of iodine and leaves a brown stain on the hands. A species of *Trachyiulus* each segment of which carries from 11 to 18 warty spines, is also common on the hills. Another, a species of *Leptodesmus*, brown with yellow lateral line is common on the low country; it is about 2 inches long. The Centipedes are more or less soft and flat-bodied, they are active and swift and live for the most part in dark places under stones, logs of woods &c., they prey upon insects or worms which they kill by means of their large poison claws or maxillipedes. One of the most peculiar is *Scutigera longicornis*; it is about an inch and a half long with a small body and about 15 pairs of long legs so arranged as to give it on oval shape. Unlike most it enjoys sunlight and may be seen in its native haunts darting about and catching insects regardless of the blazing sun. It is common about Trivandrum. Of the *Scolopendridæ*, *Rhysida longipes* and *Scolopendra morsitans* are the commonest. They live on cockroaches, beetles, worms, &c., and are frequently found about houses. The *Geophilidæ* are long worm-like centipedes with from thirty-nine to over one hundred segments; they are subterranean in their habits and feed almost entirely on earth worms. *Mecistocephalus punctiferus* is the commonest species.

Arachnida. This class includes the Scorpions, Spiders, Mites &c. Of the former so far as six species have been identified in Travancore of which one *Chiromachetes fergusoni* is peculiar to it. The great black scorpions of the genus *Palamnæus* are to be found under stones. *P. scaber* is about four inches long and has the hands and vesicle tinged with red. *Lychas tricarinatus*, a brownish yellow scorpion about two inches long, is often found in houses especially about the bath-rooms.

The Whip-scorpions or *Pedipalpi* resemble the true scorpions but may

be recognised by the fact that the abdomen is sharply marked off from the cephalothorax by a constriction. They are divided into a tailed group *Uropygi* and a tailless *Amblipygi*. The former have a movable tail corresponding to the sting of the scorpions. They live in damp places under stones or in crevices of wood or rock. There are two species of *Uropygi* identified, *Telyphonus indicus* and *Thelyphomus sepiaris subspecies muricola*, about an inch and a half long and with a tail rather more than an inch. It is black above with red legs. There are some smaller species which have not yet been identified. Of the *Amplipygi* the only species yet found is *Phrynichus phipsoni* ; the body is much flattened and kidney-shaped, the abdomen oval. The body is about an inch and a quarter long and black. All the legs are long especially the first pair which are like antennæ. Except for the long prehensile chela, it is outwardly like a spider. The true spiders or *Araneæ* are well represented. Of the larger species some twenty have been identified but there are many more as yet unnamed. Of the named ones six have not been found elsewhere, but this is probably due to the fact that very little attention has been paid to this order. The six species peculiar to Travancore are *Sason armatoris* and *Sasonichus sullivani*. Ground-living burrowing spiders, *Pœcilotheria rufilata*, a large hairy red spider obscurely mottled, total length of body two inches legs about three, which lives in trees; there is another species *P. striata*, grey with dark stripes not quite so large. They hunt by night and feed on beetles, cockroaches. &c. *Psechrus alticeps*, about three quarters of an inch long with slender legs about two inches which spins a large web, is found in the hills and in the plains. It is yellowish brown variegated with black. *Feccnia travancorica*, an allied species has been found at Madatora. *Pandercetes celatus*, a hunting spider, coloured grey and mottled with brown so as to match the lichen-covered bark of trees is the last of the spiders peculiar to Travancore. Of the others those most frequently met with are *Nephila maculata* and *Nephila malabarensis*. The former is about an inch and a quarter long with long strong legs. It has the thorax black, the abdomen olive brown with yellow lines and spots. The latter is less than an inch long, the thorax is black with yellow hairs on it, the abdomen greyish brown mottled darker. They spin webs composed of radiating and concentric threads. That of *Nephila maculata* is often found across bridle paths in forest on the hills, and the threads are very elastic and strong and appear to be covered with some glutinous substance as they stick if one comes in contact with the web. Some spiders of the genus *Gasterocantha* are curiously shaped. *G. geminata* has the abdomen twice as broad as long, with paired spines sticking out on each side and behind, it is yellow with two transverse black

stripes. Of the hunting spiders, *Peucetia viridana* is common on the hills. It is about half an inch long more or less green all over and lives amongst grass and other plants where it seeks its prey. In houses *Heteropoda venatoria* is very common. It is a greyish brown spider about three quarters of an inch or more long with legs about twice this length and moves sideways running very quickly. Of the Acari or Mites, I can say little, a species of velvety mite of the genus *Trombidium* about half an inch long, looking as if it were covered with plush, is found at Udayagiri, but probably the commonest is the microscopic itch-mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, which tunnels under the skin of man where it lays eggs which hatch and the young then start burrowing also. Ticks of the genus *Ixodes* are very common on cattle and in fact they attack all land vertebrates including snakes and lizards. They are common in grass lands.

Crustacea. The Crustaceans comprise a large assemblage presenting great diversity of structure. They are divided into two subclasses, the *Malacostraca*, and *Entomostraca*. The former comprises, among others, the familiar Crabs, Lobsters and Cray-fish, the latter the Barnacles and the tiny water-fleas. The Crabs form the short-tailed group of the order *Decapoda* and the Lobsters and Cray-fishes are members of the long tailed division. Both are well represented in Travancore, and so far some 30 species have been identified. The crabs are divided into five tribes, representatives of three of which have so far been found; the first of these, the *Cyclometopa*, are distinguished by having rounded foreheads. Most of the commoner species are included in this tribe. The field-crab, *Thelphusa leschenaulti*, which is so abundant, is an example. Some of the sea-crabs belonging to this tribe are very large, for example *Scylla serrata*, dull greenish blue and *Charybdis crucifera*, which is also conspicuous by its colour, purplish red with creamy white markings suffused with lighter purple, one of them forming a more or less conspicuous cross. The edible crabs, *Neptunus sanguinolentus*, reddish yellow with bright reddish round marking and *Neptunus pelagicus*, olive green with orange markings, belong to this tribe, as also *Cardiosoma carnifex*, a dark reddish brown crab having the appendages covered with hairs. It is found on the margins of lakes. The second tribe *Catometopa* has the frontal region of the carapace broad and square and bent downwards. The crabs which are so commonly seen on the sands belong to this tribe, they have very long eye-stalks and apparently see remarkably well. They are gregarious and each one forms a burrow for itself; they run very swiftly and are by no means easy to catch; two species, *Ocypoda platytarsus* and *Ocypoda cardimana*, have been identified. Nearly allied to

them are the curious Calling-crabs, *Gelasimus annulipes*, found on the shores of the backwaters. The male has one pincer enormously developed and it brandishes this as if it were beckoning, hence the name of calling-crab has been given to it. This claw is highly coloured and Major Alcock has suggested that the males wave it to attract the females. Another example is *Grapsus grapsus* which is bright reddish brown and possesses long and powerful legs which enable it to dart about the rocks very quickly and its flattened carapace enables it to find shelter in amongst the crevices. It is fairly common at Cape Comorin.

The third tribe, the *Oxyrhynca*, is unrepresented so far in the Museum collection.

The fourth tribe, the *Oxystomata*, or sharp-nosed crabs have the carapace produced in front into a short beak-like prominence. They vary in habit; for instance, a species of *Matuta* found in the beach at Trivandrum, a pale olive-coloured creature having a roughened carapace with two prominent lateral prolongations forming spines, is an active swimmer. *Calappa lophos*, on the other hand, leads a sluggish life on the floor of the sea. It is found at Tiruvallam and Puvar. It has a strongly convex carapace with the sides produced into shelf-like plates covering the legs, and the pincers are enlarged and compressed, so that when folded they form a covering to the face and so give it complete protection. *Leucosia craniolaris*, another example of this tribe, is remarkable for the porcelain-like appearance and texture of its pale bluish carapace. It is found on the Trivandrum beach.

The remaining tribe, the *Anomala*, is so far without a representative in the collection.

There are several species of Hermit-crabs, which, having the integument of the abdomen soft, use empty shells of the Mollusca to protect themselves. None of these have been identified as yet. The Lobsters, Prawns and Shrimps are numerous. *Palinurus dasypus* is perhaps the commonest; it is a large lobster reaching a length of over a foot. The cephalo-thorax is olive green with dull reddish yellow markings, the abdominal rings are finely spotted with orange. It has long antennæ and the cephalo-thorax is thickly covered with spiny tubercles and there is a large spine over each eye. *Panusirus fasciatus*, another lobster, has even longer antennæ; it is a bluish green with orange transverse lines a little above the posterior margins of the somites. A specimen 9 inches long has the antennæ 2 feet 4 inches in length. It is found among rocks,

Thenus orientalis, also found on rocky shores, is reddish brown and the head appendages are curiously produced into leaf-like processes.

Shrimps and prawns are common; a species of *Palæmon* grows to nine inches in length and is commonly sold in the market. In the back-waters a very large prawn, *Palæmon carcinus*, is found. The cephalo-thorax and the anterior portions of the somites are light purplish green followed by deep blue with orange spots on the sides and tail. Its length is 12 inches and the pincers are 19 inches.

The order *Stomapoda* is represented by a species of Mantis-shrimp (*Squilla*) which makes burrows in the sand. They have a very short carapace and their seizing limbs are not chelate, but toothed, like the forelimbs of a mantis, hence their name. The *Isopoda* are represented by *Hippa asiatica*, pale bluish ashy, which lives in the sands also by *Sphæroma* whose convex body is capable of being rolled into a ball; they live under stones. The fish-lice, some of which attain a length of 2 inches, also belong to this group. On land the wood-lice represent it; there are several species to be found, but they are as yet unidentified.

The *Entomostraca* are well represented. A species of *Lepas* is common and so is *Balanus tittinabulum*, one of the Acorn Barnacles. Of the remaining subkingdoms, the Echinoderms, Molluscs, Worms, and Cœlenterates, I can say nothing, as it has not been possible hitherto to collect them systematically and to ascertain how far they are represented in Travancore.

CHAPTER V.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

"And, when I am forgotten, as I shall be,
And sleep in dull cold marble, where no mention
Of me more must be heard of, say, I taught thee,
Say, Wolsey, that once trod the ways of glory,
And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour,
Found thee a way, out of his wreck, to rise in."

Shakespeare.

The prehistoric archæological remains are mostly natural or artificial caves used by primitive men as dwelling places or for other purposes. Numbers of such caves have been recently discovered all over Southern India. But in Travancore owing to the paucity of archæological researches in which only a beginning has been made, no definite information is available. Rude stone pillars, probably menhirs, indicating burial places and small cup-like stone hollows just large enough to hold a human body, have been discovered in parts of North Travancore. When the Varkala tunnel was bored, rude natural and artificial hollows were discovered here and there containing old pots, human skeletons and the like. These remains no doubt indicate that the tracts in which they were found were inhabited by the same race of men that constructed the 'Pandu Kulies' of the adjoining British tracts. The absence of any implements ordinarily associated with such burial places probably indicate their great antiquity; but the exact nature of the civilisation and the period at which such caves were constructed have not yet been ascertained.

Sepulchral urns have also been found in North and South Travancore; one large pot discovered in one of the caves showed signs of rude ornamental work, thus testifying to some advance in civilisation. At Ilanji, near Courtallam on the borders of Travancore, on opening an urn some traces of the shape of a human skeleton were discovered by Dr. Fry, a former Residency Surgeon in Travancore. Who the people were who buried their dead in these urns is a problem yet unsolved. Dr. Caldwell, who saw personally some urns both in the Tinnevelly and Madura Districts and in North and South Travancore, i. e., on both sides of the Western Ghauts, is of opinion that "the unknown people must have lived in villages. They were also a comparatively civilised people .....what seems to be most probable is that they were the ancestors of the people now living in the neighbourhood."*

* Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI. Page 280.

The area within which these traces are found would, if accurately determined, throw considerable light on early history and civilisation, but this has not been done yet. No provision exists at present for making excavations, which is the chief method of discovering prehistoric remains; other improved appliances are also wanting to help the work. Little is therefore known definitely of the remains of the period usually termed prehistoric. A start will have to be made in this direction.

Regarding the historic period, however, more definite, though still far from satisfactorily utilised, information is available and this will be here dealt with under the following heads:—

1. Architecture.
2. Sculpture.
3. Coins.
4. Inscriptions.
5. Forts and military works.
6. Tombs and monuments.

Architecture. The Dravidian style of building is the most prevalent, especially in South Travancore where examples of the indigenous style are not commonly met with. The northern limit of the Dravidian style is Trivandrum. This is probably due to the easy accessibility of the southern parts to the outside world and the intimate connection that has existed between them and the adjoining districts of Madura, Tinnevelly, Coimbatore &c., where the Dravidian races flourished and constructed some of their best architectural works. Some of the southern Taluqs were for a time under the sway of the Pandyan and other Kings and were wrested from their hands by the Rajahs of Travancore.

There are also a few remains of Jaina and Buddhistic architecture. The temples at Chitaral near Kuzhittura in the Vilavankod Taluq, and Madavur Parai in Kalakuttam, Trivandrum Taluq, are stated to be of Buddhistic origin. But examples of these styles are rare and have not been properly studied.

Besides these foreign styles, there is also an indigenous style. The temples and other buildings constructed in this style lack both the costliness and grandeur of the Dravidian structures, but they are neat and simple with provision for admitting plenty of light and fresh air, and in these respects are undoubtedly superior to the costly edifices of the Dravidian style. The indigenous style is peculiar to Malabar and indeed the like of it is not known to exist anywhere else in India. The chief characteristic of this

style is that wood enters largely in its construction. This style recurs, with all its peculiarities, in Nepal and Tibet and the resemblance between the two is so strong that from this fact, among others, Sir James Fergusson argues that "it cannot be doubted that an intimate connection once existed between Nepal and Tibet on the one side and Malabar coast on the other", though it has not yet been possible to ascertain when. The large employment of wood in the place of stone is, according to Mr. Fergusson, the chief peculiarity of the Jaina temple architecture and he would set down the style prevalent in Malabar, Nepal and Tibet, to the influence of Jaina example. But more definite and reliable evidence should be sought before laying it down finally that the Malabar style is a copy of the Jaina temple architecture. The large employment of wood is sufficiently accounted for by the abundant supply of building timber available in the forests of Malabar; the same conditions exist in the Himalayan valleys of Nepal and Tibet. The indigenous style combining with it the advantages of neatness, health and ventilation, fulfils the function of true architecture, which, according to Ruskin, is the art "which so disposes and adorns the edifices raised by man, for whatsoever uses that the sight of them may contribute to his mental health, power and pleasure". The peculiarities of the Dravidian and Malabar styles of architecture are dealt with at length elsewhere. The great temple of Sri Padmanabhaswami in Trivandrum is one of the best specimens of the Dravidian style of architecture in Travancore. In my Report on the Census of Travancore (1891), I described it thus:—

"This temple stands in the most elevated part of a vast plain about 20 square miles in extent. The site itself is only a few feet above the sea-level. The area covered by the temple enclosure is 570 × 510, or 290,700 square feet, equal to about 7 acres. The temple faces the east, and the view on that side through the large fort gate and a long line of bazaars with paddy fields and cocoanut topes behind them is most charming. A handsome flight of stone-steps on the eastern side shows the gentle eminence of the temple site, the first portion of which is covered by a huge gopuram or tower, pyramidal in shape and built of granite stone and brick. This tower is about 100 feet in height, and has seven stories with window-like openings in the centre of each of them. These openings, as well as the face of the tower, are lighted every evening, the illumination being visible at a great distance. The stone basement of the tower is covered with elaborate sculpturing, and the masonry above with ornamental work of Hindu figures. On the top are seven gold steeples or turrets known as *Swarnastupis* in the vernacular. These are seen at an immense distance from the town. Underneath the gopuram is the main gateway leading to the temple, well protected by a number of massive doors all guarded day and night by faithful sentries. The gopuram and the lofty temple walls were in the olden times not merely an ornamental appendage to the pagoda, but a stronghold of the temple jewels and the king's treasure, and under the simpler system of warfare and weapons then known, they yielded an effectual protection from foes. Between the

gateway and the inner shrine, or holy of holies, there is a fine broad open corridor in the form of an oblong, supported by 324 stone pillars and covered with a terraced roof. This is a most beautiful and useful structure. It is called the *Seevalimantapom*, meaning the walk of the god's procession. On one side it is 450 feet long, on the shorter side 350 feet. It is 25 feet broad. The two rows of granite pillars and the stone ceiling above have been made the receptacle of the talents of the sculptor's chisel. Every stone pillar has the figure of a Nair girl bearing a lamp in the palm of her hands joined together and raised above her waists. The niche of the lamp will hold four ounces of oil, and this quantity will keep the light burning for four hours of the night. The top of the pillar is surmounted by the head of a unicorn, in the mouth of which rolls a ball of stone in the manner of a Chinese puzzle. On each side of the pillar is suspended a pretty brass lamp at a height of ten feet from the floor. Between the pillars are also placed rows of iron lamps, like butties fixed to pieces of planks pressed in between the stone pillars, also of the same height as the banging brass lamps. When all these are lighted, as well as the numerous rows of cocoanut oil lamps on the outside walls of the inner shrine to which I shall presently refer, the effect on the visitor is most dazzling. The reader will not have seen anything like it in any other part of India. It is impossible to describe in words what beggars the imagination. This *Seevalimantapom* is also used as the dining hall on important occasions, and I counted so many as 2,500 leaves on one occasion, showing that so many people could sit down there simultaneously to breakfast. I do not think the wealthiest Duke or Marquis in Great Britain can ask so many guests to dinner at a time. And this, I believe, is a spectacle unrivalled in any part of the world. At the four points of this oblong corridor, but not connected with it, stand four stone-mantapoms or raised platforms, from which the women and children witness the god's procession during the important festivals in the temple, when the *Seevalimantapom* and the courtyard are fully crammed with people. These are called *Unchamantapoms*. On ordinary days, these are used for the reading of the Puranas or the Chakkiyar's entertainment or the *Patakam* recital. Sometimes Vedic scholars from distant parts of India here announce themselves to the sovereign, by reciting some of the hymns of the Veda. On the south of the southern *Seevalimantapom* is a house dedicated to the performance of the chief State ceremonies. North of the oblong is the cooking apartments of the feeding house attached to the temple, commensurate in size and area to the needs of the thousands daily fed on important occasions. Here you have hearths of the height of a full-grown man, and spacious enough to hold tons of firewood at a time, large bell-metal caldrons, the hollow of which can contain condiments to feed 5,000 people at a meal, and so deep that a boy can swim in it if filled with water, large canoes made of wood capable of holding several hundred pots of curries or buttermilk, altogether presenting the appearance in every respect of Brobdingnagian arrangements. Everything here is on a stupendous scale. Beyond this magnificent corridor or covered walk is the great flagstaff of gold or the *Dhwajastambhom*, the emblem of victory, a *sine qua non* to every Hindu temple, considered so by the immemorial usage of Hindus and by their sacred books. The staff itself is a fine teak log 80 feet in length without a flaw, and shaped circular, tapering towards the top. This log is covered with a series of copper-plate rings from the the foot upwards, and surmounted on the top by a massive pewter image of Garuda said to be the god's *vahanom* or favourite riding animal. The copper plates and the image are gilded thickly on the outside with fine gold in a fashion peculiar to the native artisans of Travancore. The gold used is of a very superior touch, which is beaten into thin plates of the thickness of ordinary paper, then cut into small pieces and ground down on a stone with sand and quicksilver into a fine pasty substance. This pasty substance is laid on the copper rings,

themselves highly polished, and well rubbed into them. The quicksilver disappears in the subsequent heating over the fire. This process is repeated seven times or more according to the quantity of gold available, when the rings assume a very pretty colour. This is the gilding process in vogue here. During the *oolsavam* or seasons of festival a flag of silk is hoisted high on the staff; the processes of hoisting and lowering are accompanied by long and detailed ceremonies in every temple. South of the flagstaff and connected with the 'Seevalimantapom' roof, is the famous 'Kulasekhara mantapom,' sometimes called 'Ayirakkal mantapom'. This place is entirely a work of the sculptor's art. The best specimens of carving in stone of old Travancore are preserved here. The former Maharajahs imported several families of talented masons and carpenters and artisans from all parts of India, and gave them special privileges and patronised them. The descendants of these families are still living in Travancore. I have not the patience to write here a full description of the excellent specimens of stone-work as displayed in the 'Kulasekhara mantapom.' It is enough to say that the obdurate granite has been made to bend and mould in obedience to the artist's chisel in very remarkable and unlikely ways. Between the flagstaff and the temple door is the 'Velikkapurai', in which also specimens of stone workmanship known to native sculpture are profusely shown in the huge pillars and the ceiling above. Before the Hindu enters the temple door, he bows respectfully from the big *Balipeetom* directly in front of the God in the inner shrine. A long pathway underneath a magnificent upstair hall is passed before the *Jepamantapom* is reached, from which a flight of steps leads you down to the yard of the inner shrine, also beautifully paved with fine slabs of granite stone, the interstices between being well closed by a solution of tin. Another flight of stone-steps takes you up to the front of the inner shrine. No worshipper is allowed to enter the shrine itself. Only the specially privileged priests can enter. Even 'Sankaracharyar' the 'Loka-Guru' has certain restrictions placed on him in his pooja to the God. This shrine is a small room with three doors, and the votaries worship at all *three* of them. All the standing room for the worshippers is afforded by one large slab of stone* measuring 20 feet by 25 feet and 4 feet high, brought thither according to people's belief not by human hands, but with the help of the local deity himself, and the simple folk still point to the deep ditch in the neighbouring mountains from which this huge stone was quarried. I should not omit to mention that on this side of the *Jepamantapom* as well as of the inner shrine there are two open yards also nicely paved with granite stones. It is scarcely necessary to inform the Hindu reader that the inner shrine, the single-stone mantapom, the open yards, the *Jepamantapom* and all thereabouts are kept most scrupulously neat and sweet by perfumes, and cleaning and washing continually going on for several hours of the day. Outside the inner shrine, but within the enclosure itself, there are other small shrines, dedicated to Krishna, Kshetrapala, Sastha, Narasimha, Vyasa, Siva, Ganesa, Rama, Sita, Lakshmana and Hanuman, Garuda, &c. These are the minor deities, the chief deity being a favourite form of Vishnu or the Protector of the world. On the hind walls of the chief shrine are scenically represented in water colours the whole of the Puranas including such minute and complicated details as the wars of Rama and Ravana, the Pandavas and Kurus, the marriage of Sita, the 'leelas' of Krisha, and such like, too numerous to mention. The devout worshipper passes by looking at them reverentially, and touching his eyes with the fingers consecrated by the touch of the holy walls on which these scenes are painted. There are two or three wells within the sacred precincts in addition to a large fine tank outside the temple itself. A cellar underneath the shrine secures the temple jewels, and a massive offertory made of wood, covered

* This is known as the 'Ottakal mantapom'.

with copper-plates, receives the daily offerings in cash of the worshippers. Half an hour's perambulation in the temple is to the pious Hindu a supremely happy portion of his existence."

Sculpture. The sculpture of Travancore is necessarily limited to the temples and fanes of the Hindu religion, as the Mahomedan religion forbids representations either of men or animals in their buildings. The sculptures to be found in Travancore may be divided into three classes,

(a) Indigenous,
(b) Buddhistic and Jaina and
(c) Brahminical,

according to the religious belief which occasioned them.

The *Indigenous* sculptures consist of 'Naga-kals' or serpent figures, 'Veera-kals' or figures of heroes and representations of village goddesses, demons &c. The serpent figures are most common in Travancore and the 'Kavu' or abode of serpents, where images of serpents are set up and worshipped, is to be invariably seen in the garden of every Nayar house. The 'Veera-kals' are also to be largely met with here, most of them being the representations of Parasurama, the Brahmin hero and the reputed founder of Kerala, to whom however only a few temples are dedicated. Images of village gods and goddesses, demons &c, are also not uncommon, as idol worship in one form or other is the cult of the lower classes.

The *Buddhistic* sculpture consists of bas-reliefs and detached statues. A few of these are to be found here and there in Travancore. There is an image of Buddha standing on the roadside between Mavelikara and Kandiyur. In the Museum at Trivandrum are a few images distinctly Buddhistic in appearance.

The *Jaina* sculptures are for the most part restricted to a representation of their twenty-four hierarchs or Thirtankaras with their symbols. These are very rare in Travancore. Some of them are to be hardly distinguished from Buddhistic images so much so that a few which are considered Buddhistic are not infrequently styled Jaina images. The figure popularly known as *Karumadi Kuttan* in the canal near Karumadi is said to be of Jaina origin, while some put it down as a Buddhistic image. In the central compartment of the rock-cut hall in the Bhagavati temple on the summit of Chitaral near Kuzhittura is a figure which "would appear to be a Jaina image as it is said to be 'quite naked'. It is in sitting posture on an elevated stone plinth and has three umbrellas over its head. There is

another in the southern compartment. On the rock-face on the north of the temple are thirty-two figures, repetitions of the images in the pagoda. I take these also to be of Jaina origin"*.

The *Brahminical* sculptures are countless. Hindu religion and mythology afford inexhaustible subjects for sculptural representation and ornamentation. A detailed account and a few examples of the Hindu sculptures found in Travancore are given under the head of "Sculpture" in the chapter "Arts and Industries".

Coins. A. INDIGENOUS.—The history of Travancore coins mounts up to remote antiquity. Sir Walter Elliot, the eminent numismatist, is of opinion that the Travancore mint "is the only Hindu tankasala still maintained in its original form". A close examination of the old records relating to coinage should have disclosed very interesting and valuable information about the early history of Travancore, but the records in the mint were destroyed by an accidental fire and hence the difficulty of procuring information regarding the ancient coins of Travancore.

Gold Coins. Parasurama, the founder of Kerala, after crowning Bhanu Vikrama as its king, is stated to have minted gold coins called ***Rasi*** and made them over to the king for circulation as the currency of the country. Tradition says that Parasurama sowed the Rasi coins broadcast and buried some in cairns, which are seen here and there on the Travancore mountains. "On the high ranges there are three Parasurama cairns, where the mountain tribes still keep lamps burning.....one much dilapidated was called 'Rasi hill of Parasurama'. Along the western coast the approaches to fords over large rivers...are especially prolific of them (Rasi coins); after heavy bursts of the monsoon people often regularly resort to and minutely scrutinise the tracts leading to the fords"†.

According to the belief of the people, Rasi is the oldest coin in Kerala. The specimens sent to Sir W. Elliot were found to weigh (five and eight-tenths) $5\ \frac{8}{10}$ grains each, "with an obliterated form on the obverse, probably a Shanka". Though seldom seen in circulation, the Rasi was till very recently the denomination used in North Travancore for the valuation of lands.

The coin next in point of age was the *Kaliyuga Rajan* or *Kaliyuga Rayan Panam*. As its name implies, it was probably issued by the

* Sewell's List of Antiquities, Madras. Vol. 1. Page 258.

† Mr. Walhouse in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. III. Page 191.

sovereign who reigned in the beginning of the Kaliyuga. It has a faint resemblance to the Rasi coin. According to Sir W. Elliot it was at one time current over the whole of Kerala. Inscriptions and Sasanams show that it was current in the 3rd century A. D.

Ananta Rayan Panam and *Ananta Varahan* were two gold coins issued subsequently. Ananta is the appellation of God Sri Padmanabha, the tutelary deity of the Travancore Royal family, and the coins derive their name from this Deity. Their values were Rs. 0-4-7 and Rs. 3-15-5 (British currency) respectively. The precise dates of their issue are not ascertainable as there have been many subsequent issues of the same coin. A large number of Ananta Rayan Panams full and half, and Ananta Varahans were coined during the reign of Rama Varma the Great (1758-1798 A. D.).

Besides these, special gold coins were minted during the performance of the important ceremony known as "Tulabharam" which the Travancore Maharajahs celebrate once in their life-time. On these occasions the body of the king is weighed against an equal weight of gold coins, which are then distributed among the learned Brahmins. The gold, after purification, is coined in different sizes and weights. Originally these coins were circular pieces of gold with letters "Sri Padmanabha" in Malayalam on the obverse, the reverse being blank. But those coined in later times contained the letters within a floral wreath while on the reverse was the *sankha* or conch-shell (the State emblematic device of Travancore) encircled by a wreath. The coins struck in 1869 A. D. were of four denominations weighing approximately 78·65, 39·32, 19·66, and 9·83 grains respectively. The old Venetian Sequins were also used for Pagoda offerings and to meet the difficulty of securing them in large numbers, Dewan Ramiengar suggested the coinage of token gold coins which were not to be part of the currency. But instead of being modelled after the sequins, the new token coins were minted of two sizes, one equal to the English Sovereign in weight and purity and the other to the English Half-sovereign. 1,000 full and 2,000 half Sovereigns were accordingly minted in the British Indian mint at Bombay in 1882 A. D.

In 1052 M. E. (1877 A. D.) two gold coins called *Travancore Varahans* and *Half Varahans* were struck and declared legal tender by state legislation. The obverse contained the inscriptions "R. V." (the initials of the Maharajah) and the words "Travancore Varahan" or "Half Varahan", as the case may be, in Malayalam, with the years of issue both English and Malayalam; the reverse contained a *sankha* and a flag.

The two coins weighed 78 $\frac{4}{10}$ and 39 $\frac{2}{10}$ grains and their values were 7½ Rs. and 3¾ Rs. respectively. But the new currency failed in its object as there was hardly any circulation, and was discontinued.

Gold *Chuckrams* are stated to have been minted at one time * but nothing is now known of these coins and no specimens are to be found.

Silver Coins. Silver *Chuckrams* were issued from the earliest period and they were stated to have been current even in the Pandyan kingdom. This by repute is the earliest silver coin of Travancore.

Later coinages were of three different sizes:—

Double chuckram	weight	$11\frac{6}{10}$ grains.
Single chuckram	,,	$5\frac{7}{10}$,,
Small or Chinna chuckram	,,	$2\frac{8}{10}$,,

The exact date of their coinage is not known but all accounts agree in assigning to them a period of more than 200 years. In the year 985 M. E. (1809 A. D.), Double and Half chuckrams were coined by the order of the then Dewan Oomminy Tampi and it is said that their coinage was immediately afterwards discontinued. From some specimens now available, it is found that on the obverse of the double chuckram was a *sankha* or shell and on the reverse was the *chuckram*, resembling what is called a Solomon's seal with the inscription "Padmanabha" in Malayalam. The impression on the chuckram represents on the obverse a head ornament of Siva, a curved line representing the moon with a star above it. The moon appears also on the reverse with the twelve signs of the Zodiac above, marked by dots and an ear of corn below. The representation is of course primitive and rude. The Chinna-chuckram resembled the chuckram in all respects and it was perhaps the smallest silver coin in the world.

In 1035 M. E. (1860 A. D.) a new silver coin of the value of 4 chuckrams and known as the *Fanam* was introduced. These coins were minted in Trivandrum with the aid of stamping presses got down from Madras.

In 1065 M. E. (1889) Quarter Rupees and Half Rupees equal in value to 7 and 14 chuckrams respectively were coined, and by a Royal Proclamation dated 31st October 1889 they were declared part of the currency of the State. These coins bore the device of the *sankha* and the name of the coin in Malayalam on one side and the inscription "Rama Varma-Travancore" with the year and name of the coin in English on the other side. It was

* Vide Shungoonny Menon's History of Travancore Page 83.

also then under contemplation to issue full Rupees valued 28 chuckrams or 7 fanams each, but the idea was given up subsequently. The Travancore Rupee by which the Sircar accounts are calculated is only an imaginary coin.

In 1076 M. E. (1900 A. D.) when the silver chuckrams were discontinued, an improved silver coin of the value of 2 chuckrams was minted instead and declared part of the currency of the State.

Copper Coins. The coin known as Kasu or *Cash* is the earliest copper coin minted in Travancore. It is valued 1/1,456 of a British Rupee and is undoubtedly the smallest copper coin in the world. It was first minted in 991 M. E. (1815 A. D.). The cash issued in 1006 M. E. bore a different stamp, which was again changed in the coinage of copper cash made in 1014 M. E. The dies &c. are not preserved and it is not possible to ascertain what the early copper cashes were like, as specimens are not to be found. But later issues resembled the silver chuckram with its rude and primitive device.

In 1024 M. E. (1848 A. D.), three varieties of copper coins were minted viz :—

cash	= $\frac{1}{16}$	of a chuckram
double cash	= $\frac{1}{8}$	do.
four-cash coins	= $\frac{1}{4}$	do.

On the obverse of all these was the figure of Krishna and on the reverse the *chuckram*. The double cash contained in addition the numeral "2" in Malayalam below the figure of Krishna. In the four-cash piece the numeral "2" was replaced by "4" also in Malayalam, and there were two floral sprigs in addition. The last two coins were however subsequently given up.

In 1076 M. E. (1900 A. D.), owing to the facilities which silver coins of the value of one chuckram afforded for counterfeiting, it was resolved to discontinue the minting thereof and the Government issued instead copper coins of the value of one, half and quarter chuckrams for the convenience of the public. At the same time an improved copper cash was also struck with the inscription 'ഒരു കാശ്' (one cash) on one side and the *sankha* in an ornamented circle on the other side. These coins form the present copper currency of the state.

Zinc Coins. In 988 M. E. (1812 A. D.) zinc coins of the value of one cash were issued from the Travancore mint. This was the first 'cash' coined but it was soon replaced by copper coinage. Specimens of the zinc

cash are not avilable. It is not therefore possible to give any description of the coin.

B. FOREIGN COINS. A large number of foreign coins appear to have been current in early times and numbers of them have been subsequently unearthed in different parts of the State.

EARLY BUDDHISTIC.—The earliest of such coins were the punch-marked coins current at the time of Buddha. So late as January 1900 A. D., 306 old silver and 2 old copper coins were found in an old earthen vessel in a cutting near Angamali Station on the Shoranore-Cochin Railway. They were sent to Mr. Edgar Thurston of the Madras Government Museum and he identified them as the punch-marked coins referred to above, "which are found all over India from Kabul to Cape Comorin". According to Sir A. Cunningham, "they were certainly current in the time of Buddha i. e., in the 5th century B. C. But I have no difficulty in thinking that they might mount to as high as 1,000 B. C."*

EUROPEAN. The extensive commercial relations that had existed in early times between the Malabar coast and the maritime nations of the west introduced a large number of European coins into the country. Of the European nations the Romans were the first to come in contact with the west coast and accordingly a large number of their coins of dates ranging from 30 B. C. to 547 A. D. have been found in several parts of Travancore. Mr. Cunningham asserts that these coins were current in Southern India in the early years of the Christian era.

The Venetian Sequins popularly known as *Shanar Kasu* are also to be met with in large numbers and are in great demand for jewelry. They appear to have been current in the State once. Until lately the sequins found in the country were purchased by the Government and distributed to learned Brahmins during the temple offerings.

SOUTH INDIAN. Portions of the country now included in the State of Travancore were at various times under the sway of the foreign powers viz., the Bellalas, Kadambas, Chalukyas, Cholas, Pandyas, Mahomedan rulers (who overran the Pandyan territory), the Zamorin of Calicut and the Rajah of Cochin.

The coins of all these powers were current in the tracts under their respective sway and when the several parts were conquered and consolidated

* Coins of Ancient India from the earliest times to the 7th century (1891), Page 13.

into the kingdom of Travancore, there were large numbers of foreign coins in circulation. Specimens of several of these foreign coins are to be found in His Highness the Maharajah's Palace at the Capital. The following names of the coins in the Palace collection are sufficiently expressive and clearly indicate the source or authority to which they own their origin.

Sultan Varahan.
Sultan cash.
Kumbakonam Varahan.
Tharangambady Varahan.
Parangy Varahan.
Calicut Fanam.
Ramnad Chuti Panam.
Madura Velli Panam.
Cochin Putheu.

CEYLON. There are evidences of an intimate connection, commercial and even political, between Ceylon and the south of India—not excluding Travancore—in early times. This is fully borne out by the occurrence of Ceylon coins in several parts of South India, Madura, Tinnevelly &c. Even in Travancore they are found though only rarely. The Elavas, Tiyas and some of the Shanars in Travancore are asserted to have come from the north of Ceylon. From a South Travancore inscription dated 98 M. E. (922 A. D.), it is found that Ceylon gold coins were once current in that part of the country.

Inscriptions. For some years past, an attempt has been made to collect and decipher inscriptions found in temples, mantapams, forts, palaces and isolated landmarks all over Travancore. No regular department has been organised, but the late Mr. P. Sundaram Pillay M. A., F. R. H. S., a very talented Professor of His Highness the Maharajah's College, Trivandrum, was appointed Honorary Archæologist and a small staff was given him to start the researches. His Field Assistant, Mr. T. S. Ganesa Pillay, still continues to do some work, but since the Professor's untimely death seven years ago, the work has made but little progress. As archæological work is of an extremely important nature and Travancore abounds with material of that kind for constructing authentic history, it behoves His Highness' Government to organise a regular establishment and work it on more methodical lines. There must be a large number of inscriptions and plates available for research all over the country. Whatever work has been done by Professor Sundaram Pillay and Ganesa Pillay up to date is here presented to the general reader in a brief compass.

The following statements disclose some interesting particulars regarding the nature of Travancore inscriptions:—

(1) Inscriptions arranged according to their age.

Age.	Number.
Anterior to the Malayalam era.	42
1st century of the Malayalam era	6
2nd „	11
3rd „	9
4th „	46
5th „	28
6th „	20
7th „	56
8th „	72
9th „	48
10th „	41
11th „	35
Date not ascertained yet	22
Undated „	14
Total.	450

(2) Inscriptions arranged according to the Taluqs in which they occur.

Taluqs.	Number.
Agastisvaram	221
Kalkulam	58
Tovala	49
Neyyattinkara	34
Alangad	19
Trivandrum	19
Vilavankod	14
Eraniel	16
Chirayinkil	12
Anchanad.	8
Total.	450

(3) Inscriptions arranged according to their character.

Character.	Number.
Vattezhuttu	84
Kolezhuttu	12
Old Tamil	77
Modern Tamil	252
Nagari	1
Grantha	11
Malayalam	9
Canarese	1
Tamil and Malayalam	1
Roman	2
Total.	450

(4) Inscriptions arranged according to their language.

Language.	Number.
Tamil	425
Malayalam	8
Sanskrit	13
Hindustani	1
Canarese	1
Dutch	1
Latin	1
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Latin	1
Total.	450

(5) Inscriptions arranged according to the materials on which they are inscribed.

Material.	Number.
Rocks	52
Temples and other buildings ...	298
Images	3
Pillars	70
Vessels	16
Bells	8
Copper plates	2
Cadjan leaf	1
Total.	450

(6) Inscriptions arranged according to their subject-matter.

Subject-matter.	Number.
Gifts for construction of Temples ...	73
„ consecration of temples and images	22
„ special pujahs and offerings ...	221
„ to Brahmins for their feeding &c.	14
„ Kalmatams, water-sheds and other public uses	58
Charter of privileges	2
Writs (Neet)	21
Proclamations	7
Edicts (Sasanam)	14
Orders of appointment	18
Total.	450

(7) **Inscriptions classified according to the donors.**

Donor.			Number.
Sovereigns	Travancore	... ...	98
	Foreign	... ...	30
Members of Royal families	Travancore	...	11
	Foreign	... ...	5
Chieftains	Travancore	... ...	86
	Foreign	... ...	40
Corporations	Travancore	... ...	80
	Foreign	... ...	7
Private Individuals	Travancore	... ...	76
	Foreign	... ...	17
		Total.	450

(8) Inscriptions classified according to the donees.

Donee.		Number.
Hindu Temples	... ...	316
Jaina Temples	... ...	20
Christian Churches	... ...	1
Brahmins	... ...	21
Service holders	... ...	28
Kalmatams and water-sheds for the public	...	44
Inferior castes	... ...	6
Agricultural ryots	... ...	7
Christians	... ...	7
	Total.	450

It will be seen from the statements given above that the Taluq of Agastisvaram in South Travancore claims the largest number of inscriptions. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The Pandyan Empire extended up to the Taluq of Tovala. The victorious Pandya or Chola always wished to commemorate his successes in the conquered territories more than in his own. Kottar was for a long time the most important city in Venad and its capture was therefore more important for the enemy than the possession of several miles of land outside. The country east of Kottar was known in the olden days as "Purattayanad" or the country outside Venad. Another reason is probably the existence of important Hindu shrines in this Taluq. Suchindram, the divine court of justice in the olden days, has nearly 100 inscriptions and Cape Comorin has more than 50. The expression 'Suchindram Satyam' is still remembered and acted upon by the more orthodox, though its 'ghee-ordeal' is now a thing of the past. The persons condemned on oath at this temple had generally to undergo a course of expiatory ceremonies, part of which was the making of some gift to the temple. Most of the inscriptions in this temple record such small gifts as atonement for various sins. The other three Taluqs viz., Tovala, Kalkulam and Eraniel, contain a smaller number of temples and were apparently not considered as very valuable possessions by the invaders. Tovala was for a long time either forest or waste land with a sparse population. Kalkulam was called 'Padappanad' indicating the jungly nature of the gardens of which it was composed. Eraniel was known as 'Kurunad', showing the small revenue realised therefrom.

Regarding the character of the inscriptions, it is only the Vattezhuttu, Kolezhuttu and Old Tamil that call for any remarks as their use ceased long ago while the other characters are still current.

VATTEZHUTTU. Vattezhuthu is the oldest in Malabar and the earliest Vattezhuttu inscription known to scholars is the one on the pillar in front of the Napier Museum at Trivandrum. (Vide Plate A. herewith annexed). It is in the well-known Chera-Pandya characters with the exception of the first letter 'Sri' which is in Grantha. All the letters of this inscription are more arrow-headed than round and are peculiarly ornamented and every consonant has a dot on the top according to the rules of ancient Tamil Grammar texts—Tolkappiyam and Nannul. The language of the inscription is the old classical Tamil, and contains certain words which have gone out of use at the present day, such as பெருந்திணை, விட்டுழக்க, ஒற்றச்சேவகன், கோட்டை அழிப்பான்வர, கொழுஞ் சுற்றத்து &c.

The date of the inscription has been mentioned as the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Sri Ko-Maran Chadayan, and Professor Sundaram Pillay roughly estimated its age to be at least a thousand years. It records the death of a Malabar Chief at Vizhinjam.

The characters of the inscriptions of Ko-Raja Rajakesari Varman *alias* the great Raja Raja I on the rock at Periyakulam, Eraniel Taluq (Vide Plate B.) are also in Vattezhuttu character, but the letters are slightly different from those of the preceding one and less ornamental.

KOLEZHUTTU. The Kolezhuttu is only a variety of the Vattezhuttu. Kolezhuttu inscriptions are to be seen in Central and North Travancore and it appears from the epigraphical records that Kolezhuttu was in use in Travancore from the commencement of the sixth to the tenth century of the Malabar era. It is also known as Malayazhma and until the beginning of the last century this character was in use for "all grants, patents, decrees and in general all papers that can be considered records of Government".

The inscription in the temple of Manambur in the Taluq of Chirayinkil (Vide Plate C.) contains five lines of well-preserved characters.

There is another inscription in the same character but of an earlier date in the temple of Chengavanadu. It contains two lines of Kolezhuttu characters intermingled with Grantha letters. (Vide Plate D.)

OLD TAMIL. Old Tamil was the Court character of the Cholas and all the old Tamil inscriptions found in Travancore are due to their influence, as is evidenced by the fact that no inscriptions in old Tamil are met with to the north of Vizhinjam which marked the limit of Chola conquest in Travancore territory. They are mostly to be found in the Taluqs of Agastisvaram, Tovala, Eraniel and only a few in Kalkulam. Old Tamil appears to have been current in those parts from the second to the eighth century of the Malabar era. The inscription dated the 154th day in the fourth year of the reign of the Chola king, Parakesari Varman *alias* Rajendra Deva, on the walls of the inner temple of the goddess Bhagavati at Cape Comorin (Vide Plate E.), may be taken as a type of this character.

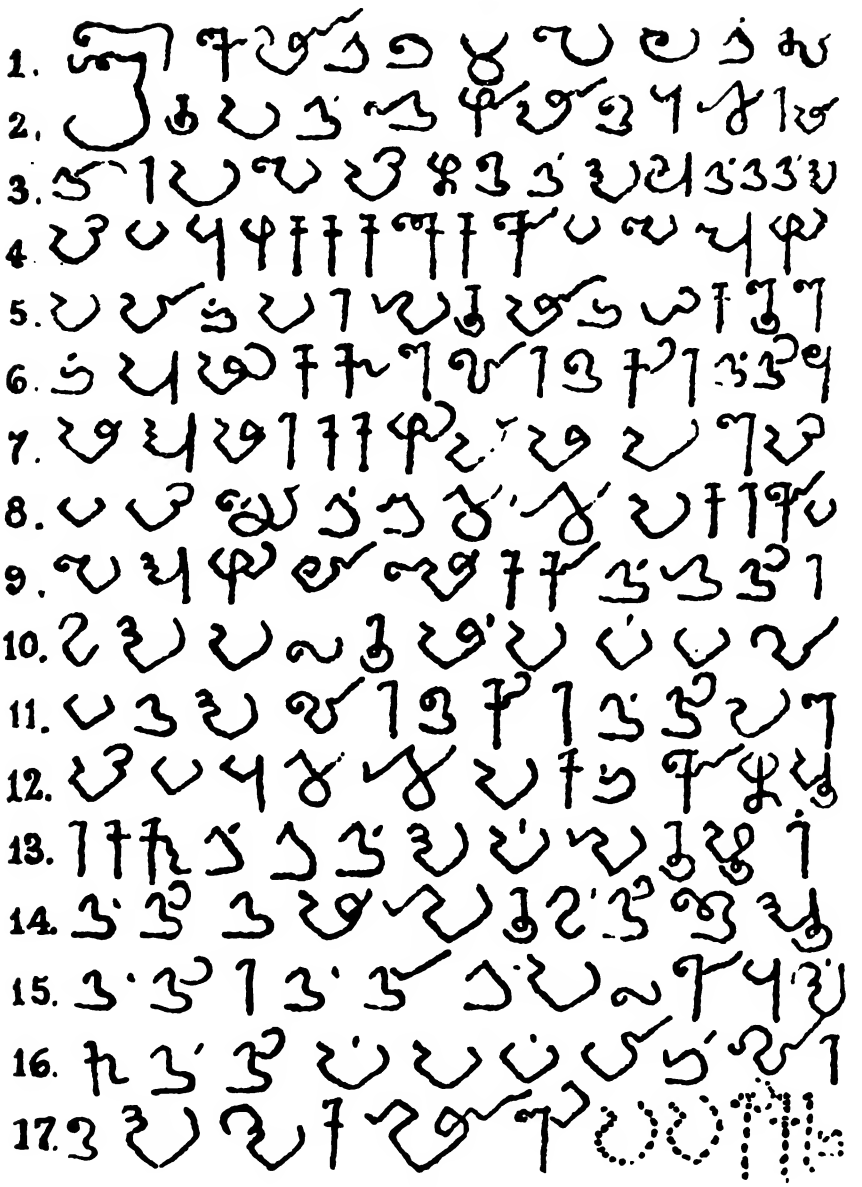
Plate A. Text (in current Tamil).

ஸ்ரீகோமாறன் சடையற்கிருபத்தேழாமாண்டு சேரமானர் படை
விழுஞ்சு யுத்தத்தி விட்டிழக்க கரைக்கோட்டை அழிப்பான்வர பெ
ருமானடிகளுளன்புமீக்குள இரணகீர்த்தியும் அமர்க்கழிஉம் உள்விட்
டினைற்றைச்சேவகர் கோட்டை அழியாமைக்காத்தெதிர்ந்து பலரும் ப
ட்ட இடத்து இரணகீர்த்தி உள்விட்டுச்சேவகன் கொழுவூர்க்கூற்றத்து
ப்பெருமூர்த்தி தம்பெருந்திணை ஆந்திரத்தாற் பலரோடுங்குத்திப்பட்
டான் இரணதிங்கமெளலி * * * *

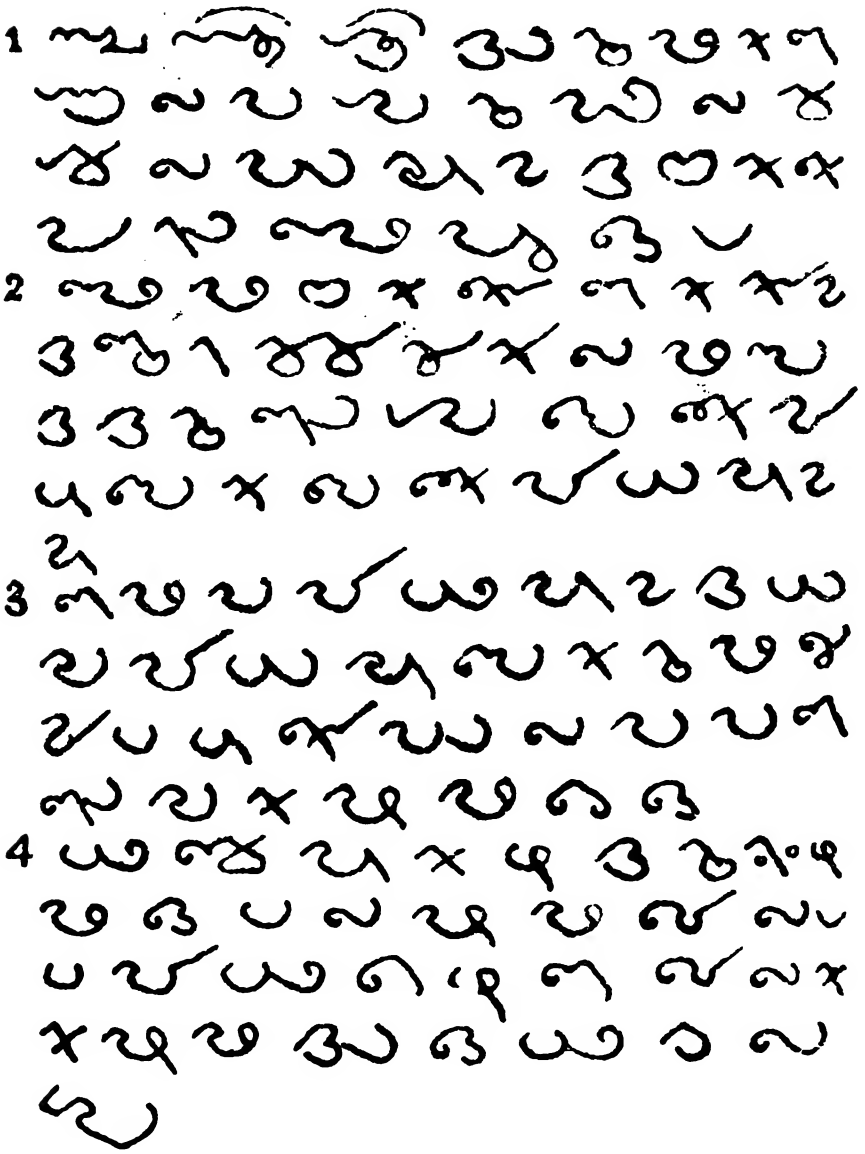
Plate A. (*English Translation*).

In the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Sri Ko-Maran Chadayan, when the forces of the Cheraman were besieging Vizhinjam intent on the demolition of Karaikkottai, two loyal warriors of the garrison guarding the fortress viz., Ranakirti and Amarkkali, who were devotedly attached to their Lord Perumanadigal (master) defended it to the last. In the heavy fight which ensued, the loyal warrior Ranakirti (the famous in battle) succeeded in making havoc in the enemies' ranks but was himself slain by Perumurti of Koluvurkuttam, who came up with large reinforcements.

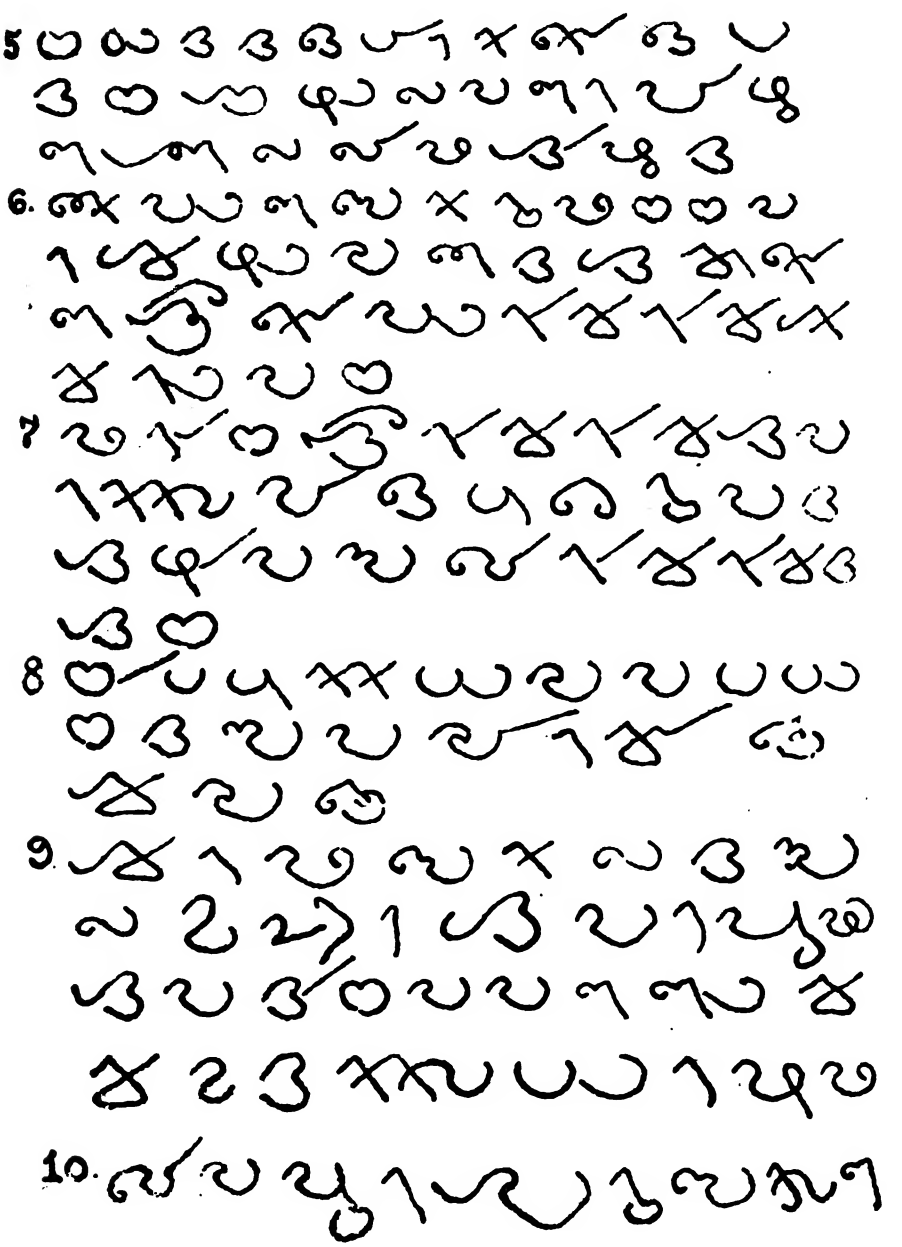
A—Text (*in Vatteluttu*)



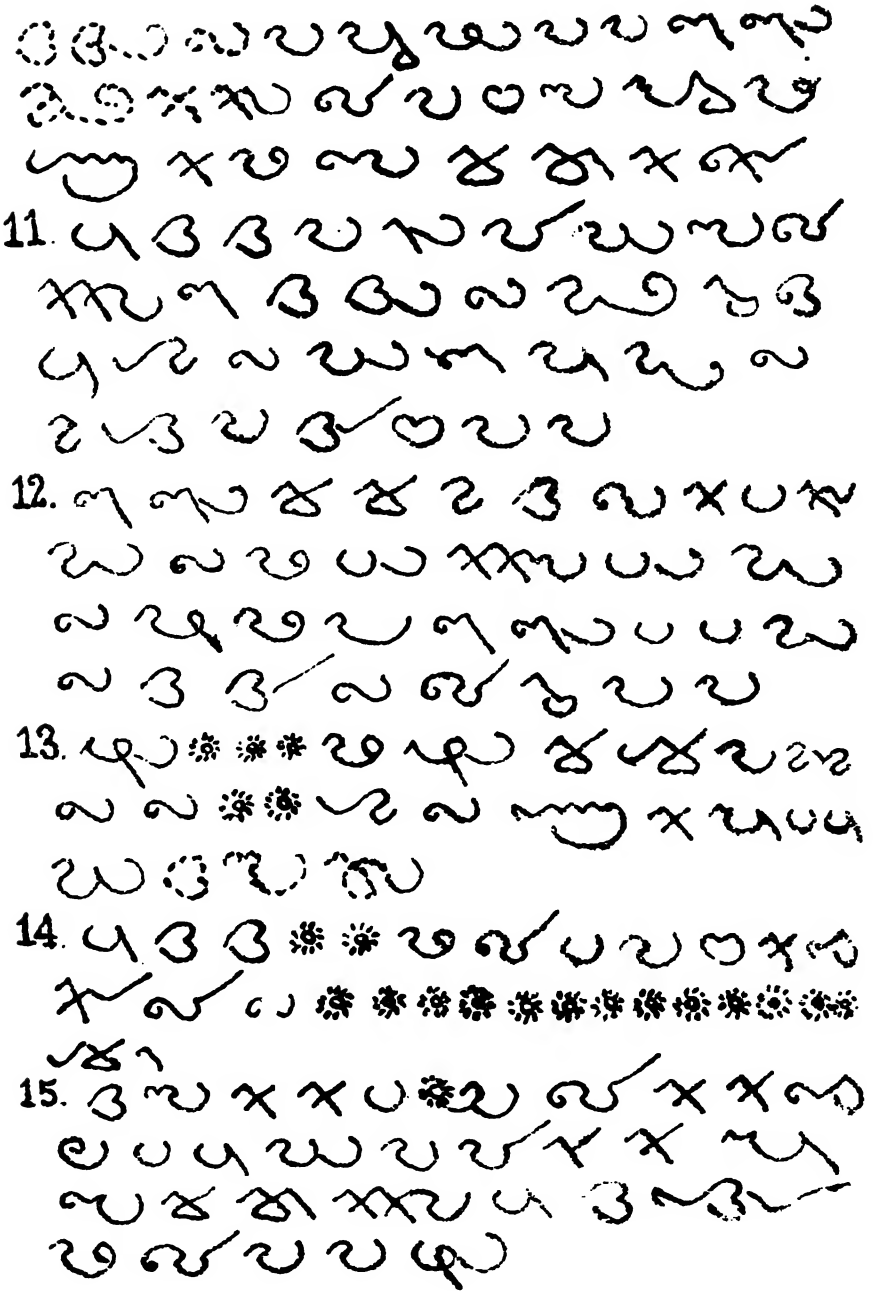
B—Text *(in Vatteluttu.)*



B—Text *(Continued)*



B—Text *(Continued)*



B—Text (*Continued.*)

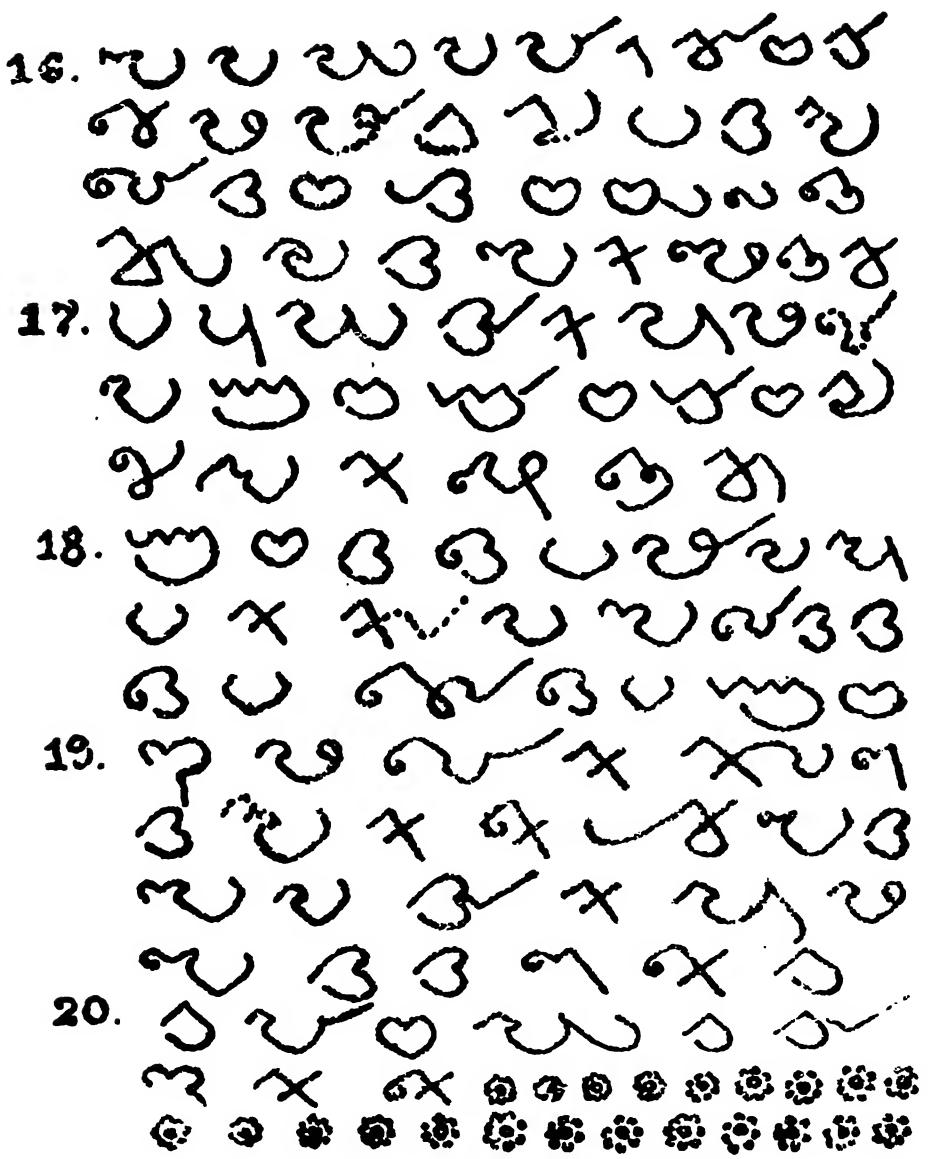


Plate B. Text (in current Tamil).

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ திருமகள் போலப பெருநிலச செலவியுநதனககே உ
ரிமை பூண்டமை மனக்கொளக்காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுததருளி
வெங்கை நாடுங் கங்கை பாடியுந்நுளமப வாடியுநதடிய பாடியுங்கரும
லை நாட்டு[க்]கோவில்ப பள்ளியசமும் எண்டிசை புகழ்தரு ஈழமண்ட
லமும் இரட்ட பாடி ஏழரை இலககமும் திண்டிறல்வென்றித்தணடார்
ககொணடதனனெழிலவளா ஊழுளளெலலாந தொழுதகை விளஙக
ரு மனனவர் செழியரைததேசுகொள ஸ்ரீகோவி ராச ராச கேசரி
வனமரான ஸ்ரீராச ராச தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஒருபத்தேழாவது இராச
ராச ததெனனாடடுக கடியபடடினத்து உடய ராசாஞசயஞசேரமங
கலததில ஐ ஹாதேவா பூமி தேவதானபபளளிச சநதககுடி[வா]ரமு
ம் இவவூாபபெருஙகுளததில பபூமிப்பளளி நிககி இயனறு ஆமபோக
ம் வைசசுககொடுதத பரியாவிது இககுளததில் நீருண்டு நெலவிளையு
நிலந் தேவதானப்பளளிச சந்தங்கட்கு நிலமடிககுடி நிலமும் உளளிட்
டநிலததால் இருபபழி[வு] மழிசசெய்ந்நெலல[ழிவு] நெல்போக அட்டு
விததுக்குடுதத[நில]ம் இடையனகறை காலால * * * சேர்
ததுக் கட [மை] இக்கறை அட்டு விப்பாராக அடைசசு ககுடுததோம
இவ்வழி துபபிப்பார் சான்றாகை மாமற்றிடதது இதன் தென்னிலஞசி
யத்து (க்) க மைஞசடடுவதாகவும் இப்பொன்னொன றொனறிலை ங்கை
ழஞசு பொன தண்டமாய அடககுவது இததணட (ங்) கொண்ட பொ
னனும் இககுளததுககேச செலுததுவதாகவும் வைததளகேற்பான
விறறானுக்கே

* * * * *

Plate B. Text (in current Tamil).

ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ திருமகள் போலப பெருநிலச செலவியுநதனககே உ
ரிமை பூண்டமை மனக்கொளக்காந்தளூர்ச்சாலை கலமறுததருளி
வெங்கை நாடுங் கங்கை பாடியுந்நுளமப வாடியுநதடிய பாடியுங்கரும
லை நாட்டு[க்]கோவில்ப பள்ளியசமும் எண்டிசை புகழ்தரு ஈழமண்ட
லமும் இரட்ட பாடி ஏழரை இலககமும் திண்டிறல்வென்றித்தணடார்
ககொணடதனனெழிலவளா ஊழுளளெலலாந தொழுதகை விளஙக
ரு மனனவர் செழியரைததேசுகொள ஸ்ரீகோவி ராச ராச கேசரி
வனமரான ஸ்ரீராச ராச தேவர்க்கு யாண்டு ஒருபத்தேழாவது இராச
ராச ததெனனாடடுக கடியபடடினத்து உடய ராசாஞசயஞசேரமங
கலததில ஐ ஹாதேவா பூமி தேவதானபபளளிச சநதககுடி[வா]ரமு
ம் இவவூாபபெருஙகுளததில பபூமிப்பளளி நீககி இயனறு ஆமபோக
ம் வைசசுககொடுதத பரியாவிது இககுளததில் நீருண்டு நெலவிளையு
நிலந் தேவதானப்பளளிச சந்தங்கட்கு நிலமடிககுடி நிலமும் உளளிட்
டநிலததால் இருபபழி[வு] மழிசசெய்ந்நெலல[ழிவு] நெல்போக அட்டு
விததுக்குடுதத[நில]ம் இடையனகறை காலால * * * சேர்
ததுக் கட [மை] இக்கறை அட்டு விப்பாராக அடைசசு ககுடுததோம
இவ்வழி துபபிப்பார் சான்றாகை மாமற்றிடதது இதன் தென்னிலஞசி
யத்து (க்) க மைஞசடடுவதாகவும் இப்பொன்னொன றொனறிலை ங்கை
ழஞசு பொன தண்டமாய அடககுவது இததணட (ங்) கொண்ட பொ
னனும் இககுளததுககேச செலுததுவதாகவும் வைததளகேற்பான
விறறானுக்கே

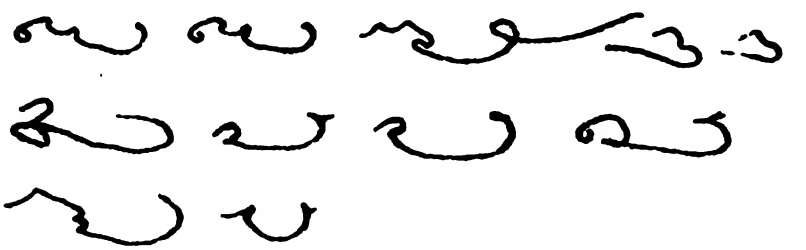
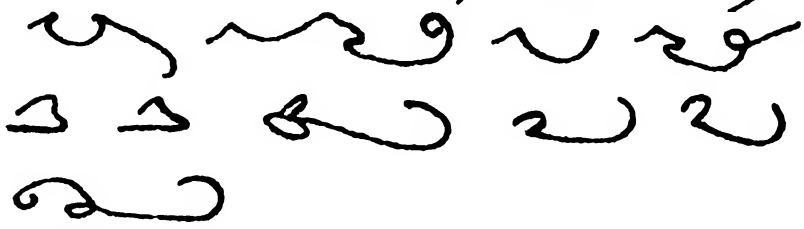
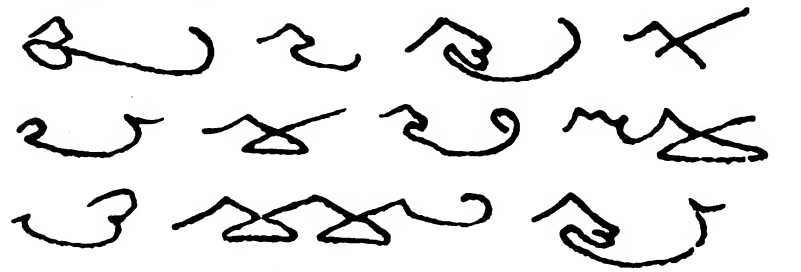
* * * * *

Plate B. (*English Translation*).

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the seventeenth year of the reign of king Raja Rajakesari Varman *alias* Raja Raja Deva, who, in the belief that the goddess of Fortune as well as the goddess of the Earth were wedded to him, destroyed the Kantalur salai, who conquered by his army Vengainadu, Gangapadi, Nulambavadi, Tadiyapadi, Karumalainadu, Kovilpalliyakam, the far-famed Izham (Ceylon), and the country of Irattaipadi with its seven and a half lacs and who by the prowess of his arms deprived the Sezhiars (*i. e.* Pandyas) of (their) glory and splendour. The Lord of Cadiapatnam in Raja Raja Thennadu made over the following dues and incomes from lands (derived from) Perungulam except those belonging to the Palli to the God Mahadevar of Sanjayan Cheramangalam to be enjoined as follows :—

The dues in kind from the lands (assigned for) Devadanam and Pallichantam watered by Perungulam tank including the dues from the lands (granted for) *Adikkudi* (village service) should be paid to the Ikkarainar according to the measurement (used in) Idaiyankarai after deducting for wastes and failure such as *Iruppazhivu* (இருப்பழிவு), *Azhacchai nellazhivu* (அழச்சை நெல்வழிவு) &c; failing which the defaulters should pay a fine of five kalanji gold for every *pon* which together with the dues should be made over to Thennilanjiyam. The amount of fine collected should be utilised for expenditure on account of this tank and should be made over to the *Alakerpan* (contractor) who should (duly account for it to the person from whom he recived it).

C—Text *(in Koleluttu or Malaiyamal)*

1.
2. 
3.
4. 
5. 

D—Text *(in Koleluttu.)*

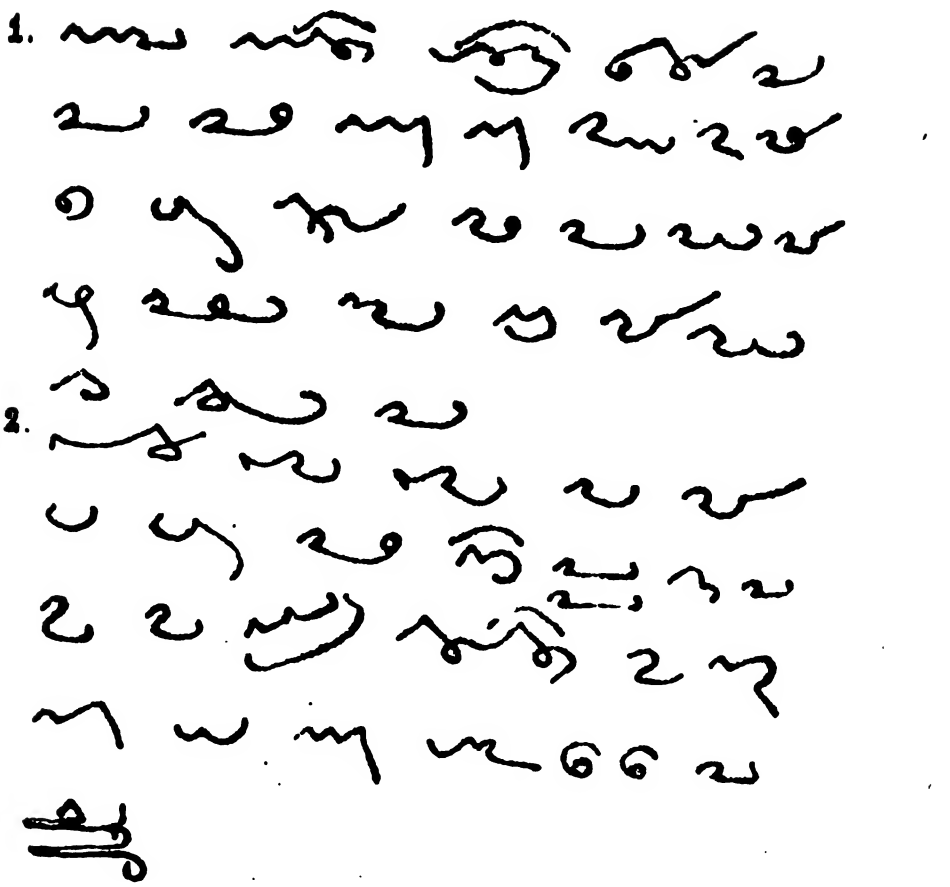


Plate C. Text (in current Tamil).

1 கொல்லம அாாமாணடு
2 சிஙஙமாதததில பணிதுட
3 ஙஙிசசு அாஉ௰ாமாணடு
4 மேட மாதததில பணி
5 தீ (ர்) ந்து கலசம ஆடிச்சிது

(கொல்லம் அா ாம் ஆண்டு சிங்கமீ கோவில் கட்ட ஆரம்பித்தது: 820 ம் ஆண்டு மேட மாதத்தில் கோவில் கட்டி முடிந்து கலசம் ஆட்டுவித்தது)

Plate C. (*English Translation*).

The construction of the temple was commenced in the month of Chingom in Kollam year 800. It was finished and consecrated in the month of Medam in the year 820.

Plate D. Text (in current Tamil).

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கொலலம கூாஉ௰உ மாணடு கும்ப வியாழமிதுன நாயிறறில்
2. செஙஙவ நாட்டு மனிஷ்ஙவ ௨ ௨ ஸ்ரசிந்து ாமகடு வெஷ்ஷ.

Plate D. (*English Translation.*)

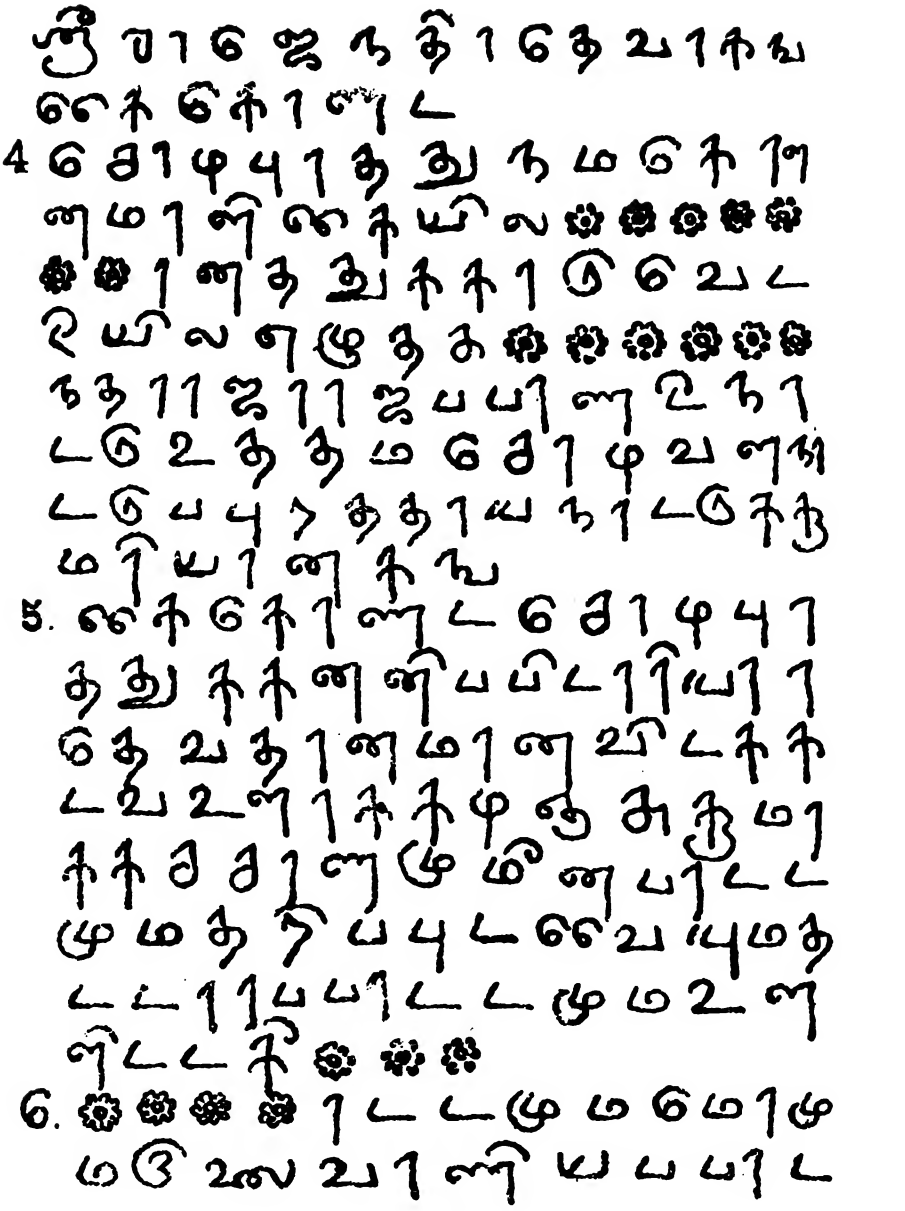
Hail! Prosperity! In Kollam year 622 when Jupiter was in Kumbham and the Sun was in Mithunam (*i. e*, in the month of Adi), the sum of one hundred and sixteen fanams was set apart (for feeding Brahmins) from Manippanavam Agram in the temple of Chengavanadu.

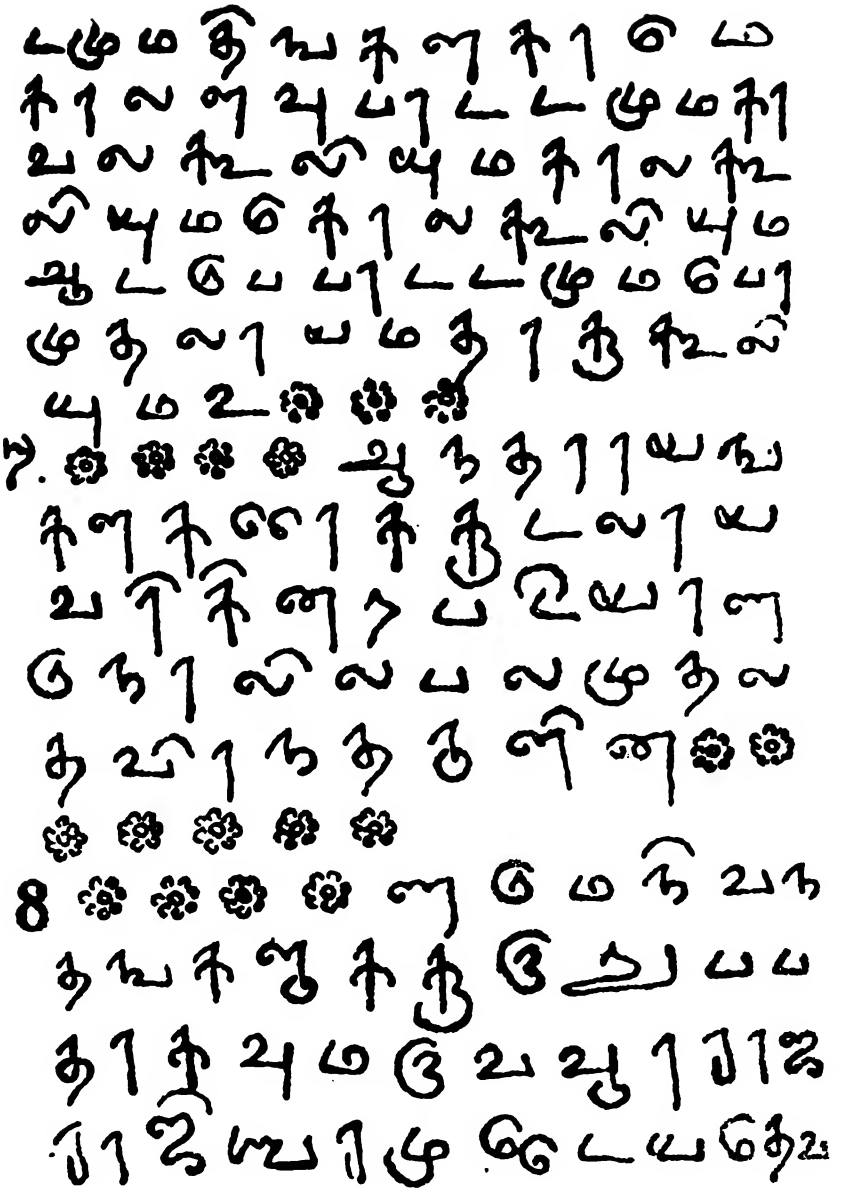
E—Text *(in Old Tamil)*

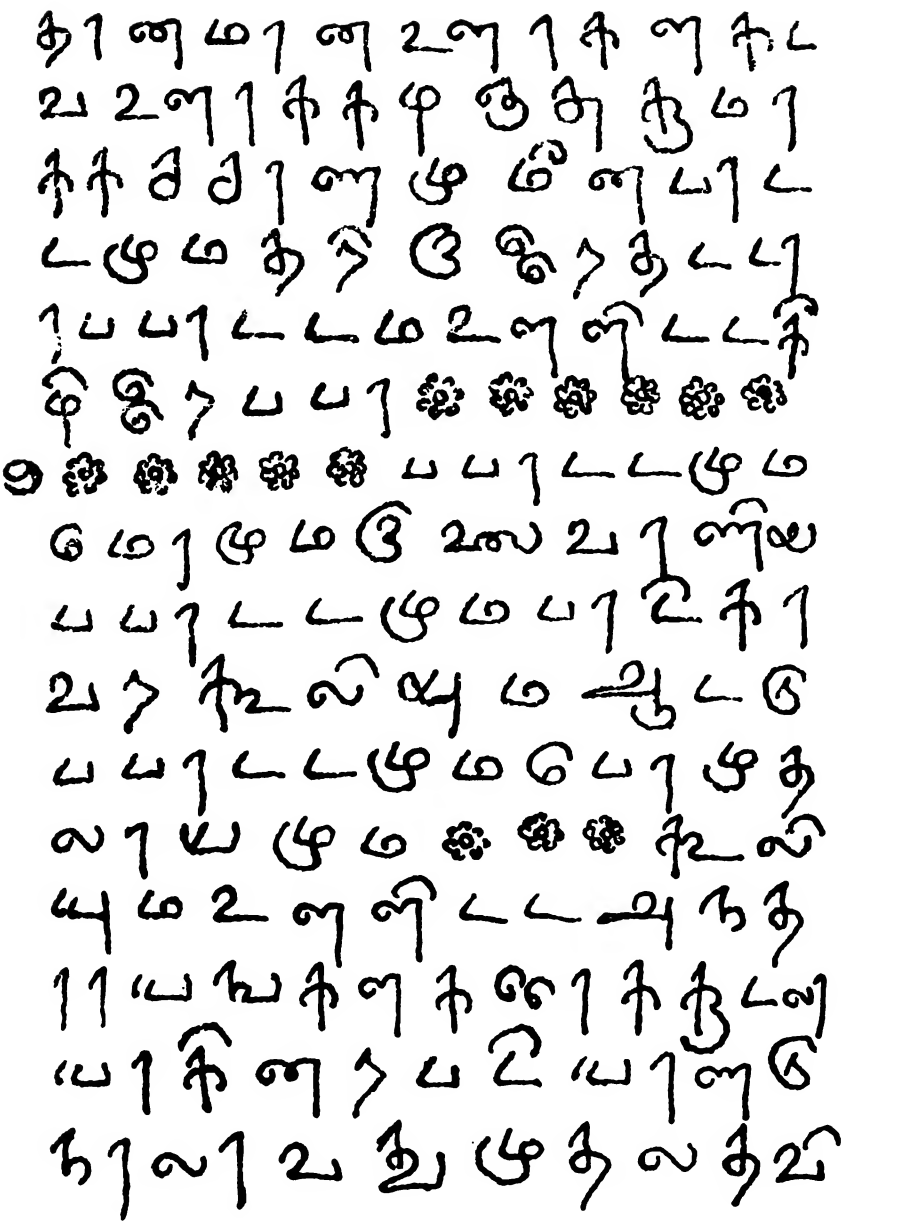
1. [illegible]

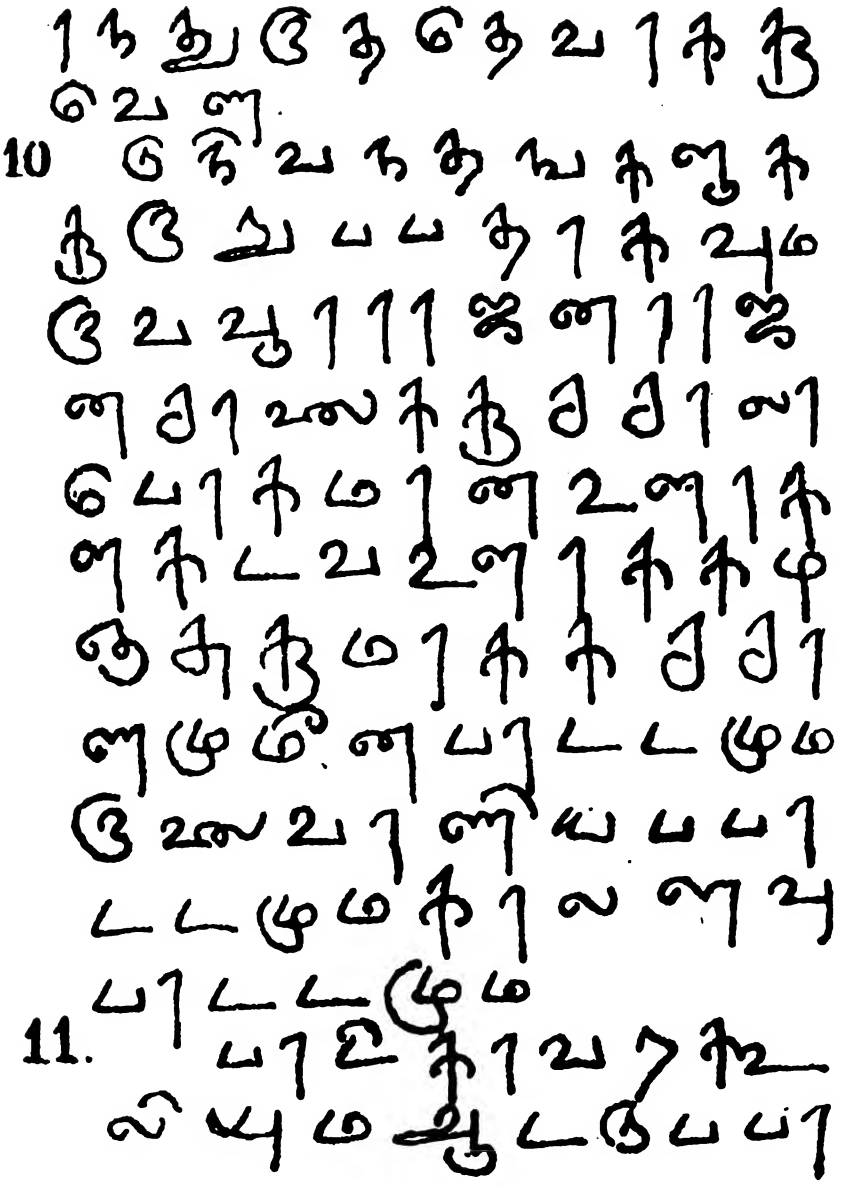
2. [illegible]

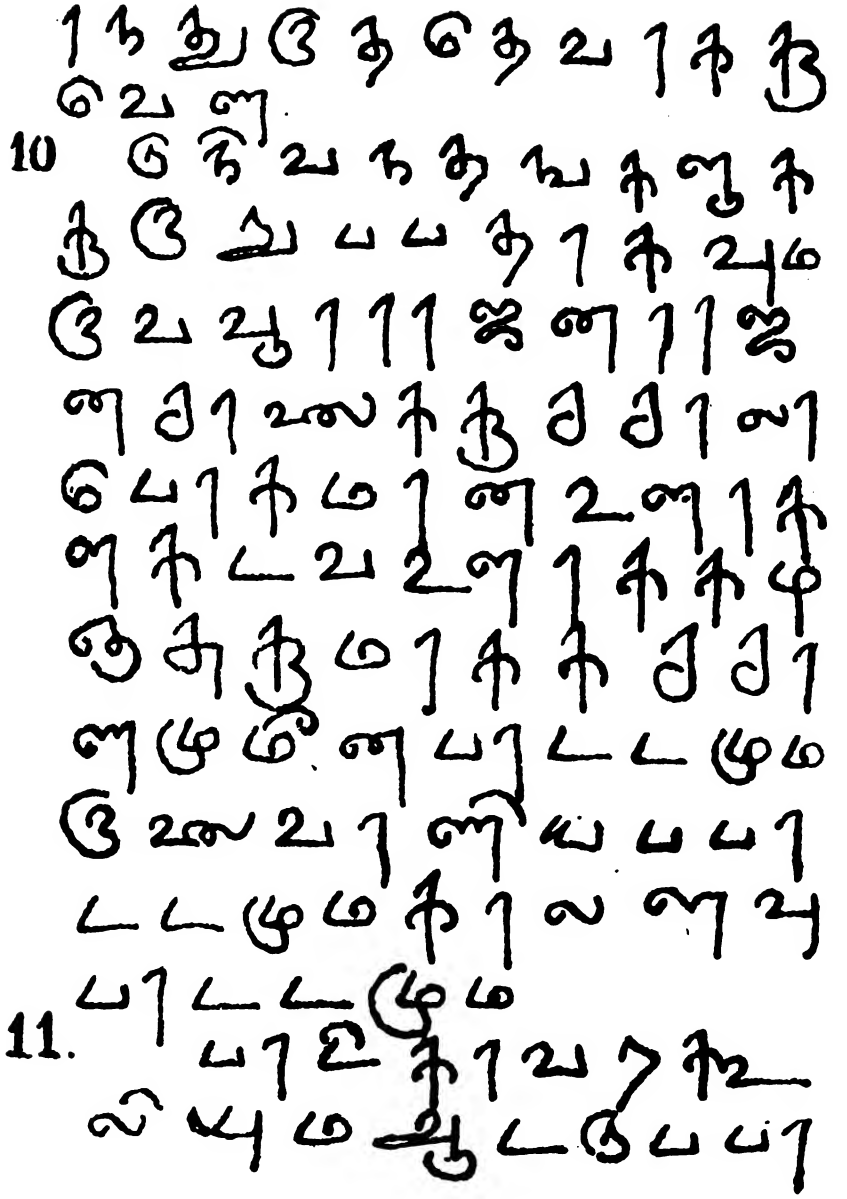
3. [illegible]











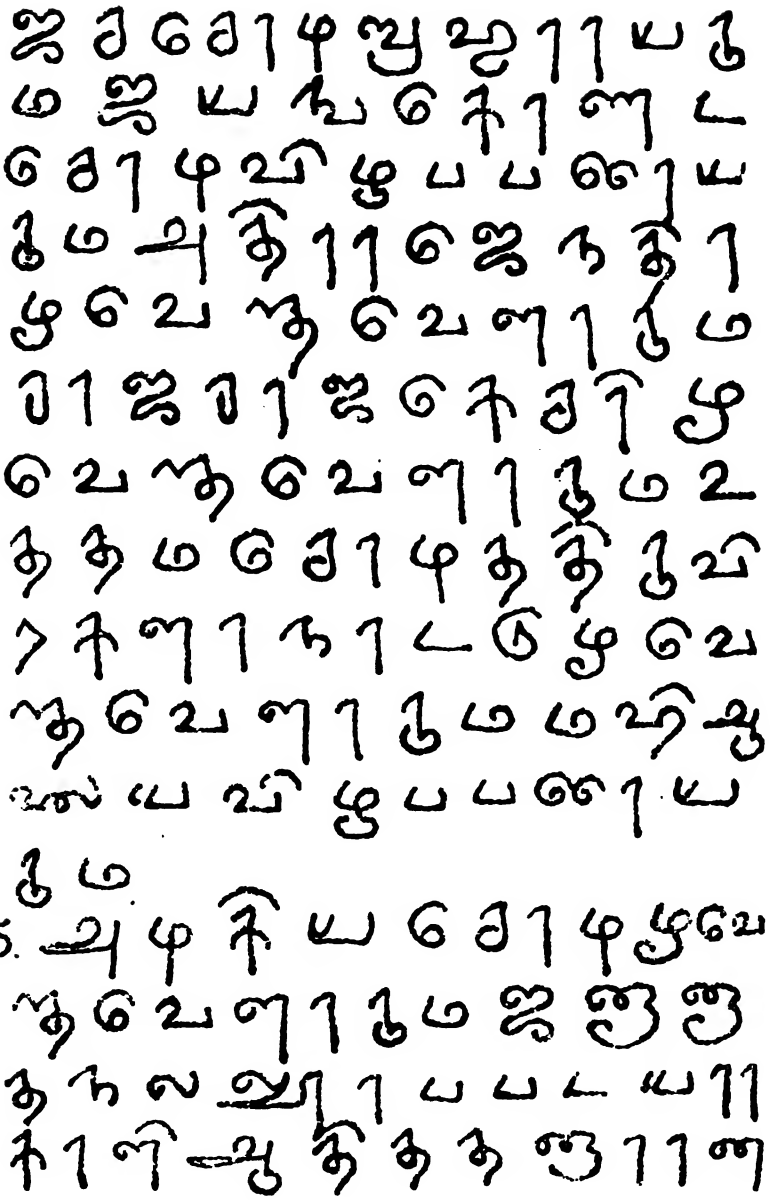
[illegible]

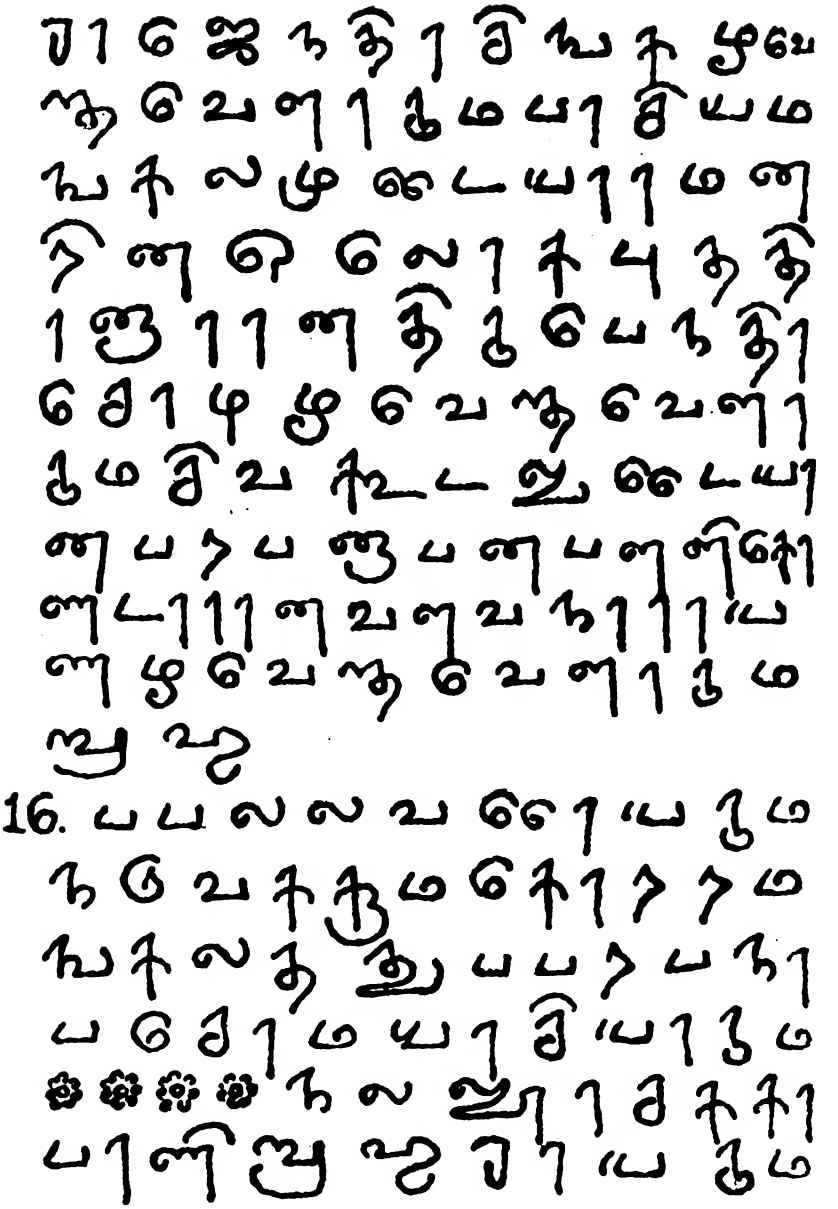
12. [illegible]

[illegible]

13. [illegible]

14. [illegible]





[illegible]

16. [illegible]

E—Text *(Continued.)*

[illegible]

17. [illegible]

அணுத்தி ரபபலலவனாய
18. ருஅரிஒரீனசிழுபப
னாயருமஅபிமானமேரு
ழவேந்தவேளாருமமத்து
ராகத்சிழுபபரையரு
மசீஷ்சளாகத்சழவே
ந்தவேளாருமவளவன
ழவேந்தவேளாருமவீர
சோழழவேந்தவேளா
ருமசுந்தாசோழபபல
லவனயருமஅத்துலப
ராசசிரமழ
19. வேகத்தவேளாருமஅழ
சியசோழழவேகத்தவே
ளாருமபராத்தீவேந்து
விழுபபரையருமபல
லவனழவேந்தவேளாரு

E—Text *(Continued.)*

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
20. [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

E—Text *(Continued.)*

[illegible]

21. [illegible]

[illegible]

E—Text *(Continued.)*

[illegible]

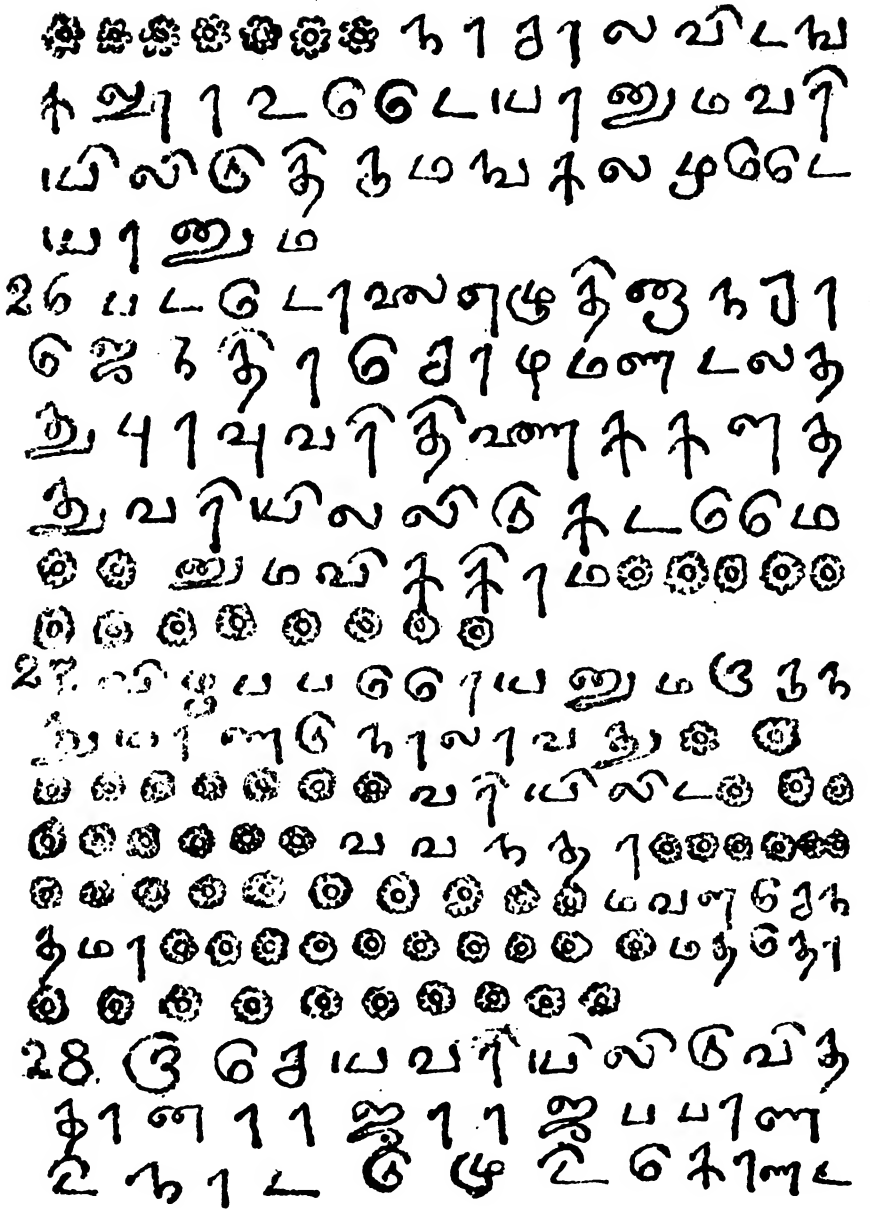
21. [illegible]

[illegible]

22. ஞானமயானவரிதிருநாகநாளமை
யரிகாதவனழுவெகாதவெளானை
மலிசாகிரமதிழபாளடியழவெ
காதவெளானைமவளவசாகாதழு
வெகாதவெளானைமகுவலையதி
வராகாழுவெகாதவெளானைமதத்
வமகலமூடெடையானைமதிரி
தெரிகாகாழுவெகாதவெளானைம
ஹரிகாரானையளுழுவெகாத வெ
ளானைமவரிபலபாதாதசமலிட
காகாழுடெடையானைமதிரரமல
லமஉடெடையா

23. ஐமசாகாதகதிழகலஹ
ரூடெடையானைமழுசாவெடஉ
மணரூடெடையானைமபதூத
திகாரூடெடையானைமஷூகாதே
சிழானைமதகமிழதிவஉ
டெடையானைமவலலமூடெ
யானைமவதசாரூடெடையா
னைமமடெழுயூரூடெடையானை
மவரிபலபாதாதசசகாணசாரூ

ததாத்தமஙசலழஷடெயாஐ
மபத்தந்சஞடெயாஐமழ
24. சஙந்நலஐஞடெயாஐ
மவஹிலீபாஷவெகுஷே
யாஐமந்தமஙசலழஷட
யாஐமஙாவஐஞடெ
யாஐமளடீபபாடடமும
சஷாபபெறாலசடஷமெகும
ஸஸஸஸஸஸஸஸஸஸஸஸஸஸ
ாமசீாாமளீழஷவஙத்வே
ாாஐமஷஙாஞபணைஉஷே
யாஐமகீழாாஅஞடெ
யாஐம
25. வஹிலீஷஹிஞந்தாழவ
ாந்தீணாசாளாங்ப்சுமே
வளுவஅஙந்ாழஷவஙத்வெ
ளாஐமளடீபபாடடமுஷ்ண
பபெறாலசடஷமெகுமளழநு
மஹ்சீாமசீாாமளீழுவே
ஙத ஸஸஸஸஸஷாஙாஞபணை



E—Text (Continued.)

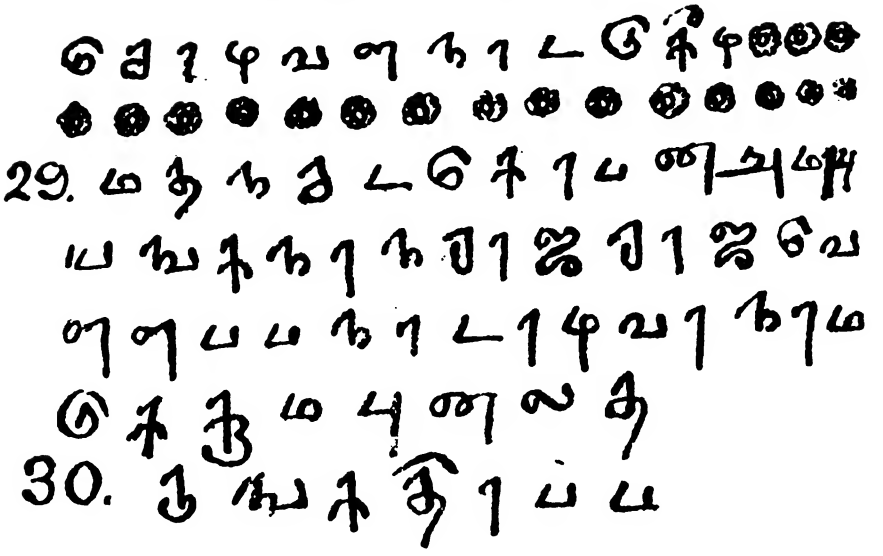


Plate E. Text (in current Tamil).

ஸ்ஸ்ரீகோநேர் இன்மை கொண்டான் யாண்டு நாலு நாள் நாற்றைம்பத்து நாலினல், இரட்டை பாடி ஏழரை இலகரமுங்கொண் டு, பேராறறங்களைக் கொப்பத்து ஆஹவமல்லனை அளுகவித்து ஆனை யுங் குதிரையும் பெண்டீர் பண்டாரமும் கைகொணடு விஜய அபிஷே கம் செய்து வீரஸிம்ஹாஸனத்து வீற்றிருந்தருளின கோப்பர கேசரி வன்மரான உடையார் ஸ்ரீராஜேந்திர தேவர் கங்கைகொண்ட சோழ புரத்து நம் கோளன் மாளிகையில் (தேவதா) னத்துக் காடுவெட்டியில் எழுததா[ல் வரியிலிட்டிரு]ந்த ராஜ ராஜப் பாண்டி நாட்டு உறையூர் சோழ வளநாட்டுப புறதாயநாடடுக்கு மரியான கங்[கை கொ]ண்ட சோழபு ரத்துக் கன்னிப்பிடாரியார் தேவதானமான, விடக்கடவ ஊர்க்கழஞ்சு, குமரக்கச்சாணமு[ம்,] மீன் பாட்டமும், தறிப்புடைவையும், தட்டாரப பாட்டமும் உள்ளிட்ட கீழிறைப் பாட்டமும் மேரமுமிங்கள் காமே கா லளவுபாட்டமும் காவல்கூலியும், கால்கூலியும், கோல்கூலியும், ஆட் டுப்பாட்டமும், பேர்முதலாயம் தரகுகூலியும், ஆந்தராயங்கள் கரைகு டலாய் வருகினற படியாண்டு நாலில் பல முதல் தவிர்ந்தருளின (கட மை வே)ண்டும் நிவந்தங்களுக்கு இறுப்பதாகவும் இவ்வூர் ராஜ ராஜே சுவரமுடைய தேவதானமான ஊர்கள், கடவ ஊர்க்கழஞ்சு, குமரக் கச்சாணமும், மின்பாட்டமும், தறி இறை தட்டாரப்பாட்டம் உள்ளிட் ட கீழிறைப்பாட்டம முதலான பாட்டமுமேரமும், இலவாணியப் பாட்டமும், காலளவுபாட்டமும், பாடி காவற கூலியும், ஆட்டுப் பாட் டமும், பேர் முதலாயமும் (தரகு) கூலியும் உள்ளிட்ட அந்தராயங்கள் கரைக்குடலாய வருகின்றபடி யாணடு நாலாவது முதல் தவிர்ந்து இத் தேவர்க்கு வேண்டு நிவந்தங்களுக்கு இறுப்பதாகவும் இவ்வூர் ராஜன ராஜன சாலைக்கு போகமான ஊர்கள் கடவ ஊர்க்கழஞ்சுமுமாக்க ச் சாணமுமின பாட்டமும் இலவாணியப் பாட்டமும் காலளவு பாட்ட வும் பாடிகாவற்கூலியும் ஆட்டுப்பாட்டமும் தேற் முதலாயமும் தரகு கூலியும் உள்ளிட்ட அந்தராயங்கள் கரைக்குடலாயவருகின்றபடி யாண்டு காலவது முதல் தவிற்ந்து வேண்டு நிவந்தங்களுக்கு இறுப்ப ராகவும் இவ்வூர் ராஜன ராஜன் சாலைகுச சாலாபோகமான ஊர்கள் கடவ ஊர்கழஞ்சு குமரக்கசசாணமு மினபாட டமும் இலவாணியப் பாட்டமும காலளவு பாட்டமும் பாடி காவற் கூலியும ஆட்டுபபாட்ட மும் பேர் முதலாயமும் தரகு கூலியும் உள்ளிட்ட அந்தராயங்கள் க ரைக்குடலாய வருகின்றபடி|யாண்டு நாலாவது முதல் தவிர்ந்துவேண் டு நிவந்தங்களுக்கு|இறுப்பதாகவும் ஆக இப்படி யாண்டு காலவது

முதல் இறையிலியாக வரியிலிடத்திருவாய் மொழிந்தருளினார் என்று திருமந்திர ஓலை ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழ மகா ராஜன எழுத்தினாலும், திருமந்திர வோலை நாயகம் உத்தம சோழச் சோழகோனும், ராஜ ராஜ ஸ்ரீ ராயனும் காலிங்க ராஜனும், தொண்டைமானும் திரிபுவனப்பல்லவன் நாடுடையானும், பூபேந்திர சொழகந்திருவப பெரரயனும் ஒப்பிட்டுப புகுந்த கேள்வி வரியிலிட்டுக் கொள்க என்று வில்லவாராஜரும், காடு வெட்டிகளும் ஏவ, இவர்கள் ஏவினபடி உடன் கூட்டதது அதிகாரிகள் :—

ராஜராஜ மழவ ராஜரும்
ராஜராஜச்சோழ ஸ்ரீ ராயரும்
ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழவிழுப்பரையரும்
அதிராஜேந்திர மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
ராஜ ராஜ கேசரி மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
உத்தம சோழத்திருவிற்களாநாட்டு மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
மஹி ஆலயவிழுப்பரையரும்
அழகியசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
ஜனாதநல்லூர்ப்படையார்காளி ஆதித்தனார் ஆன ராஜேந்திர சிங்க மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
பாசியமங்கலம் உடையார் மன்றின் லோகபுத்திரனான் ஆன திருபேந்திர சோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
சிவகூடலுடையான் பற்பநாபன பள்ளிகொண்டாரான வளவநாராயண மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
ஸ்ரீ பபலலவரையரும்
நடுவைக்கும் கொற்றமங்கலத்துபபற்பநாபன் சோமாசியாரும்
நல்லூர் சக்கரபாணி ஸ்ரீ ராயரும்.

இடையில் அதிகாரிகள்.

சோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
முமமுடி சோழப்பலலவரையரும்
ராஜராஜ தமிழப்போரையரும்
ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழசேநாமுக மூவேந்தவேளாரும
உத்தமசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும
மனுகுல மூவேந்த வேளாரும
நித்தவினோத மூவேந்த வேளாரும
க்ஷத்திர சிகாமணி மூவேந்த வேளாரும
கங்கைக்கொண்ட சோழப்பலலவரையரும

பார்த்திவேந்திர மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
பூபாலதொங்க மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
ராஜராஜ அணுததிரப்பல்லவரையரும்
அருஞ்சிலைவிழுப்பரையரும்
அபிமானமேரு மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
மதுராந்தகவிழுபபரையரும்
சிங்களாந்தக மூவேந்தவேளாரும்
அழகியசோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும
பார்த்திவேந்திரவிழுப்பரையரும்
பல்லவன் மூவேந்த வேளாரும
வீரபாண்டிய மூவேந்தவேளாரும
வழுதிகுலாதிப மூவேந்தவேளாரும
ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழமூவேந்தவேளாரும
கிடாரங்கொண்ட சோழ மூவேந்த வேளாரும
ஸ்ரீகாந்த மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
மீனவன் மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
லோக விசசாதர மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
ராஜேந்திர திருவிந்தளா நாட்டு மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
உத்தரம் தரியாரம் நின்ற மதிசேர் மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
வளவகேசரி மூவேந்த வேளாரும்
நடுவிருக்கும் ஊரவர் வஹு அததிராத்திர யாஜியாரும்
கேரள மங்கலத்தில் பட்டஸோம யாஜியாரும்
பசலி பெரிய நமபி ஸுடடபாகநதாங்கியாரும்
எவ்வூரவவர் தமனேக்களத்துக் கண்காணி குமரவிஜஜாதர மூவேந்த வேளானும்
கோதண்டல் மூவேந்த வேளானும்
அதிசய சோழ மூவேந்த வேளானும்
பூவேந்தன் வேந்த வேளானும்
ஜயங்கொண்ட சோழ லோக வேளானும்.
புரவரிததிணைக்களம் அரிந்தவன் மூவேந்த வேளானும்
விக்கிரம சோழபாண்டிய மூவேந்த வேளானும்
வளவசுந்தர மூவேந்த வேளானும்
குவலயதிவாகர மூவேந்த வேளானும்
தேவமங்கல முடையானும்
திரிதொங்க மூவேந்த வேளானும்
வீரநாராயண மூவேந்த வேளானும்

வரிப்புஸ்தகம் விடயகமுடையானும்
சிற்றம்பலம உடையானும்
சுந்தர சோழநல்லூர் உடையானும்
முகவெட்டி மணம்குடையானும்
பருத்திக்குடையானும்
ஆன்ஸ்த கிழானும
சோழ மாதேவி உடையானும்
வல்லமுடையானும்
வடிகசகுடையானும்
மழையூருடையானும்
வரிப்புஸ்தகக் கணக்கு
சாதத'மங்கல முடையானும்
பருதத்திக்குடையானும்
முகந்த கல்லூருடையானும்
வரியிலி பெரமவ உடையானும்
திருமங்கலம் உடையானும்
காவல்லூருடையானும்

பூட்சிப்பாட்டமும் கரைப்போல் கடமையும் * * * *
விக்கிரம கிராமணி மூவேந்த வேளானும்
கெற்குப்பை உடையானும்
கிழாற்றூருடையானும்
வரியிலிடுவித்த புரவரித்திணைக்கள நாயகம் வளவசுந்தர மூவேந்த வேளானும்
பூட்சிப்பாட்டமும் கரைப்போல் கடமையும் எழுதும் விக்கிரமக் கிராமணி மூவேந்த வேளானும்
கெற்குப்பை * * * * விடங்கலூர் உடையானும்

வரியிலிடு திருமங்கல முடையானும் பட்டோலை எழுதினன் ராஜேந்திர சோழமண்டலத்து புரவுவரித்திணைகளது வரியில்லிடு கடமை உடையான் விக்கிரமசோழ * * * *
விழுபத்தாயனும் இருந்து யாண்டு காலாவது * * * *
எழுதி வரியில்லிட * * * * *
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இசெயவரிலிடுவித்தான் ராஜப்பாண்டி நாட்டு முடிகொண்ட சோழ

வள நாட்டுத்தி * * * * *
* * * * * * *
மதன சடகோபன் அமர புயங்கனெ ராஜராஜ சிவள்ளப்ப நாடாழ
வான நட அருக்கும புனல் தருங்கதிர்ப்ப

Plate E. (*English Translation*).

Hail! Prosperity! In the fourth year and on the hundred and fifty-fourth day of his reign, king Parakesari Varma *alias* Rajendra Chola Deva, the unrivalled among kings, who, after annexing Irattaipadi with its seven and a half lacs, striking terror into the heart of king Ahavamallan at (the battle of) Perattankarai and taking possession of his elephants, horses, women and treasure, held a grand celebration in commemoration of his conquest and sat on his victorious throne, made the following gifts from his palace Keralan Maligai at Kaduvetti of Gangaikonda Cholapuram when he had encamped there:—

To the Kanni Pidari — the Goddess of Cape Comorin, the following taxes due from the settled Devedanam lands in Gangaikonda Cholapuram *alias* Kumari in Purattaya Nadu of Uttama Chola Vala Nadu of Raja Raja Pandi Nadu:—

Urkkazhanju (village tithe),
Kumarakkachanam (marriage dues),
Meen Pāttam (fishery tax),
Tari Irai (tax on looms),
Thattara Pāttam (tax on gold-smith),
Kaval kuli (protection dues),
Kâl kuli and Kôl kuli (tax on measures and measurements),
Attu Pāttam (cattle tax),
Permutal Ayam (tax on title deeds),

and other taxes.

To Raja Raja Perum Salai of the same place, the following taxes arising from the Devadanam lands of Raja Rajesvaram Udaiyar Temple:—

Urkkazhanju (village tithe),
Kumarakkachanam (marriage dues),
Meen Pattam (fishery tax),
Tari Irai (tax on looms),
Thattara Pattam (tax on gold-smith),

Ilaivania Pattam (tax on leaf merchants).
Tharagu kuli (tax on commissions),
Kâl kuli and Kôl kuli (tax on measures and measurements),

and other taxes.

This settlement was concluded under the king's orders and the said lands were freed from all payments to Government from the fourth year of his reign. This order was communicated to Tirumandira Olai Jayamkonda Chola Maharajan and with the knowledge of Tirumandira Olai Nayakam Uttama Chola Kôn, Kalinga King, Tondaiman, the Lord of Tribhuvana Pallavanadu and Bhupendra Chola Kandrivaperarayan. In accordance with the above order and under the immediate command of Villavarayan and in the presence of the chiefs of the lands reclaimed from the forests, who had assembled, this settlement was entered in the account register with the help of the under-mentioned people.

Koottattu Adhikarical.

Rajaraja Mazhava Rajan.
Rajaraja Chola Brahma Rajan.
Jayamkonda Chola Vizhupparayar.
Atirajendra Muvendavelar.
Raja Raja Kesari Muvendavelar.
Uttama Chola Muvendavelar of Tiruvirkalanadu.
Mahi Alaya Vizhupparayar.
Azhakia Chola Muvendavelar.
Jananathanallur Padaiyar Kali Adittannar *alias* Rajendrasinga Muvendavelar.
Tirupendra Muvendavelar, Mandin Lokaputrar, the Lord of Pasiyamangalam.
Valava Narayana Muvendavelar, the Lord of Sivakudal, Palpanabhan Pallikondan.
Brahma Pallavaraiyar.
Padmanabhan Somayajiyar of Kottamangalam.
Chakrapani Brahmarayar of Nallur.

Idayil Adhikarical.

Chola Muvendavelar.
Mummudi Chola Pallavaraiyar.
Raja Raja Tamil Peraraiyar.
Jayamkonda Chola Senamuka Muvendavelar.

Uttama Chola Muvendavelar.
Manukula Muvendavelar.
Nittavinotha Muvendavelar.
Kshathra Sikhamani Muvendavelar.
Gangaikonda Chola Pallavaraiyar.
Parthivendra Muvendavelar.
Bhupala Tonga Muvendavelar.
Raja Raja Anuthira Pallavaraiyar.
Arunchika Vizhupparaiyar.
Abhimana Meru Muvendavelar.
Madhurantaka Vizhupparaiyar.
Simhalantaka Muvendavelar.
Azhakia Chola Muvendavelar.
Parthivendra Vizhupparaiyar.
Pallavan Muvendavelar.
Virapandya Muvendavelar.
Vazhuti Kuladipa Muvendavelar.
Jayamkonda Chola Muvendavelar.
Kidaramkonda Chola Muvendavelar.
Sreekanta Muvendavelar.
Minavan Muvendavelar.
Lokavidyadhara Muvendavelar.
Muvendavelar of Rajendra Tiruvintalanadu.
Valavakesari Muvendavelar.
Brahma Atratrayajiyar.
Bhatta Somayajiyar of Keralamangalam.
Pasalai Periya Nambi, Bhatta Bhagamtangiyar.
Kumara Vidhyadara Muvendavelan.
Kotandala Muvendavelan.
Atisaya Chola Muvendavelan.
Puvendan Venthavelan.
Jayamkonda Chola Lokavelan.
Puravari Tinaikkalam Arindaman Muvendavelan.
Vikrama Chola Pandya Muvendavelan.
Kuvalaya Divakara Muvendavelan.
The Lord of Devamangalam.
Tiritonga Muvendavelan.
Vira Narayana Muvendavelan.
Varippustakam Vidangamudayan.
Chittambalam Udayan.

Sundara Cholanallurudayan.
Mukavetti Manarkudayan.
Paruttikkudayan.
Cholamadevi Udayan.
Vallamudayan.
Vadugakkudayan.
Malaiyurudayan.
Varippustakam Sattamangalamudayan, Paruttikkudaiyan, etc. etc. etc.

Another fact disclosed by the statements already given is that the language of most of the inscriptions is Tamil. The reason here is equally simple. Malayalam as a national language is not very old. Its resemblance to old Tamil is so patent that one could hardly help concluding that Malayalam is nothing more than old Tamil with a good admixture of Sanskrit words. There are some very old works in Tamil composed in Travancore and by Travancore kings. Besides, the invading Pandyas and Cholas were themselves Tamilians and their inscriptions form more than 70 per cent of the total in South Travancore. The Sanskrit inscriptions are very few and record 'Dwaja Pratishtas' and other ceremonies specially connected with Brahminical worship.

With regard to the date of the inscriptions, the Chola inscriptions are the most common ones till the 3rd century M. E. (12th century A. D.). Subsequently we meet with Pandya inscriptions interspersed with those of the native kings. The later inscriptions are generally those of the sovereigns of Travancore with a small sprinkling of Pandya inscriptions. Later still, we have several Neets and Proclamations issued by the dynasty of the Nayak chiefs.

It will also be observed that most of these inscriptions are found in temples and other sacred places. Charity, according to the Sanskrit texts, loses its merit when the donor boasts of it or advertises it. This is the reason why so little is known of private charities of Hindus, though they are extremely liberal and cosmopolitan. What the right hand giveth the left hand should not know. Such is the Hindu belief. An exception is however made in cases of gift to the temples, the object being that a publication of such gifts acts as an incentive to other endowments by men of wealth. Every success attained by a Hindu results in a religious or charitable endowment. The foreign kings that entered Travancore either as

enemies or as friends made their gifts to most of these temples chiefly as thanksgiving for the success given to them by the gods of the different temples, but also as a policy of conciliation of the conquered people.

Stress need not be laid here on the value of these inscriptions. Nobody will deny it. They are often the only records that contain the true history of Travancore. The late Mr. Sundaram Pillay wrote:—"That the Travancore inscriptions are fully worthy of that honour, I can now confidently assure the Government. They are sure to prove useful in every branch of archæology. They offer the only reliable basis for the ancient history of Travancore and are sure to render substantial service in placing beyond doubt certain leading facts connected with the fluctuating fortunes of the Pandyan kingdom and the Chola empire, not to speak of the steady light they throw on Dravidian philology and ancient history".

Of the 450 inscriptions that have been transcribed up to date, about 70 have been carefully and critically examined by the Archæological Department. The historical incidents of value disclosed by them have been incorporated in the Early History section of the next chapter.

Regarding the remaining inscriptions, which still await careful study, nothing but the bare outlines are available. Even as they are, they bring to light much useful information about the social and political condition of early Travancore. What is here attempted is to give a few interesting particulars which a casual examination of these inscriptions brings to light. As is only natural to expect, nearly two-thirds of the inscriptions relate to gifts of lands and other valuables to the several temples in the State or for charitable purposes. Gifts to temples relate to construction, repairs and additions,c onsecration, nanda lamps, special pujas and offerings; and among charitable purposes are included the construction of wells, water-sheds, rest-houses and 'Chumadu-tangi' stones*, and the feeding of Brahmins and other castes. It is interesting to note that the sovereigns of Travancore have not been unmindful of the needs of other religionists. It is found from two inscriptions on pillars in the temple of Nagaraja at Nagercoil, dated 21st Alpasi 681 M. E., and 29th Purattasi 692 M. E., that grants of lands were made at the requests of two Jaina priests, Guru Vira Panditan and Kamala Vahana Panditan. There is an inscription dated 15th Chitrai 669 M. E., in one of the granite pillars at Kumari-muttam, which records the assignment by the sovereign of the harbour dues of Kumari-muttam and Covalam to the Roman Catholic church at Kumari-muttam

* Literally stones on which the passengers who carry loads on their heads place them and take respite while travelling long distances of 5 and 10 miles with heavy burdens. All over Travancore such 'Chumadu-tangis' exist on the roadsides, often 7 or 8 for every mile.

at the request of the congregation attached to that church. Considering the fact that these inscriptions are nearly four centuries old, the spirit of cosmopolitan tolerance is noteworthy.

There are six inscriptions which refer to caste and religious disputes and the Royal writs issued in settlement thereof.

1. On a granite pillar to the south of the temple at Quilon.

2. On a granite pillar near the temple of Adimula Vinayakar at Nagercoil dated 15th Ani 682 M. E.

3. On a granite pillar at Parasuraman Perunteru, Idalakkudi, dated 1st Chitrai 661 M. E.

4. On a granite pillar found in Kumarasamudram Pudukkalam, Murungur, dated 12th Thye 670 M. E.

5. On a granite pillar in front of the temple of Karutha Vinayakar, Saliyar Pudutheru, Vatasseri, dated 4th Ani 911 M. E.

6. On a granite pillar at Kumari-muttam dated 20th Panguni 701 M. E.

In the first of these it is mentioned that the sovereign redressed the grievances of 18 castes at Quilon then known as Kurakkenikollam by assigning to them separate localities to live in.

The second remitted the following taxes, which were exacted from them by the higher classes without the knowledge of Government viz., Karamukattalai, Panam, Padavaram, Padippanam, and Anaivari, to the Nadars of Edanadu between the hills of Parali and Tovala.

The third granted certain privileges to the professional people called Sayakars of Idalakkudi viz.,

(1.) They were allowed to appear before the sovereign during the Royal processions.

(2.) They were exempted from the payment of all dues with the exception of Padaippanam and Kappalvagai panam.

(3.) They were freed from persecution at the hands of Brahmins, Pillaimars and others who were in the habit of obstructing their passage to take water from tanks and wells, by putting up fences of thorns &c., assaulting and exacting unreasonable dues from them and interfering with and interrupting them in their public religious performances. Their residence was also prescribed within certain limits.

The fourth prohibited the lower castes of Valankai and Edankai from making religious gifts to the temple of Sakalakalai Martanda Vinayakar.

The fifth declared that the temple of Karutha Vinayakar belonged to the Saliars and not to the Chetties; and the sixth refers to the persecution of the Christian converts of Kumari-muttam by their Hindu kinsmen. The Royal writ assigned to them a separate locality to live in.

The next interesting point has reference to the village assemblies which appear to have been self-governing bodies. There were such associations in Suchindram, Trivandrum, Kadainallur, Nirankarai, Tirunandikara, Cheramangalam, Parthivasekharapuram, and Nanjanad. It appears that these village assemblies had the charge and management of the village temples, power to appoint temple accountants and priests and to regulate the system of worship. They levied fines and imposts on the villagers and an inscription on a granite pillar at Santhur in Toduvatti in Vilavankod Taluq, dated 20th Avani 819 M. E., records that a Royal writ was issued prohibiting the village assemblies to punish villagers without the knowledge of Government. There were large assemblies of Six Hundred and Three Hundred for Venad who met and deliberated on all questions of administration. The country was divided into Divisions, Districts and Desams, the last being apparently the unit or the smallest administrative division.

There are a number of inscriptions relating to taxation. A very important one on a pillar standing outside the temple of Manalikarai Alwar in Kalkulam Taluq, dated 27th Medom 410 M. E., (1235 A. D.), records a Royal Proclamation issued after a consultation held among the loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Ravi Kerala Varma ruling Venad, the members of the Kodalinallur assembly and the people of that village as well as the individual entrusted with the right of realising the Government dues. The chief points of interest in this inscription are that the whole village was responsible for the tax so that when any portion of the crops failed, the villagers and the village assembly should inspect and if satisfied of the drought, the sufferers had to pay only one-fifth of the normal dues, while the balance fell on those whose lands did not fail. If there was a general failure, then the village had to pay only one-fifth of the whole demand due from it; if the villagers should however desire that the collections should be postponed, it was done accordingly, the unpaid amounts being adjusted in the years of plenty. From another inscription on a granite pillar in Kandiripandi Vilai, Vadaseri, Agastisvaram Taluq, dated 4th Kartikai 873 M. E. (1697 A. D.), we gather that a Royal writ was issued to the people of Nanjanad remitting the taxes on their lands for 13 years on account of the in-

vasion of the Nayakkars into Nanjanad which evidently caused much loss and damage. Besides the land and other taxes noted in the inscriptions already referred to, there were a number of others also as revealed by the inscription on the southern wall of the temple at Keralapuram, dated 21st Kumbham 491 M. E. (1316 A. D.). They were :—

Othirai tax.
Bamboo grain.
Alageruthu.
Tax on palmyras.
Karaipattu.
Kadumakattalai.
Panam.
Padavaram.
Anaivari.

What these taxes were is not clear and further particulars regarding them are wanting.

There are references in some inscriptions to measures of land in vogue and to coins current in the country. In two granite pillars in Vatasseri, there are inscriptions dated 28th Thye 849 M. E. (1674 A. D.) and 1st Chitrai 793 M. E. (1618 A. D.), from which it is found that the measurement known in Tanjore and Trichinopoly as *Veli* was in use in Travancore also in early times. The different kinds of coins referred to are, Kaliyugarayan Panam, Erattarasi, Salakkai, Kalanji etc. It is not known what a Salakkai is Kaliyuga Rayan Panam has already been referred under coins. Erattarasi is apparently a single coin of the value of two Rasi fanams. No reference has hitherto been found about the existence of a double coin and further researches should throw light on this point. An inscription on the northern wall of the Bhagavati Temple at Cape Comorin, dated the 27th year of Sri Vikrama Pandya Devar, shows that a gold coin was granted to the temple. It is not clear what that coin was.

Some inscriptions refer to the troubles from external foes. The invasion of Nanjanad by the Nayakkars has been already referred to. An inscription on the granite pillar in the temple at Tirunandikara, Kalkulam Taluq, records the destruction of the Talakkulam Salai by the adversary of the Cheras and the destruction by Chola King Raja Raja Kesari Varma of the Kandalur Salai is inscribed on the Kailasanathapparai at Suchindram, dated the tenth year of the victor's reign, wherein he is stated to have conquered Gangaipadi, Nulambappadi, Tadukaipadi and Vengai Nadu.

Travancore inscriptions offer a remarkably rich and varied field for

archæological study and research. There is scarcely a temple in South Travancore whose walls and pillars are not covered with old inscriptions. The same must be the case more or less with North Travancore though that part of the country on account of its inaccessibility in the olden days was not the scene of successive invasions as the more open and flat tracts of South Travancore; but no archæological researches have been made there worth the name. The Travancore inscriptions apart from their historical importance are also valuable as evidence of their age. A dated inscription is a rarity in other parts of India but in Travancore nearly all inscriptions bear the years, months and sometimes even dates, days of the week and the position of Jupiter or other constellations to enable the student to trace their exact dates. There can be no doubt that when these are fully studied they will throw considerable light on the early history of Travancore.

We owe it to the genius and energy of His Excellency the late Viceroy (Lord Curzon) that these relics are being actively resuscitated in other parts of India. He said:—

"India is covered with the visible records of vanished dynasties, of forgotten monarchs, of persecuted and sometimes dishonoured creeds...If there be any one who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the rock temple of the Brahmans stands on precisly the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, the Mahomedan Musjid and the Christian Cathedral. There is no principle of artistic discrimination between the mausoleum of the despot and the sepulchre of the saint. What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past, and helps us to read its riddles, and to look it in the eyes—these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look. Much of ancient history, even in an age of great discoveries, still remains mere guess work. It is only being slowly pieced together by the efforts of scholars and by the outcome of research. But the clues are lying everywhere at our hand, in buried cities, in undeciphered inscriptions, in casual coins, in crumbling pillars and pencilled slabs of stone. They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past, and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, the art of a perished age... To us the relics of Hindu, and Mahomedan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid, and the other a weaker, emotion. Each represents the glories or the faith of a branch of the human family. Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling power".*

* Speech on the 'Ancient monuments in India' delivered at the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on the 7th February 1900.

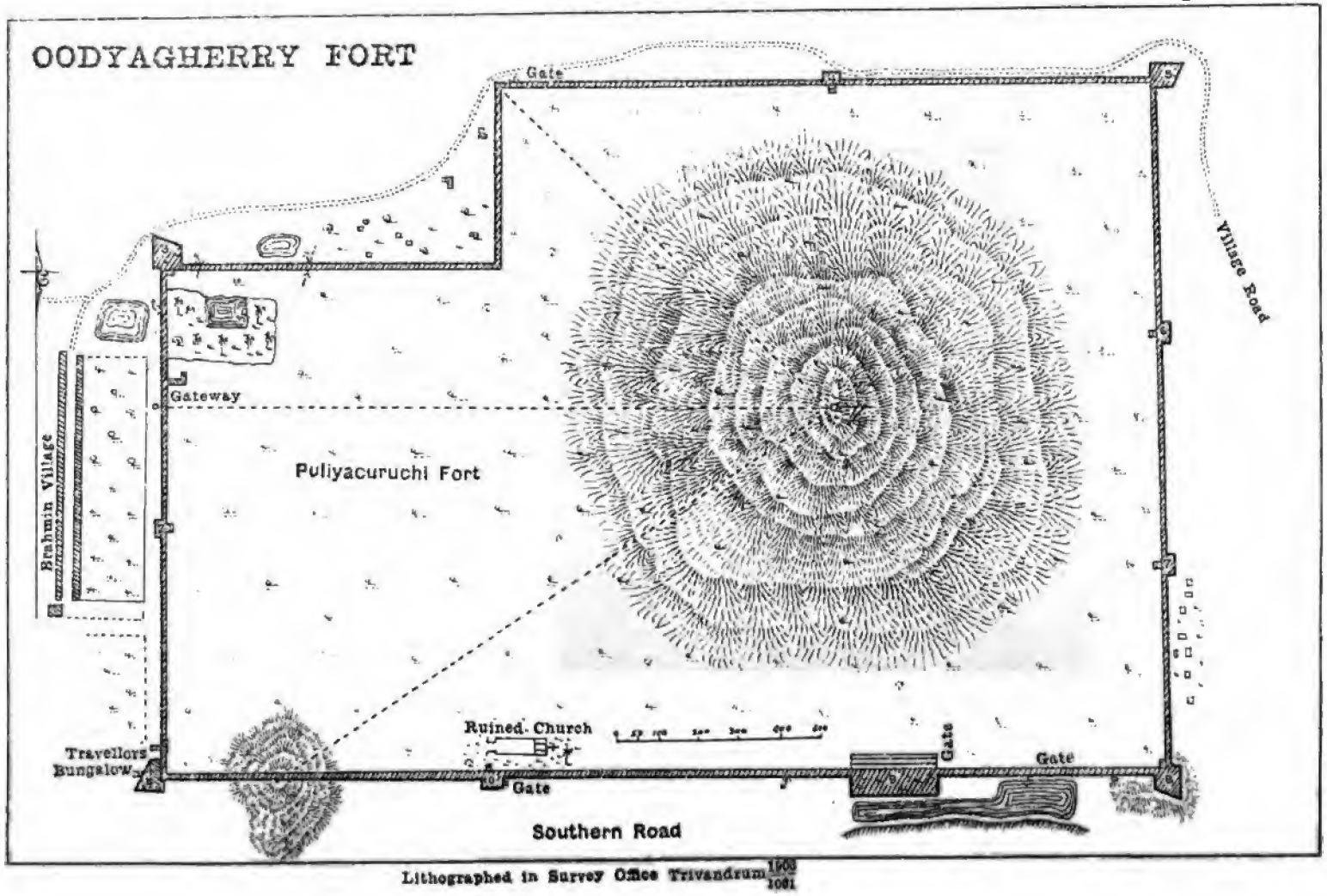
It appears to me that we could well follow the lead of the Government of India in this respect, for as Lord Curzon remarked,

"For my part I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do. I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archæological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gaping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. In my opinion, the tax-payers of this country are in the last degree unlikely to resent a somewhat higher expenditure—and, after all, a few thousand rupees go a long way in archæological work, and the total outlay is exceedingly small—upon objects in which I believe them to be as keenly interested as we are ourselves. I hope to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge".

Forts and military works. The following account* of the character of the country from a military point of view, written a few years after the demolition of the fortifications, may be quoted with advantage:—

"We do not observe here that multitude of small forts so common in other parts of the peninsula, and which convey such an idea of the insecurity of the times. There is nothing in Travancore that deserves the name of a fortress; its aspect may supersede the necessity, at least render it less urgent of such defences. The lines at Arahmuhni commonly called Arambooly, (measuring 17 miles,) that guard the entrance of the country by the champaign tract bordering Cape Comorin, though raised with such immense labour were passed with a facility that proved their weakness. Those on the north terminating at Pullypuram and stretching the hazardous length of twenty-four miles, still further show the futility of attempting to fortify any large extent of the country. If Tippu was once foiled in his attempt to surmount them, the defeat is not chargeable to their strength. They now present only a high bank and narrow half-choked ditch, the whole overgrown with forest, but in point of structure they are greatly inferior to the southern lines, and could at no time have offered any difficulties the most ordinary enterprise would not readily overcome. The fort of Kodungaloor (forming a point upon those lines) which arrested Tippu's advance experienced his vengeance, and is now scarcely to be traced. The two lines of fortifications intersecting the country and passing Yaithumanoor and Muattupully are quite of similar character, only of a somewhat ruder structure; a strong fence of bamboos following the crests of the banks serve now to point out the course they pursued. In the obscure feuds of the petty chiefs whose boundary they marked or guarded, they may doubtless, however feeble the barrier, have answered the purposes of defence, but it is only for such warfare they are calculated, and it is impossible not to regret that the labour dedicated to their erection had not been better applied. The walls encompassing a few

* Memoir of the Survey of the Travancore and Cochin States—Lieuts. Ward and Conner. Vol. I. Page 122.


OODYAGHERRY FORT
Gate
Village Road
Gateway
Brahmin Village
Puliyacuruchi Fort
Ruined Church
Travellers Bungalow
Gate
Gate
Gate
Southern Road
Lithographed in Survey Office Trivandrum

towns in the southern parts have but a weak profile. Palpanaveram and Oodagherry are among the most remarkable, but are places of no strength; their fortifications planned on an extensive scale yet remain unfinished. The latter presents however many facilities for the improvement of its defence. The coast is entirely devoid of fortified places; the little fort of Chunganacherry, built by that warlike prelate Menezes, probably, to check the levity of his converts, is now dismantled. Its situation was valuable as a depot and its strength, sufficient to secure it against any attempts of the natives, rendered it in some measure a a place of retreat against the accidents of war.

"The country is particularly strong and generally woody. The multitude of streams that intersect while they aid the agriculture guard the possessions of the people; the inequality of its surface renders cavalry almost useless and impedes the movements of regular troops, at least the exercise in some degree of that discipline which renders them formidable. The ghauts, that grand natural barrier which constitutes a no less striking physical than moral limit, at once defines and defends the eastern confines; the mass of hills descending from them are only traversed by narrow passes, which run into rugged defiles as they proceed eastward, but though opposing a strong and defensible frontier, its great extent would demand the exertions of an enterprising people to guard all its previous points—an undertaking rendered the more difficult from the bad climate common to those parts during a period of the year and the vast extent of hills intervening between the populated tracts and eastern confines. The northern frontier is for the greater part mountainous, and where not covered by hills, lines have been thrown up to defend it. The inefficacy of those works as a barrier has already been mentioned; they are crossed by a variety of roads, which running through a comparatively open and level country, present no material impediment. In fact, there is a considerable choice of entrances, but it is only the most northern and southern ones that admit the passage of artillery; light bodies of infantry unencumbered by heavy baggage might enter by all the smaller ghauts. It is said that Hyder or Tippu had it in contemplation to penetrate by the Goodaloor or Cumbum ghaut, and the choice would have been judicious, as enabling him by a few forced marches to reach the central parts of the country. The monsoon would necessarily affect the efficiency of any military equipment to a degree that would perhaps render it necessary to suspend operations during its violence: the period however that can be so considered is not of long continuance. This part of Malayalim eluded rather than opposed Mussulman and Mahratta dominions; its weakness almost courted aggressions, but to its remote situation and mountainous aspect may possibly be attributed its escape from the grasp of those conquerors, whose armies composed in a great measure of hordes of cavalry, have not ventured to pass the mountainous line that equally opposed their entrance as escape."

The following is a brief description of the three most important forts of Travancore.

1. THE UDAYAGIRI FORT* is situated alongside the main southern road (33 miles from Trivandrum), running south-east and leading to Tinnevelly.

The area of the ground enclosed within the walls of the fort is 84¾ acres. Within this area there is a small tank and a number of ruined

* The description of this and that of the Padmanabhapuram fort is taken from a Report submitted to Government by the Chief Engineer in June 1878

buildings amongst which is a church. In the centre of a large square of fort, there is a hill 260 feet high which commands the whole of the fort.

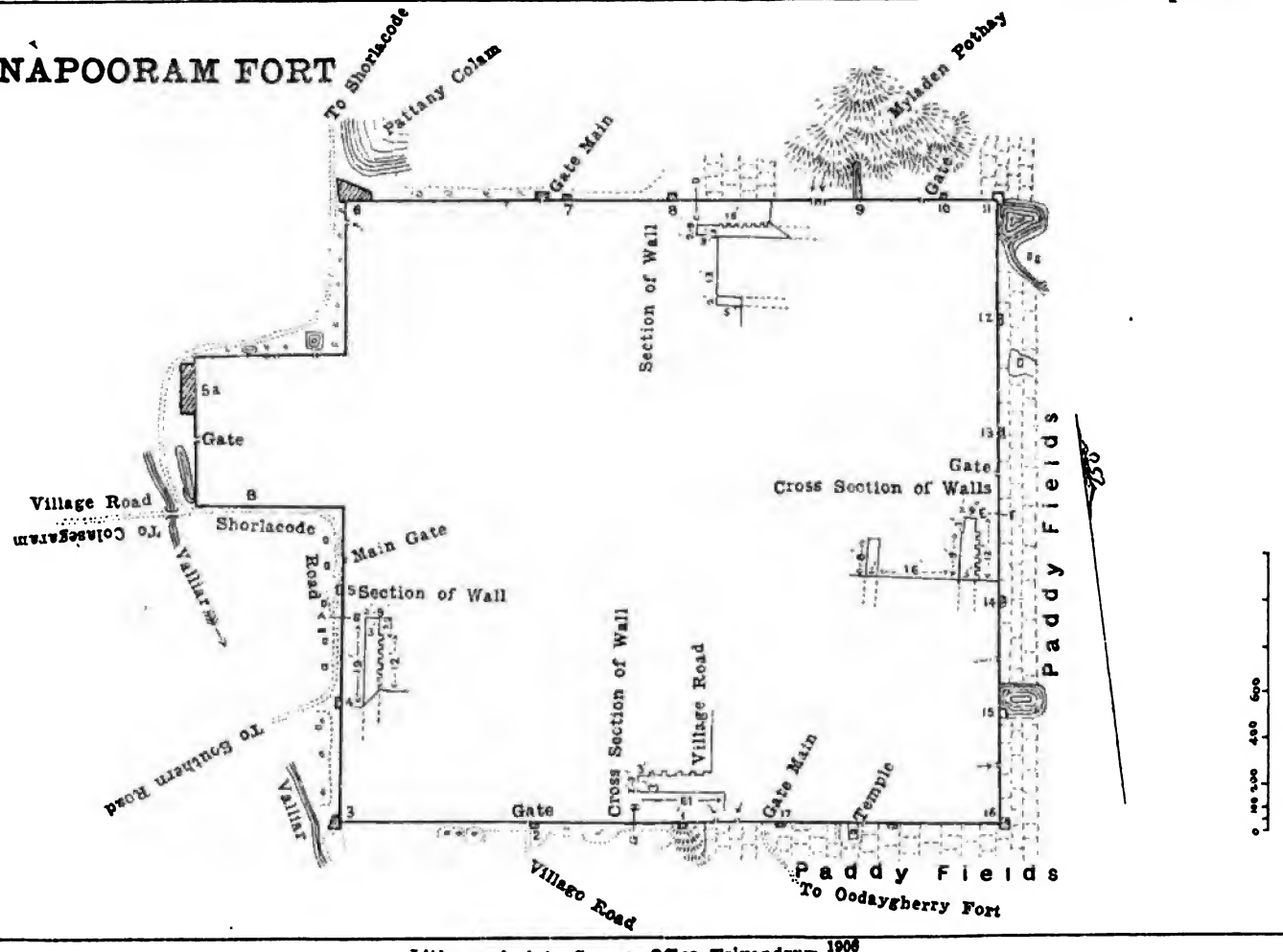
The walls enclosing the fort are, on an average, 15 feet thick and 18 feet high including the parapet. They are lined within and without with stone; the outside lining or fencing is of laterite imbedded in chunam. The facing is on an average 4 feet thick up to the foot of parapets. The parapets are 3 feet thick and on an average 4 feet high. The inner lining is of rough stone 2 feet thick and on an average 6 feet high. The space between the inner and outer lining consists of earth which goes to form the ramparts. The fort has in all ten bastions, five of which are intended for cannon, the others being pierced for musketry only. The main entrance into the fort is a gateway near one of the bastions which is 10×6. Besides the gateway, there are smaller inlets near three other bastions. The fort walls are in a fair state of preservation. The entire area is overgrown with jungle.

2. THE PADMANABHAPURAM FORT. This lies about half a mile north-west of Udayagiri fort, on the southern road 33 miles from Trivandrum, and is overlooked by a hill to the north on which there is a redoubt built. The distance of the redoubt from the nearest bastion of the fort is 2,540 feet bearing 12° W. of N. The height of the redoubt as observed by the aneroid is 220 feet above ramparts of fort. This was at one time the capital of Travancore and is still an important place being the headquarters of the Southern Division.

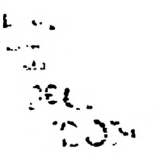
The area of the ground enclosed within the fort walls is 186¼ acres. The space is for the most part filled up with houses (amongst the most noteworthy of which are the palaces of the former Maharajahs and two large and famous temples). There is also wet cultivation within, irrigated by a large tank situated at the north-east corner of the fort.

The walls comprising the fort are 3 feet thick and built with granite up to within 8 feet of the parapets, the remaining portion being laterite. At the four corners of the fort there are four main bastions more or less of one size and shape. One of these was evidently intended as a sort of watch-tower since it runs out to the summit of a detached hill. The fort has ramparts only for half the length of the wall, the walls alone being defences for the remaining length. Even there the ramparts are not complete throughout, as in certain places the earth filling is wanted. The height of the walls varies according to the inclination

PALPANÀPOORAM FORT

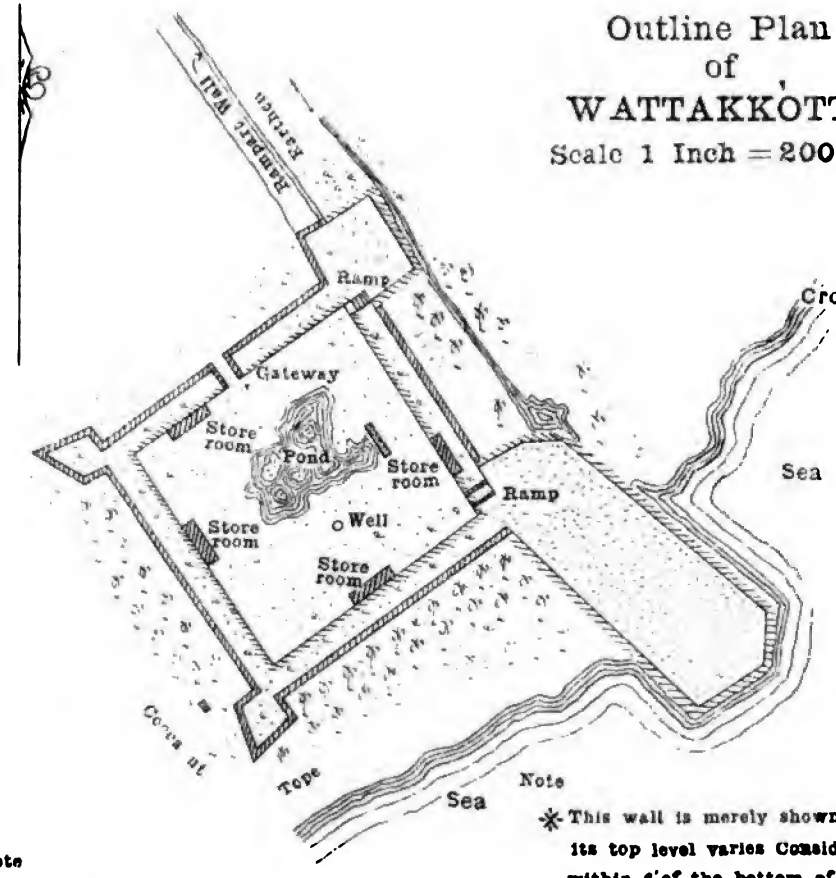


Lithographed in Survey Office Trivandrum 1906/1931

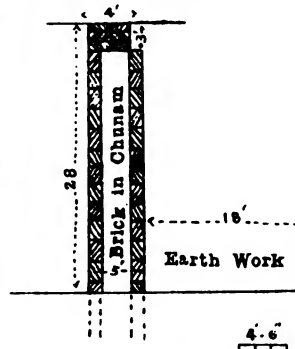


Outline Plan of WATTAKKOTTA

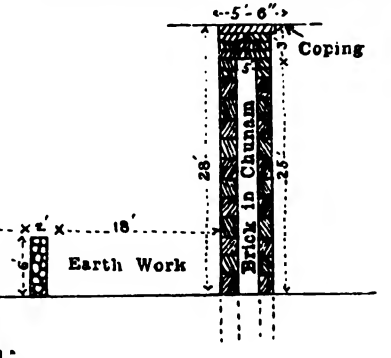
Scale 1 Inch = 200 Feet

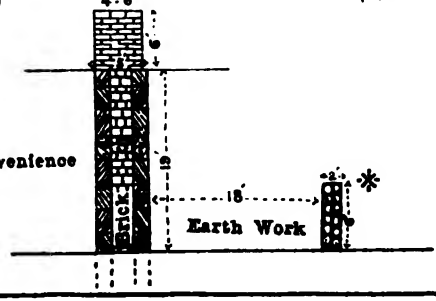


Cross Section N. Bastion



Cross Section at East Bastion





Note

Represents Granite parapet Walls.

Do: Brick in Chunam Do:

Note

* This wall is merely shown here for convenience its top level varies Considerably being within 6' of the bottom of parapet in some instances.

Lithographed in Survey Office Trivandrum 1908

of the ground, the highest elevation being 24 feet and the lowest 15 feet, including the parapets which are all 3 feet high throughout. The principal entrances into the fort are four gateways situated one on each wall and there are also other smaller gateways near three of the bastions. The fort is not overgrown with jungle. Its walls to all appearance are generally sound. Over one of the gateways however there is an unfilled breach in the wall of 8 feet, and at another point it is observed that the wall for a length of 27 feet consists of nothing but laterite from top to bottom.

3. VATTAKOTTA FORT. The South Travancore lines or Vattakotta are worthy of notice extending as they do across the country. They are built of stone cemented with chunam, but are now in ruins having been demolished soon after the entrance of the British troops in 1809. The new lines, as they are called, commence on the coast ¾ of a mile west of the point of Cape Comorin, with bastions at 165 yards distant from each other; they run north 1½ miles to Chevery Kotta, a redoubt built on rocks which is conspicuous from thence, then W. N. W. 3 miles in a direct line where they are connected with the old lines about 500 yards S. S. E. of the village of Thanumalayan Putur, at which spot there are two gateways; the old lines from thence run at an obtuse angle with the new which still continue to the Pinnewaram gate and from thence in the same direction to the steps for the Nedumalai hill and appear again on the steep on the opposite side and run 5 furlongs to the Rameswar gate; from thence to the slopes of Kattadi hill, a distance of 2 miles (a granary and powder magazine are built a short distance north of the Rameswar gate), and thence rather waving to Vattakotta, a strong irregular redoubt on the coast, which is the only part connected with the lines that has not been demolished.*

* Memoir of the Travancore Survey, Vol. II. Page 5.

List of Forts in Travancore.

Name.	Station.	Remarks.
Keechari Fort ...	Vadayaru Proverty, Vaikam Taluq.	An earthen fort 100×75, all decayed and full of jungle.
Kilakkambagam Kara.	Ettumanur Proverty. Ettumanur Taluq.	An earthen fort all decayed, no masonry.
Padinjattumbagam Kara...	Do.	Do. Do.
Kadutturutti Kara ...	Kadutturutti Proverty, Ettumanur Taluq.	Do. Do.
Mannar Kara ...	Do. Do. Do.	Do. Do.
Kodamalur Kara ...	Karpola Do. Do.	Do. Do.
Lalam Kotta ...	Lalam Proverty, Minachil Taluq.	Do. 325×257; all public offices of Minachil are held within.
Nedum Kotta ...	Do. Do. Do.	A wall totally ruined and no masonry.
Karikod Fort ...	Karikod Proverty Do.	Of laterite masonry 450×420×14, almost in ruins; a small tank inside.
Menokunnu ...	Muvattupuzha Taluq	An earthen wall totally ruined; not a fort.
Nedum Kotta ...	Do. Enanallurmuri...	Do.
Nedum Kotta ...	Do. Kilmuri Kara ...	Do.
Manna Kotta ...	Do. Do. ...	An earthen fort all ruined.
Vattamana Fort ...	Parur Muri, Parur Taluq ...	The space within the fort is 1000×1500 feet. The enclosure boundary is formed of raised earth; divided at present into 3 compounds filled with cocoanut trees; a dilapidated temple in the centre.

* From a Report submitted to Government in 1886 by the Chief Engineer.

List of Forts in Travancore *(Continued)*.

Name.	Station.	Remarks.
Kottapuram Fort ...	Vadakkekkara Proverty, Parur Taluq.	This is near the riverside, with dense jungle. A masonry wall is seen about 200 feet in length; also earth banks raised here and there and one solid masonry wall about 18 feet by 6 feet built of laterite in chunam.
Munampam ,, ...	Do. Do.	An enclosure wall or earth, an octagonal building about 42 feet by 42, height 35 feet and 7 feet thick; there is a well inside with good water. There was a three-storeyed building with 18 windows and one door; no wood work seen at present. The door frame is of granite and arched. This building has also a cell 8×8. The masonry is laterite and chunam, now covered with jungle.
Parasuraman ,, ...	Ayirur Proverty, Alangad Taluq...	A dilapidated building with masonry, laterite in chunam, void of all roof and wood work; divided into two rooms measuring 53×14 and 27×22; walls 9 feet high and 5 feet thick.
Manjummel ,, ...	Parur Taluq	This stands on a hill and has a small building all broken and dilapidated. The walls are made of earth thrown up, about 10 feet high in 10 places.
Thaliki Kotta ...	North Travancore...	Situated on a hill to the east of Thalathangudi; built of laterite in chunam; plastered. It is battlemented and overgrown with vegetation and parts appear to have been dismantled; there are traces of a deep moat all round filled in mostly.

List of Forts in Travancore. *(Concluded).*

Name.	Station.	Remarks.
Mavelikara Fort ...	Quilon Division	A large fort about 2,500 feet square; walls entirely demolished, traces found only in parts.
Krishnapuram ,, ...	Do.	About 15,200 feet square; walls entirely demolished.
Trivandrum ,, ...	Trivandrum	A square fort, the 4 sides measuring 11,320 feet, of which 5,796 feet is of granite, 2,445 of laterite and 2,919 of mud; height about 15 feet; Maharajah's Palace, a large Pagoda, and many Brahmin streets; no rampart; only a wall.

Tombs and Monuments. The writer of the voluminous book, *Church History of Travancore*,* says that in point of ancient monuments the Christian church in Travancore is perhaps the poorest church in the world. It is strange, he says, that when there are monuments and epitaphs belonging to the Portuguese, Dutch and English periods, there are none belonging to the earlier period when the Christians were under the entire sway of Native Rulers. Excepting the tombs in the numerous Christian cemeteries in the State, there are no other kinds of monuments of any importance. The old tombs in the cemeteries are mostly of Portuguese, Dutch and English origin, all belonging to a comparatively recent period. The oldest tombstones yet found do not take us beyond the 17th century. These are mostly to be found in the following places:—

The Anjengo cemetery; the Cape Comorin Church: St. Francis Xavier's Church at Kottar; L. M. S. cemetery, Nagercoil; in the ruins of the old Church at Fort Udayagiri; Tiruvitankode Church; Kolachel; L. M. S. cemetery at Parassala; L. M. S. cemetery at Neyyur; Valiatora Church near Trivandrum; L. M. S. compound at Kannamoola, Trivandrum; Christ Church cemetery, Trivandrum; L. M. S. cemetery at Pattathanam, Quilon; Tuet Church, Quilon; Modakara Church, Quilon; St. Thomas' Church, Quilon; Shencottah; C. M. S. Church, Mavelikara; C. M. S. cemetery at Alleppey; C. M. S. cemetery, Kottayam; Verapoly Church; Puthenchera Church; Manjummel Church; and Tangasseri.

Mr. Agur believes that the utter absence of Christian monuments in the country belonging to the purely Hindu period does not much speak for the toleration afforded. Another reason urged by him is the absence of systematic archæological researches. It is unsafe to hazard any opinions on such matters without sufficient data. The tolerance of the ancient governments of Travancore under Hindu kings is established beyond a doubt. It is not an open question. It is handed down to us as an undisputed tradition. I should think that the absence of Christian monuments is due mostly to the apathy of the Native Christians themselves, an

* By C. M. Agur B. A.

apathy natural to the community as in the case of their Hindu brethren with whom they are one in race and sentiment. The real reason for the absence of such tombs and epitaphs is that, as admitted by the writer himself, "the mass of Native Christians for centuries seem to have never cared to erect tombs over the graves of their friends and relations. What a contrast these Malabar Christians are to their contemporaries, the early Christians of Rome and the West, who carefully deposited the remains of their dear departed ones in well-prepared chambers sealed and inscribed."

CHAPTER VI.

History.

"History at least in its state of ideal perfection is a compound of poetry and philosophy."

Macaulay.

Travancore, like the whole kingdom of Kerala itself, has had an uninterrupted succession of Hindu sovereigns from remote antiquity. It is probably the only country in this part of India, where Hindu traditions, Hindu manners and customs, Hindu learning and the Hindu religion are still preserved in their original simplicity and purity, owing chiefly to the continuous and prosperous rule of a long line of Hindu kings from of old. The natural barrier of mountain and sea was another circumstance which kept it intact as it gave it an inaccessibility to the outside world and contributed to its comparative immunity from molestation and conquest by the warlike races who successively swept over the rest of the Indian continent. But, as is generally the case in India, there has been no regular or continuous record kept of the kingdom of Kerala, its origin and progress, its peoples or its ancient administrations. As Bishop Caldwell justly remarks, "It is a singular fact that the Hindus though fond of philosophy and poetry, of law, mathematics and architecture, of music and the drama, and especially of religious or theosophic speculations and disquisitions, seem never to have cared anything for history". Its history therefore remains to be written.

There are, however, ample materials for a good and reliable account, lying scattered about all over the land, in old Olas, copper-plate and stone inscriptions, in the sacred Puranas and Temple Chronicles, in quaintly written old books of Sanscrit, Tamil or Malayalam, such as the Kerala Mahatmya, the Keralolpatti, the Nannul and the Tolkapyam, in the stray verses of Kambar, in proverbs and maxims, in nursery tales and maidens' songs, in ancient coins and in the fragmentary records of ancient commerce from the time of the Greeks, in the traditional architecture of houses, temples and temple flagstaffs, of Kavoo-shrines, Gopurams, Mantapams and old forts, in the diaries and note-books of old sailors and soldiers, in the ancient titles of kings and chiefs, or later on in the treaties and engagements with the Hon'ble East India Company, in the Residency and

Huzur records at Trivandrum, in the valuable archives of Fort St. George, in the Mission reports and private letters of the last century, in the modern but incomplete historical compilations of Sir Madava Row, Shungoonny Menon and Nanoo Pillay and a host of lesser writers, in the Manuals and histories of adjacent British Districts, in the records of various Departments of the State, in the State Administration Reports and Gazettes for the last half a century, in Almanacs and Calendars, in sundry magazines and newspapers and in the memories of old men still living—all awaiting the patient inquiry, the toilsome research and the genius of the true historian to collate, to discriminate and to depict. Until such a historian arises, the account attempted in the following pages may be taken as a faithful narrative, in which all available information about the country and its people, whether traditionary or of an authentic or historical value, has been carefully brought to book and as fully as the time at the disposal of a heavily worked Revenue official would permit.

SECTION A.—ANCIENT HISTORY.

The ancient history of Travancore is mostly tradition. The chief authority for the tradition is the *Keralolpatti*, a Malayalam treatise which fully gives whatever of tradition is known on this coast. What is traditional need not necessarily be false, and when that tradition is found closely interwoven with the details of the daily life of a population and its impress still left on the behaviour of races and classes towards each other as in Keralam, it attains the rank of authentic history.

According to this authority (*Keralolpatti*), Parasurama, a great Brahmin sage and warrior of the race of Bhrigu, the greatest of Rishis according to the Bhagavad-gita, created the land of Kerala. Parasurama's father was the great Rishi Jamadagni and his mother was Renuka. He is said to be one of the *Avatars* of Vishnu. His exploits belong to the close of the Treta Yugam just preceding the birth of Rama, another *Avatar* of Vishnu. While Parasurama was living with his parents on the banks of the Narmuda, a distressing episode within the family circle embittered his early life. One day his mother Renuka was late in returning from the river with the usual pot of water for the household use, which pot was not a potter's baked vessel but one daily improvised by Renuka herself with the loose river sand, a feat ascribed to the miraculous power of her chastity. That day, it so happened, she returned without the water, for she could not make the pot of sand as usual; and on Jamadagni's enquiring for the cause of this failure in his faithful wife, she admitted that she was distracted by the beautiful form of a Gandharva reflected in the

water, after which she could not, she said, make the pot of sand. This the Rishi thought was a deflection on the part of his wife and losing his temper, he ordered his sons to cut off her head. Parasurama's four brothers refused to obey their father's mandate, for they said, "the sin of killing a mother is even greater than that of disobeying a father". When Parasurama was asked, he loyally obeyed, took his axe and cut off his mother's head with one stroke. Jamadagni was gratified and commanded his dutiful son to ask of him any boon he pleased. Parasurama implored, "Holy sire, I have faithfully obeyed thy behests, for I knew full well thy wonderful powers. Restore to me, I pray thee, my dear mother, the sacred person to whom I owe my birth. I have killed her, for a father's command must not be disregarded". The Rishi wept for repentance and restored Renuka to life. But the sin of taking away his mother's life hung like a heavy cloud on Parasurama's youthful mind. This was one of the early causes, it is said, that subsequently led to Parasurama's creating and peopling Keralam.

He was then sent by his parents to the hermitage of his great-grandfather, Bhrigu, to receive his education. After some time the sage sent him to the Himalayas to pray to God Siva and obtain his blessing. Thus Parasurama spent many years on the Himalayas in devotion and penance, which pleased Siva who appeared to him in person, blessed him and directed him to visit all the holy places on earth, which he did. Meanwhile war broke out between the Devas and the Asuras, and the Devas being worsted in the fight sought the aid of God Siva who at once commanded Parasurama to assist the Devas, giving him the necessary instructions in the war and the use of his divine weapon *Parasu* (axe), from which circumstance he took his name Parasurama. He met the Asuras in war, gained a decisive victory over them, and restored the Devas to their former possessions. He again returned to the Himalayas and for a considerable time was engaged in penance there. Siva was much gratified, paid a visit again to his faithful votary and presented him with a divine chariot and a bow, which were to stand him in good stead whenever he wanted their use.

Having thus obtained all he wished for, Parasurama went back to Bhrigu and thence to his own parents on the banks of the Narmuda; when to his horror he found that his holy father's hermitage had become the scene of robbery, violence and murder. This sad story may be briefly narrated here. Kartaviryarjuna, the well-known Kshatriya king, one day visited Jamadagni in his hermitage and as was due to a crowned monarch

of his position, the Rishi gave him a right royal reception, feasting him and his numerous retinue by the aid of his miraculous *Kamadhenu*—a celestial cow which only a Rishi's power could create; for, it is said, the Rishis of old were simple anchorites living in their jungle homes without neighbours or servants or relatives and trusting only to the powers of their *Tapas* (penance) for offering due hospitality to the kings and other great men who visited them. Kartaviryarjuna coveted so precious a cow and in a vein of absolute despotism took it away by force. Suffice it to say that the cow, however, had to be subsequently restored to the Rishi by Kartaviryarjuna himself. Thereafter his sons ever bore a grudge to the Rishi on account of their father's humiliation, and by way of vendetta they invaded the Rishi's home at an unguarded moment and put him to death. Renuka, his wife and the mother of Parasurama, then committed the act of self-immolation on her husband's funeral pile as became a true *Sati*. Soon after this tragedy was enacted, Parasurama returned home and his rage and sorrow knew no bounds, and he set out with his *Parasu* granted to him by God Siva vowing vengeance on the whole Kshatriya race, of whom he resolved not to let a single one survive on earth.

The story goes on to say that Parasurama destroyed the Kshatriyas in twenty one successive wars, and the whole of India thus lay devastated and prostrate before him—his own uncontested dominion. When his wrongs were thus avenged, he was stricken with repentance, called a council of the great Rishis * and begged of them to be enlightened as to how best he may expiate his *Virahatyadosham*, i. e., the sin of having killed so many crowned heads and their vast armies. He was advised to make a gift of the whole land thus acquired to Brahmins, which being done, the Brahmins who had received the land told him that his stay in the *Danam* land was opposed to the spirit of a free gift, and that therefore, if he would avoid sin, he must quit the land at once. Parasurama was convinced of the sin of using what he had given away and so retired to the Western Ghauts immediately for penance again.

By severe penance and the propitiation of Varuna, the god of the waters, and by offering due worship to Bhumi Devi, the Goddess of the earth, he got permission to claim as his own as much land as could be covered by the throw of his axe from Gokarnam, which was then the land's-end, into the southern sea. He hurled his axe and it fell at Kanya Kumari or Cape

* Vasishta, Vamadeva, Jabali, Kasyapa, Visvamitra, Mrikanda, Agastya, Narada, Satananda, Gautama, Atri, Rishyasringa, Parasara and Vedavyasa are said have met at this council.

Comorin. Thus was created the land of Keralam, extending from Gokarnam to the Cape, a length of 160 *yojanas* by 10 *yojanas* according to the Purana. The scientific aspect of the Puranic statement of the miraculous creation of Kerala by Parasurama is based on the upheaval of the earth and the subsidence of the sea by volcanic action, and geologists confirm the fact of Parasurama's land having been under water in past ages. The late Shungoonny Menon in his *History of Travancore* quotes the following observation, by a writer in the *Kottayam College Quarterly Magazine*, as regards the origin of Kerala:—

"There was once a subsidence, probably sudden, at Gokarnam, and afterwards a perceptible upraising, most probably in this case gradual, of at least some portion, if not of nearly all the coast between Gokarnam and the Cape. The whole appearance of the coast of Kerala, wherever at least we find the low lands and backwaters, would appear to indicate that it has been raised, certainly during the present era; and if, as our legend would seem to tell, this has happened under the eye of man, it becomes the more deeply interesting".

The land thus reclaimed is even now known in common parlance as *Parasurama-kshetram* or the land of Parasurama. It is said in the Purana that Parasurama desired the Trimurtis and the Devas to give a fitting name to his new land. God Siva called it 'Kerala' in honour of the marriage of the Sea-king's daughter to Keralan, son of Jayanta. Vishnu gave him his *Sudarsanam* (Discus) and Siva his *Vrishabham* (Bull) and these were consecrated at *Srimulastanam* in Trichur. Then Vishnu crowned him king and commanded him to found 24,000 temples and govern the land according to the Dharma-Sastras. It is also known as *Karma-bhumi* or the land of good deeds, meaning that a man's salvation depends entirely upon good actions, as opposed to the other coast, which is called *Punnya-bhumi*, where mere birth goes a great way towards redemption from sin. The reclaimed land is the tract of country now covered by Canara, Malabar, Cochin and Travancore.

The new land was not fit for habitation; the settling down had not been completed. The quaking did not cease, so the Purana says; hence Parasurama sprinkled gold dust and buried coins and thus formed a treasure-trove which stopped the quaking of the land. He prepared a great *yagam* (sacrifice) at Varkala for the same purpose. Thereafter Parasurama brought colonies of Brahmins from the north, from the banks of the Krishna, the Godaveri, the Narmuda, the Kaveri and from Madura, Mysore, the Maharashtra and from many other places and peopled Keralam. The Brahmin colonists so brought belonged to eight *gotrams* or families. The Arya Brahmins formerly set out from Ahikshetram and

came to reside in the Kshetram of Samanta-Panchakam called also Kurukshetra, from which they were brought by Parasurama and settled in Keralam.

Parasurama then went to Paradesa (foreign country), where he met a Kshatriya whom he persuaded to go with him to Kerala, and with his aid brought and established eighteen Samanta families there.

Then he brought a representative of each profession, viz:—Carpenter, Blacksmith, Oil-monger, Goldsmith, Barber, Stone-mason, Washerman &c. Separate houses were built for them and rules for their conduct were framed.

Then he brought all kinds of grains and seeds, such as black peas, green peas, gingelly seeds, all kinds of vegetable plants, medicinal plants and all kinds of trees, especially the cocoanut, the plantain, and the jack, which are peculiar to Kerala. All these were brought to Kerala by the sea. The cocoanut and the plantain trees were brought, it is said, on a New Moon day, and hence it is believed on this coast that these trees when planted on New Moon days yield better than other days. So every true Nayar selects the New Moon as the best day for planting them.

Parasurama introduced several changes in the customs of his Brahmin colonists to prevent them from going back to their native country, which they did from time to time and thus greatly retarded the progress of Parasurama's repeated attempts at colonisation of his new land. Some of the changes were:—

(1) That the males should give up their back tuft of hair and adopt the front tuft now so universal in Malabar;

(2) That the boy's *Samavartanam* should be celebrated at the age of sixteen, when he gives up the austerities of a bachelor's life. This is for the followers of the Rig-Veda. Those who follow the Yagur-Veda celebrate the Samavartanam at the age of 12;

(3) That in the reciting of the Veda, a nodding of the head is a necessary accompaniment, so abhorrent to the Vedic scholars of the old country. They also reprobate the *swaram* or intonation adopted by the Nambudiri Brahmins in the recitation of the Veda;

(4) That even married males need not wear more than one Brahminical holy thread or *Yagnyopavitam* while on the other coast the double thread is an invariable symbol of the married man;

(5) That the eldest son alone need marry;

(6) That one Brahmin alone is sufficient to be fed at a *Sraddham*, while two is the invariable number on the other coast;

(7) That a sweetmeat locally known as *Vatsan* be given to the fed Brahmins after Sraddha meal. This of course will be quite abhorrent to the feelings of the other coast people where the fed Brahmins are expected to eat nothing for the next twenty-four hours;

(8) That females when they get out of their houses should be protected from profane gaze by a big cadjan umbrella and accompanied by a Sudra maid-servant;

(9) That females need not adorn themselves with jewels considered so indispensable on the other coast;

(10) That women need not wear more than a single cloth tied round their loins. This is generally nine cubits long—one end of which is passed between the legs and fixed in the waist behind, while the other end is wrapped round. This covers but a small portion of the body below the waist, while on the other coast women wear a single cloth, of course, about sixteen or eighteen cubits long, which is tied round in such a way as to cover from ankle to the neck and sometimes up to the back part of the head. A short petticoat (ravika) is used there in addition, to cover the breasts; no such apparel is known on this coast.

(11) And that no Brahmin woman should take a second husband.

But the land newly reclaimed from the sea was a most inhospitable region to live in, being already occupied by fearful Nagas, a race of hill-tribes who drove the Brahmins back to their own lands. Parasurama persevered again and again bringing hosts of Brahmins more from every part of India to settle in and colonise his new land; the Nagas were propitiated under his orders by a portion of the land being given to them and thus his own Brahmin colonists and the Nagas lived side by side without molesting each other. And by way of conciliation and concession to the old settlers (Nagas) who were serpent-worshippers, Parasurama ordered his own colonists to adopt their form of worship, and thus serpent-worship on this coast early received Parasurama's sanction. These Nagas became the (Kiriathu) Nayars of later Malabar claiming superiority in rank and status over the rest of the Malayali Sudras of the west coast.

The land was parcelled out into sixty-four villages and given to the Brahmin colonists with flower and water to be enjoyed as a *Brahmakshetram*. This giving with water and flower is of the nature of an out and out free gift and is called the *Raja-amsam*. Parasurama also

brought other Sudras, to whom he assigned the duty of cultivating the land and otherwise serving the Brahmin colonists. These Sudras were in addition to the Nayars, the early settlers, who had been conciliated and won over as servants and tenants as shown above. He also brought cattle and other animals for agricultural purposes.

The Brahmins thus became the lords paramount of the new colony. It may be truly said of these Brahmin colonists of Parasurama that *though they had not the law and were a law unto themselves*, they were so good by nature that *they did the things contained in the law.* Owing allegiance to no one except to themselves and paying no taxes which would be indicative of the value of protection by a ruling power, they became the sovereign-jenmies of Keralam. But it soon transpired that the Brahmins were not able to rule the land properly.

Parasurama after consecrating the temple at Srivardhanapuram * brought a prince from the East Coast named Bhanuvikrama, a Soma-vamsa-Kshatriya, and crowned him King of Kerala at Srivardhanapuram, presenting him at the same time with his own sword. One of his brothers, Udaya Varma, was at the same time crowned at Gokarnam to rule over Chera.

According to the *Keralolpatti*, the land of Parasurama was very early divided into four separate Districts or Khandoms as they were called, viz.,

Tulu Khandom, from Gokarnam to Perumpuzha river.

Kupa Khandom, from Perumpuzha to Kottah river.

Kerala Khandom, from Putupattanam to Kannetti including the southern half of the Kurumbranad Taluq, Cochin and North Travancore, and

Mushika Khandom, extending from Kannetti to Cape Comorin.

Some time later, Aditya Varma, Bhanuvikrama's nephew, was crowned King again by Parasurama who presented him with a sword as bright as the sun. After peopling the land and finding kings to rule it, Parasurama inaugurated the military system, founded temples and shrines, laid down the *acharams* or rules of conduct to his new colonists and instituted schools of medicine. He instituted the *Mahamakham*, *Hiranyagarbham* and *Tulapurushadanam* ceremonies and founded several more temples and shrines and places of pilgrimage. The origin of

* According to Shungoonny Menon, Srivardhanapuram is the modern town of Padmanabhapuram in South Travancore.

Hiranyagarbham ceremony is thus stated:— A relative of Udaya Varma, King of Kola (Kolathunad or South Canara) became a convert to Islam and went to Mecca where he died. As one of the females of the Kola family happened to perform the funeral rites of the convert, the Brahmins excommunicated the family of Udaya Varma, whereupon Parasurama in consultation with sage Narada advised him to perform the *Hiranyagarbham* as an expiatory ceremony. The ceremony was performed and Udaya Varma and his family were readmitted into caste. The ceremony has ever since been performed by all the kings of Kerala. It is said that Parasurama himself performed the *Hiranyagarbham* and *Tulapurushadanam* ceremonies before he celebrated the *Mahamakham*. At this ceremony it is said the first seat was given to Kulasekhara Perumal (King of Travancore), and the second seat to Udaya Varma.

The *Keralolpatti* then describes how certain of the Brahmins, namely those of the Bharadwaja gotram, received the *Sastra-biksha* (alms of weapons) with the consent of all and having stretched out their hands accepted the weapons from Parasurama; how fencing schools with tutelary deities were established; how the Goddess Durga was set to guard the sea-shore on the west and the God Sastha the Ghauts on the east, and also how all the sixty-four gramams having been ordered to adopt the law of succession through the females (Marumakkattayam), only one village (Payyannur) in the extreme north of Keralam obeyed.

He afterwards established 108 fields (parade-grounds) of 42 feet square each, called *Kalaris* for purposes of drill and training in arms, and in each of these he placed an image of the gods who preside over arms and war and then lamps were lit and *pujas* ordained. He also established 108 images of Durga Devi on the sea-shore, and besides erected shrines for snakes and petty Devatas. Having thus ordained the temples and ceremonies, he ordered rain for six months in order "that abundance of corn, fruits, &c., might be produced, that piety should flourish and wealth should be obtained, by which Iswara should be served and honoured and *pujas* performed with due respect in honour of the gods and to the ancestors, and that cows should increase"; and he ordered the sunny season for six months so that all the various ceremonies might be duly performed in honour of the gods of heaven, and the secondary deities such as Sastha or Hariharaputra, Bhadrakali and Ganapati. The different ceremonies so ordained were:—

Oottu,—Offerings of food.

Pattu,—Singing hymns.

Utsavam,—Grand ceremonies.

Vela,—The lesser ceremonies.

Vilakku,—Lamp illuminations of the temple.

Tiyattu,—Ceremony of running over fire.

Bharani Vela,—Ceremony performed in the month of Kumbham under the Star Bharani.

Arattu,—Carrying the God in procession to a tank, and performing ablutions to it.

Kaliyattam,—Ceremony of singing and dancing performed by women in honour of Bhagavati.

Puram vela,—Ceremony performed in the month of Kumbham under the star Puram, the anniversary of the death of Kama or Cupid.

Daivamattam,—Dancing in the disguise of a God.

Tannir Amartu,—Offering of cakes etc., to the God.

Talappoli,—Ceremony of women carrying raw rice and flowers round the temple.

Vaikasi Visakham, and

Mahamakham,— the grand festival of 28 days celebrated once in 12 years when Jupiter enters Cancer.

"Thus in the land created by Sri Parasurama, the Brahmins should all bathe at dawn of day, and live virtuously, performing religious duties, worship and offerings of rice to the elements at the Kshetrams or holy places and Kavus (or lesser temples), and that the sorrow and the sickness which are incidental to mankind might be removed from the people, they were to cause to be performed *Iswara Sevakal* (or worship to God) by-

Homam,—Fire offering.

Dhyanam,—Meditation on the deity.

Bhagavati Seva,—Devotion to the goddess Bhagavati.

Pushpanjali,—Worship with flowers.

Andi-Namaskaram,—Prostration in the evening.

Trikala-Puja,—Worship at dawn, noon and sunset.

Ganapati Homam,—Fire sacrifice to Ganapati.

Mrityum-Japam,—Prayer or invocation in the name of Mrityu (or god of death) to avert accidents.

Munnu Laksha Sahasranamam,—The ceremony of repeating of the 1,000 names of Iswara, three lacs of times.

Brahmana Sahasra Bhojanam,—Distribution of victuals daily to a thousand Brahmins.

Maha-Mrityum Japam,—Prayer to Mrityu"*

After having ordered everything and having satisfied himself of

* Wilson's Mackenzie Collection of Oriental Manuscripts. Page 311.

the working of the various departments, Parasurama committed the Brahmins to the protection of Devendra, so that they should be in equal felicity with the inhabitants of *Devalokam*, and took leave of them, promising to them however that if anything extraordinary should happen and they collectively invoked his aid, he would immediately present himself before them. No sooner was the great hero gone, than the heads of the sixty-four villages wishing to test the promised word wantonly invoked his presence and, to their utter surprise, he presented himself before them and enquired what they wanted of him. But finding that he was invoked for no good reason, and being wroth that the Brahmins should have been so silly, he cursed them and said that they would never again unite in one place. According to tradition, the sixty-four villages have never met together since. Thus was the seed of dissension first sown in Keralam. According to the Puranas, Parasurama is still alive as one of the immortals among the Brahmin sages engaged in *Tapas* or penance on the Himalayas. He is therefore mentioned in the Puranas appearing again and again at different Yugas or epochs.

The Perumals. After the departure of Parasurama, the Brahmins became the virtual rulers of the land. They divided the land into a number of *Desams* (Cantons) and in each they erected a *Kshetram*, consecrated it and placed an image in them and performed *puja* with lamps and with the prescribed rituals. They also established *Adima* (bondage) and *Kudima* (husbandry), protected *Adiyar* (slaves) and *Kudiyar* (husbandmen) and appointed *Tara* and *Taravattukar*. They then established the privileges of their respective stations and continued the custom of Kanam and Jenmam and erected houses for the Brahmins.

They tried different systems of Government. An Oligarchy was tried first. Four villages namely:—Peryanur, Perunchallur, Parappur, and Chengannur were selected to represent the sixty-four villages and they were given authority to act in place of the whole.

The *Keralolpatti* thus describes the political organisation of this oligarchy: *—

"In this manner when sixty-four Gramams and twenty-one Desams were established, the sixty-four Gramams assembled and ordained or fixed that a *Raksha Purusha* should be elected once in three years in order to punish and protect.

"There were also appointed *Nal-kulakams* or four courts or assemblies at Panniur, Paravur, Chenganiur and Parumchellur.

* Wilson's Mackenzie Collection, Page 353.

"In order to appoint, if these Kulakams agree or concur in the election, it is sufficient; so they settled...

"Besides the said four Kulakams that were established, were four *Verna Kulakams* or assemblies of the representatives of the four castes.

1. Irungn'yani-Koda is the Brahmana Kulakam.
2. Muly-kolam is the Kshetriya Kulakam.
3. Paravur is the Vaisya Kulakam.
4. Ayerani-Kolam is the Sudra Kulakam.

"In this manner there are four Verna-kulakams or assemblies or courts representing the four castes.

"Besides the four *Avaroda Kulakams* or electing assemblies at Parumchellur, Panniur, Chenganiur and Paravur, the Gramams (or villages) of Irungn'yani-koda, Muly-kolam, Paravur, and Ayerani-kolam, determined, in order that nothing might obstruct or interrupt the daily business on that account each of the said four Gramams should have a house in the village of Kodangallur which was the seat of Government. From the village of Paravur, from the houses of Yalam Taroti, and Cadambanad; from these two houses they should keep one man in the *Nitya Taly* (or chief house or palace) who should be *Tala'yadri* and rule.

"From the village of Ayerani-kolam, from the houses of Caringumpalli and of Churuvulli, among these two they should keep one man in the ***Kil Taly*** (or lesser palace) who should be a *Kil-Tala'yadri* (inferior ruler) and rule. ... ...

"In the village of Irungn'yani-koda from the houses of Muddil or of Kodamangalam from these two houses, they should keep one man in the ***Mailtaly*** (or superior palace) who should be Tala'yadri and rule; but no married man was to be appointed to the said situation; and only old men or boys on condition of remaining unmarried might be appointed till their death.

"The sixty-four Gramams assembled thus ordered that the four Talayadrimars should act unanimous and protect and punish.

"Among the sixty-four Gramams, ten and a half villages * having taken the *Samayem* (or oath) and accepted weapons in order to protect the *Vritti* (rites), therefore the said ten and a half villages are denominated *Kulakatil-ullavar* (കുലകത്തിലുള്ളവർ) (or belonging to the Kulakam)."

While the armed Brahmins were ruling the land, it is said disputes arose and injustice ensued. So the Brahmins assembled and appointed a 'Protector' from each of the four villages selected, to hold office for three years and assign to each Protector one-sixth of all the land for the support of himself and his staff. This institution too did not work well and the people were oppressed by the Protectors, who sought to make the most of their opportunities during their short terms of office. So the Brahmins assembled at Tirunavoyy, resolved to appoint a king and empowered the four selected villages to choose a 'King'. Their first choice fell on

* These were:—

1. Paravur. 2. Muly-kolam. 3. Ayerani-kolam. 4. Wuleyanur, 5. Chenganad. 6. Tuluvanad, 7. Adavur. 8. Irangn'yani-koda. 9. Allatur. 10. Yettumanur and the half Chemmundi Gramom—thus making 10½.

"Keya Perumal" of Keyapuram in the country east of the Ghauts. He was brought to Keralam and installed as the first of the 'Perumals' in the year of Kali Era, *Bhuman bhupoyam prapya*, corresponding to A. D. 216. The dates in *Keralolpatti* and other old books are sometimes given in some such phrases generally appropriate in meaning and easy catchwords to be remembered, and which accurately represent in letters the number of the years or days of the Yuga referred to. The Hindu chronologist will read the phrase *Bhuman bhupoyam prapya* thus:—4/Bhu 5/man 4/bhu 1/po 1/yam 2/pra 1/pya, which figure when read from the right to the left gives 1,211,454 days, or divided by 365 days per year, 3,317 years of the Kali Era. Today is 5006 Kali Era. Hence according to the chronogram, the installation of the first Perumal was in A. D. 216.

It was arranged that he should rule for twelve years. The Brahmins also made an agreement with the king thus appointed, to take an oath to the following effect:— "Do that which is beyond our power to do and protect; when complaints happen to arise, we will settle them among ourselves; you are not to question us on that point. For formality's sake you may ask why we deal with affairs ourselves after making you a king." At this day even when complaints arise, the king says:— "Why do you deal with them? Why did you not make your complaint to me?" This is on account of the original oath. They also assigned lands to the king and poured water and granted that land, which is called *Viruthi* and was the Royal demesne; some estates they granted to him and some to the Brahmins themselves and some as benefices of temples to be enjoyed in Keralam.

After the Keya Perumal who ruled only eight years and four months, came the Chola and Pandya Perumals. Then comes in a tradition of the king Bhutaraya Pandy Perumal, between whom and the Brahmins there arose a bitter enmity. He was supposed to be guarded by two spirits and the Brahmins not being able to compass his destruction, one of them, it is said, assassinated him by first winning over the services of the guardian spirits. From the Brahmin thus polluted by murder the Nambidi caste arose. There is another version which says that the Perumal thus assassinated was Chola Perumal. The *Mahatmyam* says that the Pandyas invaded Kerala with an army of Bhutathans (spirits) and that Parasurama addressed the Bhutarajan angrily thus:—"Your arrival at my country is in vain. I have given it over to King Aditya Varma." Mr. Logan, the author of the *Malabar Manual*, says that this seems to refer to the Chola king of this name who

according to present knowledge overran a large part of South India about 494 A. D. The Bhuta army was defeated and the boundary of Kerala was fixed at Bhutapandi, where Parasurama is said to have accosted the invaders. This village of Bhutapandi lies in the extreme south of Travancore.

To prevent the king from becoming despotic, he was subordinated to the authority of the heads of four villages of Ernakulam, Irinjalacode, Mushikakode and Parur. About this time, the northern thirty-two gramams seceded from the southern group and under the orders of the king, the southern gramams were re-arranged. The northern group living north of the Perumpuzha river formed the Tulu Nambis.

Some time after, for what reasons and under what circumstances it is not stated, the Nambudiris brought a new king, Bana Perumal, from Banapuram in the east and installed him at Kodungalur (Cranganore). During his reign the Mahomedan missionaries came to his kingdom and explained to him the doctrines of the *Bauddha-Sastram* and were able to persuade him that it was the true faith. It is said the Perumal himself was converted. The Brahmins being much perplexed at this went to Tirukariur, where they remained for some time. Then by the grace of God, a great Rishi called Jangama came there to whom they declared their grievances. The Maharishi taught them the form of purification and urged upon them to place lamps after sunset and to make *Pradakshinam* round the lamps and to worship, dressed in the *Tarru* and the *Melmundu*, putting on the *Pavitram* and holding the *Karam-dulu*, a kind of grass; he also imparted to them the principal hymn in the Sama Veda, which consisted of four Padams; when in this manner they daily prayed, six Sastries came from Paradesam, who were given an opportunity to discuss with the Mahomedan missionaries. It is said that these scholars were so successful in their disputations that, according to the terms agreed upon, the tongues of the discomfited Mahomedans were cut off and they were banished from the country. The apostate Perumal who was called Pallibana Perumal was set aside and was granted a separate estate to live in; and another Perumal being appointed in his place after a reign of four years, it is said, he (Bana Perumal) went to Mecca. This Perumal was most probably a convert to Buddhism, not Mahomedanism, as the vernacular word *Bauddha-matam* may mean either Mahomedanism or Buddhism. The conversion here referred to must have been to Buddhism.

"The next Perumal was Kulasekhara Perumal from the Pandya country. He built his palace in the Mushika province, introduced Kshatriya families, and

organised the country, it is said, into small chieftainships to protect it against the Mappilas. He is also credited with having introduced the study of sciences into the Malayali country, for the Malayali Brahmins were, it is said, ignorant of sciences up to this time.....Kulasekhara Perumal reigned for eighteen years and went to heaven with his body *in the Purudismasrayam* year of the Kaliyuga, or in A. D. 333, so it is said." *

This Kulasekhara Perumal was probably the king of Kerala, who lived in the Eraniel Palace in South Travancore, where exists a local tradition that he went *Kuttodu Swargam*, i. e., to heaven with his mortal coil. A royal bedroom with daily *Puja* and lights burning before a stone cot in the Eraniel Palace attest this fact to this day. The sovereigns of Travancore are to this day known as Kulasekhara Perumals. The Bhagavati temple at Tiruvanchikulam is said to have come into existence in the same year. This Kulasekhara, it is also said, is the "Kulasekhara Alwar", one of the Vaishnava Saints, who is said to have composed a portion of the *Nalayira Prabandham* or *Tiruvoy-mozhi* in Tamil and the celebrated *Mukunda Mala* in praise of God Padmanabha in Sanskrit.

After the reign of this Kulasekhara Perumal, the Brahmins again organised themselves into an arms-bearing guild in order to protect the country. In 428 A. D. they sent a deputation to Anagumte Krishna Rayar† requesting him to send them a king for twelve years. But this new king was suffered to reign for thirty-six years and the Brahmins were so pleased with his rule that they wished to have a race of good Kshatriyas from him. Another Kshatriya, a woman, was sent for, and her two sons were given the kingdoms of Mushika and Tulu. About this time three women, one Kshatriya and two Sudras, were stranded in a boat off Mount Deli. The Perumal took them all to wife. This tradition relates undoubtedly to the northern Kolattiri family, the most ancient seat of this family having been at this particular king's house under Mount Deli. The *Keralolpatti* relates a matrimonial alliance having been formed between a prince of Kolattiri and a lady of the Zamorin's house.

Mr. Logan observes:—

"The more powerful the family of the lady was, the more likelihood there was of the provision for leading to the founding of a dynasty and to its semi-independence of the main-parent stock. It is not at all improbable therefore that the northern Kolattiris are descended from a matrimonial alliance between the last of the Kerala Perumals and a lady of the stock of the great southern feudatory,

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. I. Page 230.

† This reference to Krishna Raya, a king of the Vijayanagar dynasty who flourished 1508-1530 A. D., is clearly an anachronism; it is accounts like this that tend to greatly mar the otherwise valuable historical truths contained in traditions.

the Travancore (South Kolattiri) Rajas. The two families have always observed pollution, when deaths occurred in their respective houses, and as a matter of fact the southern family would have ceased to exist long ago but for the adoption of heirs on several occasions from the northern family".*

After this king (Krishna Rayar's Viceroy) had reigned for thirty-six years, the country was invaded by Krishna Rayar himself or according to another account by a Pandya king. The last of such Perumals divided his kingdom among his friends and relatives.

Such is the account given by the *Keralolpatti*,—a treatise, the statements in which however should be taken *cum grano salis*, for it is only, after all, a collection of the best available materials known to the people of Malabar more than a century ago. It is not a document therefore which could be subjected to a severe critical scrutiny. The main incidents may however be relied upon.

We find there were twenty-five Perumals in all, who ruled for two hundred and twelve years, i. e., from 216 A. D. to 428 A. D. During this period, the country was ruled at short intervals by Viceroys from the Chera, Pandya and Chola kingdoms, appointed by turns by whichever power was most influential at the time of the appointment. The first and last Perumals bear one common name, Cheraman Perumal, though they are also specifically known as Cheraman Keralan and Bhaskara Ravi Varma. According to other accounts, Cheraman Perumal was more a title than a name, and was applied to all the Perumals alike.

No clear indentification of the Perumals or of their dates seems to be possible. The Perumals are spoken of in certain places as viceroys and in others as independent kings. Shungoonny Menon, the historian of Travancore, makes the two sets of Perumals co-exist. He says that Vira Kerala Varma, who was crowned in 311 A. D., as the first Emperor of Keralam, closed his earthly career during the viceroyalty of Cheraman Perumal. According to the *Keralolpatti*, Keya Perumal began to rule in 21 A. D., and the last Perumal died in 428 A. D. Thus in the middle of the so-called Perumal period (216—428 A. D.), comes this "Emperor of Keralam" who performed *Tulapurushadanam* and *Hiranyagarbham* and obtained the title of Kulasekhara Perumal. If there were two Perumals all along, it is not clear whose viceroys were the superior Perumals and whose the inferior Perumals. Mr. Logan does not believe in the two sets of Perumals.

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. I, Page 235.

Mr. Logan assuming that the Perumal period lasted till 825 A. D., makes a Cheraman Perumal (the last) a Mahomedan, and gives the inscription on his tomb in Arabia where he is said to have died while returning from Mecca. In support of this statement he writes:—"It is a noteworthy circumstance in this connection that even now-a-days that Travancore Maharajas on receiving the sword at their coronations have still to declare:—"I will keep this sword until the uncle who has gone to Mecca returns". This statement, founded as it is on Mateer's *Native life in Travancore*, is clearly incorrect. The Travancore Maharajahs have never made any such declaration at their coronations, when they received the sword of State from God Sri Padmanabha. The Valia Koil Tampuran (M. R. Ry. Kerala Varma Avl., C. S. I.) writing to His Highness the present Maharajah some years ago received the following reply dated 10th April 1891:—"I do not know where Mr. Logan got this information; but no such declaration as mentioned in the *Malabar Manual* was made by me when I received the State Sword at Sri Padmanabha Swamy's Pagoda. I have not heard of any such declaration having been made by former Maharajahs."

Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon in a recent article in the *Malabar Quarterly Review*, denies the statement that the last of the Cheraman Perumals became a convert to Islam or undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, but believes that he lived and died a devout Hindu. The legend is evidently the result of the mixing up of the early Buddhistic conversion of Bana, one of the Perumals, and of the much later Mahomedan conversion of one of the Zamorin Rajahs of Calicut, who claimed to have derived his authority from the last Perumal. The Hindu account simply states that Cheraman Perumal after the distribution of the Empire among his friends, vassals and dependants, went to Mecca on a pilgrimage and died there a Mahomedan saint. The Mahomedan account embodied in the *Keralolpatti* narrates that after the distribution of his kingdom, the Perumal secretly embarked on board a Moorish vessel from Cranganore, and cleverly eluding his pursuers landed at Sahar Mukhal in the Arabian coast, that he had an interview with the Prophet then in his 57th year, and was ordained by him under the name of *Thia-uj-uddien*—'the crown of the faith', that he married Regiat the sister of the Arabian king and after having lived happily for five years, undertook a journey to Malabar for the spread of Islam, but died of ague at Sahar Mukhal where his remains were interred in a mosque he had himself erected. The history of Zeiruddeen Mukkadom, an Arab Egyptian and a subject of the Turkish Empire of the 15th Century, says that certain dervishes from Arabia on

their way from Adam's Peak in Ceylon touched at Cranganore and imparted to the Emperor the then recent miracle of Mahomed having divided the moon, that the Emperor was so affected by that instance of supernatural power and captivated by the fervid representations of those enthusiasts that he abandoned all, for the sake of proceeding with them to Arabia to have an opportunity of conversing with the Prophet, that the latter dignified him with the title of Sultan or *Tauje ul Herid* and that after sojourning with the Prophet for some time and addressing recommendatory letters to the Chiefs of Malabar in favour of his Mussalman brethren, he died on his way to his own land on the first day of the 5th year of the Hejira (16th July 622 A. D.). *

Sheikh Zinuddin, the author of the *Tahafat-ul-Mujahidin*, says that there is but little truth in the account of the Perumal's conversion to Islam. The Arab merchant, Suliman (851 A. D.), "who wrote with knowledge as he evidently visited the countries he wrote about", says expressly that in Malabar he did not know any one of either nation (Chinese or Indian) that had embraced Mahomedanism or spoken Arabic. None of the early travellers or geographers whether Mahomedan, Christian or Jew have left us any record of the legend. Abdur Razzak who was sent in 1442 A. D. by the Shah of Persia failed in his mission of converting the Zamorin. He too does not mention the legend at all. Mr. Logan says:—"At Zaphar in the Arabian Coast lies buried Abdul Rahiman Samuri, a king of Malabar. The inscription on his tombstone says that he arrived at the place in 212 A. H. and there died 216 A. H. (828 A. D.)". This statement is founded upon news given by an Arab merchant and Mr. Logan seems to believe that this may be the last Cheraman Perumal. As Mr. Padmanabha Menon observes, "it is not correct to accept the unverified statement of an irresponsible Arab merchant to prove the existence of the Perumal's tomb and the alleged inscription on it". The Mahomedan historian Ferishta has no doubt as to the Malabar king who embraced Islamism and says that a Zamorin turned Mahomedan and undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca. The Zamorins have frequently been confounded with the Perumals. Other accounts go to show that the Perumal turned a Buddhist, a Jaina or Saivite. Shungoonny Menon says:—"The last Cheraman Perumal closed his worldly career at Tiruvanchikulam; the traditional account is that he disappeared suddenly from his residence". In the 'Vellanai Sargam', *Periya Puranam*,

* Asiatic Researches, Vol. V Art. 1. But in the Madras journal of Literature and Science, O. S. No. 20 Page 35, it is stated that Zeiruddeen Mukkadam denounces the story of the pilgrimage to Mecca as unfounded

the last of the legends refers to the mysterious disappearance of a Chera Prince from the Capital. It is stated that the Saiva saint Sundarar departed from the earth, ascended the celestial elephant which waited upon him and started on his travels to the abode of the celestials, without even taking leave of his Royal friend. Tha latter unable to bear the separation mounted on his steed and uttered a mantra in its ears, which enabled it to ascend in the air and overtake the Paradisiacal pachyderm. The minister and generals beholding the miraculous scene shook off their mortal coils and followed the king. *

According to one account, Cheraman Perumal had three wives and had sons and nephews seventeen in number, and is said to have handed over the charge of Travancore to his eldest son by his third wife, one Vira Kerala Varma who was installed as king in Kali year 3412 ‡ or 311 A. D., and the other places up to Gokarnam to his other sons and nephews. This Vira Kerala Varma had an only sister, whose sons succeeded to the musnud of Travancore after him. Vira Kerala Varma was the first sovereign of Travancore who celebrated the *Tulapurushadanam* ceremony or the weighing against gold, which gold was subsequently distributed among Brahmins. Pachu Muthathu, another writer on Travancore, says that the kingdom of Travancore was established under the auspices of Cheraman Perumal, which kingdom was bounded on the north by Edawa, east by the Pannivoykal and on the south and west by sea. But evidence exists to show that Travancore was under a ruling Prince at the time of the advent of the Perumals and that Cheraman Perumal was the name of the Viceroy sent out to Keralam or South Chera by the King of Chera himself. It will be found from the *Keralolpatti* that the Travancore and Kolathunad dynasties were in existence during the rule of these Cheramans and that they had recognised them. The ancient copper-plate grants to the Christians and Jews, which were made by three of the Cheraman Perumals, including the last Perumal, Bhaskara Ravi Varma, show that the Perumals considered the King of Travancore the first sovereign in Keralam so much so that he was mentioned as the first power to witness their deeds. One of them, Stanu Ravi Gupta, even goes the length of saying that the deed was executed with the sanction of the Travancore king. One of these deeds was executed in Kali 3331, corresponding to A. D. 230, i. e., fourteen years after the commencement of the Perumal period. Hence the statement regarding the division of Kerala by the last Perumal is without foundation. As Dr. Gundert remarks:—

* Prof. Sundaram Pillay in the Indian Antiquary for May 1897.

‡ The chronogram gives *Rajya bhogam* which is transliterated into Kali year 3412.

"That whole part of the Keralolpatti in which the present dynasties of Malayalam are represented as dating their origin from the last Perumal's distribution of the country is fully disproved by this and the Jewish document; and the relation of the Kerala Mahatmyam, according to which several families were placed here and there by Parasurama for the purpose of protecting certain temples and Brahmin villages, comes much nearer the truth if we understand by Parasurama the old time of Brahminical rule."

From the conflicting accounts of Cheraman Perumals and Kulasekhara Perumals appearing simultaneously in all the authorities on the ancient history of Kerala, one fact may be certainly inferred viz., that the Kulasekhara Perumals, whose modern representatives the Travancore Maharajahs are, did not owe their kingdom to the last Cheraman Perumal who died in 428 A. D., and who is said to have partitioned his kingdom among his sons, nephews and dependants. The weight of evidence goes to prove that the Kulasekhara Perumals who ruled the southern portion of Kerala existed, if not from the first day of the installation of the first Cheraman Perumal, at any rate as soon as the rule of the Cheraman Perumals was established in Keralam. The Kulasekhara Perumals rose to such importance during the Perumal period in Malabar that they were asked to attest documents and grants made by the Cheramans themselves, and on one occasion the Cheraman Perumal of the day was invited as a guest to witness the *Hiranyagarbham* and *Tulapurushadanam* ceremonies of one of the Kulasekhara Perumals in South Kerala. It is quite possible that in the never-ending wars of those days between neighbouring powers, Chera, Chola and Pandya Kings might have by turns appointed Viceroys of their own to rule over the different divisions of Chera, one of whom might have stuck to the southernmost portion, called differently at different times, by the names of Mushika-Khandom, Kupa-Khandom, Venad, Tiruppapur, Tiru-adidesam or Tiruvitancode, at first as an ally or tributary of the senior Cheraman Perumal—titular emperor of the whole of Chera—but subsequently as an independent ruler himself. This is the history of the whole of India during the time of the early Hindu kings or under the Moghul Empire. The history of every district in Southern India bears testimony to a similar state of affairs. The Nawab of Tinnevelly was nominally the agent of the Nawab of Arcot, who was himself ruling the Carnatic in the name of the Delhi Padisha; but beyond a mere name there was nothing in the relationship showing real obedience to a graded or central Imperial authority. The Nawab of Tinnevelly himself coexisted with scores of independent Poligars all over the District, collecting their own taxes, building their own forts, levying and drilling their own

troops of war, their chief recreation consisting in the plundering of innocent ryots all over the country or molesting their neighbouring Poligars. The same story was repeated throughout all the States under the Great Moghul. In fact never before in the history of India has there been one dominion for the whole of the Indian continent from the Himalayas to the Cape, guided by one policy, owing allegiance to one sovereign-power and animated by one feeling of patriotism to a common country, as has been seen since the consolidation of the British power in India a hundred years ago. "It is the power of the British sword," as has been well observed, "which secures to the people of India the great blessings of peace and order which were unknown through many weary centuries of turmoil, bloodshed and pillage before the advent of the Briton in India". Neither according to tradition nor in recorded history has such a phenomenon been known before. The ancient epics of India often speak of the kings of fifty-six *Rajyams* * (States) having been invited for the *Swayamvara* marriages of Kshatriya ladies or to witness the great sacrifices such as the *Rajasuyam* or the *Aswamedha-yagam* of Yudhishtira. These fifty-six rulers evidently were the Rajahs of note in those days; but to my mind there must have been at the time at least two thousand Princes ‡ throughout the Indian continent more or less independent of each other and ruling over small States aggregating in the main the area embraced by the British Indian Empire of today. In this wise, the existence of a race of Kulasekhara Perumals in independent sway over South Kerala may be taken as an undoubted historical fact.

The antiquity of Keralam. Keralam was known to the Aryans from very ancient days. The age of Kerala is difficult to determine, but that it is as old as any of the Puranic kingdoms referred to in the ancient Indian epics is undoubtedly established. After Rama and Sugriva (the monkey king) became friends, the latter sent his emissaries in quest

* These 56 Kingdoms were:—

1. Casmira. 2. Nepala. 3. Kosala. 4. Camboja. 5. Panchala. 6. Simhala. 7. Anga. 8. Kalinga. 9. Kamarupa. 10. Sauvira. 11. Kuroo. 12. Bhoja. 13. Videha. 14. Valmika. 15. Kekaya. 16. Vanga. 17. Sourashtra. 18. Punnadaga. 19. Parpara. 20. Kuluntha. 21. Surasena. 22. Dangana. 23. Martha. 24. Saindhava. 25. Purashara. 26. Pandhara. 27. Saliva. 28. Kudaka. 29. Nishadha. 30. Thoorka. 31. Durga. 32. Marda. 33. Poundra. 34. Magadha. 35. Chedi. 36. Maharashtra. 37. Gandhara. 38. Karnataka. 39. Dravida. 40. Kukkada. 41. Lata. 42. Malava. 43. Magara. 44. Dasarna. 45. Ottiya. 46. Bachu. 47. Yavana. 48. Baguvane. 49. Konkana. 50. Kashyva. 51. Dungana. 52. Latcha. 53. Chola. 54. Pandya. 55. Chera. 56. Kerala.

‡ Mr. M. M. Kunte in his admirable Essay on 'The vicissitudes of Aryan civilization in India' remarks, "The general tendency of the Kshatriyas was to develop into princes, whose right to the throne was hereditary. But a prince might own only a castle, some land for pasturage, a number of cattle, and some followers, and might rule over a few miles only. Every Kshatriya was a Raja".

of Sita, Rama's lost queen, to search all over India and Ceylon. Keralam or Chera, as it was then called, was one of the kingdoms included in that search. Sugriva commanded his messengers, says Valmiki,

"Seek and search the southern regions, rock and ravine, wood and tree.
... ...
Search the empire of the Andhras, of the sister nations three,
Cholas, Cheras and the Pandyas dwelling by the southern sea." †

Again Mahendragiri, a lofty peak in the extreme south of Travancore Ghauts is referred to in the Ramayana as the point of the mountain from which Hanuman jumped over to Lanka. The Ramayana is estimated by scholars to be about 3,000 years old, but the exploits of Rama were surely of an earlier date. In popular estimation they are several thousand years older. In the Mahabharata too, which Purana is said to be an earlier * composition than the Ramayana, mention is made of Balarama's (Balabhadrarama or Rama of the plough) tours to the sacred shrines of Cape Comorin and Janardanam (modern Varkala), both situated in modern Travancore. The ruler of Kerala was one of the kings conquered by Sahadeva long before the eighteen days' war of the *Bharata-yudham*; the Mahabharata also refers to the inhabitants of Kerala as "forest-dwellers". In the *Haricamsa*, a section of the Mahabharata, mention is made of the Cholas and Keralas. Another episode related in the Mahabharata is that of Vishaya and Chandrahasa, son of a Kerala king and ruler of Kuntala which is situated in the furthest extremity of the Deccan, in the country where camphor is collected. Again in the fourth book of Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa* (a book quite as old as the Christian Era), reference is made to a conquering tour by Raghu, remote ancestor of Rama, who is said to have passed from Oudh down the eastern coast to the country of the Pandyas and then returned north by Keralam and the west coast. Keralam is also mentioned in the Vayu, the Matsya and the Markandeya Puranas and in the Bhagavata, the Padma and the Skanda Puranas. Some of the remarkable vegetable and animal productions of the Malabar Coast have been known to the western nations even at so early a period as the time of Solomon (1000 B. C.). In the Old Testament we find the following:—"For the king had at sea a navy of Tarshish bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes and peacocks"; with the exception perhaps of silver, these were all productions of the Malabar Coast and the biblical name for peacock, *tuki*, is evidently the Tamil-Malayalam, *tokai*, the bird of the tail. Again Herodotus mentions that the Red

† Ramayana - R. C. Dutt.

* The common belief is that the Mahabharata is later than the Ramayana, but the opinion of Oriental scholars is otherwise - and that is the one relied upon in the text.

Sea trade in frankincense, myrrh and cinnamon and cassia (the two latter being Malabar products) was in the hands of the Egyptians and the Phœnicians.

Kerala was also known to Katyayana (1st half of the 4th century B. C.) and Patanjali (150 B. C.), though Panini (beginning of the 7th† century B. C.) does not mention it. The second and the thirteenth edicts of Asoka, which were promulgated in the 3rd century B. C., refer to the realms of Keralaputra. Strabo in 20 A. D. gives an account of an embassy sent by the Pandyan ruler probably from the west coast, to the Emperor Augustus. There is no doubt of the fact that Roman gold poured largely into the country at this time. In the coin collection of the Maharajah's palace at Trivandrum, three are 9 Aurei of Augustus' coinage, 28 of Tiberius, 2 of Caligula, 16 of Claudius, and 16 of Nero. Bishop Caldwell writes:—

"The earliest Roman coins found in India are those of the Emperor Augustus. A large number of Roman Imperial *aurei* (gold coins) were found some years ago on the Malabar coast; upwards of thirty types of which, commencing with the earlier coins of Augustus and including some of Nero, were described by me in a paper printed at Trivandrum in 1851 by the Maharaja of Travancore, to whom the coins belonged." *

Pliny (1st century A. D.) refers to the ruler of Kerala as Calabothros, and mentions Muziris (identified by Dr. Caldwell with Cranganore) as his capital. Ptolemy and the author of Periplus also refer to Kerabothros; Periplus refers to the land of Kerobothros as Limurike, and Ptolemy (2nd century A. D.) mentions Karoura as the capital of Limurike, which Dr. Caldwell shows to represent the Tamil-Malayalam country. They also mention a district called Paralia on the west coast of India, which Professor Wilson takes to be probably a wrong rendering of Keralia. Burnell and Yule agree in identifying Paralia with Purali, the old name for Travancore, from which the Travancore kings have got the title *Puralisa* i. e., the lord of Purali. Again towards the end of the 4th century A. D., Kerala is referred to in the famous Gupta inscription on the Allahabad Lat of Asoka, where Samudragupta is mentioned as capturing and reducing Mantara, King of Kerala. Varaha Mihira, the great Hindu astronomer (who lived about the year 550 A. D.) notices in his *Brihatsamhita* both the country and the people by the names of Kerala and Kairalakas, and mentions Baladevapattanam and Marichipattanam as important towns in Kerala. Kern, Varaha Mihira's translator, identifies these places with

† This is according to Prof. Goldstucker. But Professors Bohtling, Weber and Eggeling assign to Panini the 4th century B. C.

* History of Tinnevelly. Page 22.

the Baliapattana and the Muziris of Ptolemy and other Greek geographers respectively. It is shown from the inscriptions and copper-plate documents of the Western Chalukya dynasty that almost for five hundred years after this, the Chalukyan kings made temporary conquests of Kerala. In the Mahakuta inscription of Mangalesa (567 to 610 A. D.), we are told of the victories of his predecessor Kirti Varma I (489 to 567 A. D.) over the kings of Kerala, Mushaka †&c., which Mushaka is identified by Professor Monier Williams with that part of the Malabar coast lying between Quilon and Cape Comorin. Again Pulakesi II (610-634 A. D.), after conquering Kanchipura, invaded the country of the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralas and defeated them. Vinayaditya, grandson of Pulakesi in the 11th and 14th years of his reign, (692—695 A. D), completely subjugated the Keralas in the South. § Vinayaditya's grandson, Vikramaditya II (whose reign according to Dr. Burnell began in A. D. 733), claims to have fought with the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralas, and reduced them. By the grant dated 758 A. D. of Kirti Varma II, son of Vikramaditya, we see that he resided at a place called Jayamambha situated on the shore of the southern ocean, after "withering up Pandya, Chola, Kerala, Kalbhra and other kings ¶."

A certain king called Govinda VI of the Rashtrakuta dynasty claims to have conquered the Keralas. He reigned about A. D. 803 to 814-15*. Again Bilhana in his *Vikrama Deva Charitam* says, that Vikrama, who reigned between 1008 and 1018 A. D., first marched against the Keralas and conquered them.

Early European and Mahomedan travellers give also accounts of Keralam and its people.

The Phœnicians visited the coast of Malabar in 1000 B. C. in quest of ivory, sandalwood and spices.

The Greek ambassador Megasthenes in his account of ancient India refers to the Nayars of Malabar and the kingdom of Chera. He also speaks of the fact that female sovereigns ruled the southern people.

Eratosthenes, who lived in the 3rd century B. C., is the first foreign writer who mentions Cape Comorin.

St. Thomas one of the Apostles came to preach the Gospel in Malabar in 52 A. D.

† Indian Antiquary, Vol. XIX. Page 7.
§ Ibid Vol. VII. Page 209.
¶ Ibid Vol. VII. Page 23.
* Ibid Vol. II. Page 61.

Kona Thoma (Thomas Cana) a missionary, is said to have visited the coast in 345 A. D.

Zera Jabus, the Nestorian Patriarch who died in 660 A. D., speaks of Quilon and in 824 A. D., two Nestorian Persians settled in Quilon with a large following.

Omitting details of accounts on the later history of Travancore of which due mention will be made in the next section of this chapter, these references will, I think, suffice to show an almost unbroken chain of authorities proving the antiquity of Kerala.

As regards native chronology, said to be so proverbially inaccurate, it need only be stated that local traditions of the oldest portion of Chera Mandala or South Travancore make the Dravidian dynasty of that country coeval with the origin of the world. Tradition apart, according to Rev. William Taylor, the nearest conjecture that can be formed regarding the age of Parasurama is that he lived some time within the thousandth year after the flood. He thinks that there must have been a great retiring of the mass of waters from the Northern Hemisphere during the period within 500 to 1,000 years after the flood, and a similar retiring of waters must have taken place at the same time in the west coast also, the low lands of which had evidently been raised from beneath the sea-level by subterranean forces. †

The Sanskrit Puranic writers and the Ceylon Buddhists and the local traditions of the west coast, all indicate in different ways a great disturbance on the point of the Peninsula and Ceylon within recent times. The date of Noah's deluge has been given by English theologians as 2348 B. C., and that given by Ceylon Buddhists to the latest submergence in the region of Ceylon is 2387 B. C. The two results could not have been hit at by mutual knowledge. So according to Rev. Taylor, the latest date of Parasurama's reclamation of Kerala will be about 4,200 years ago. Even this of course is too recent a date in the estimation of orthodox Hindu tradition.

Hindu scholars incline to the belief that the Vedic Aryans must have had a wonderful era of peace and security from foreign aggression for about 5,000 * years before the invasion of India by Alexander of Macedon. This gives a period of about 7,600 years to the first Aryan colonisation in the north-west of India. It appears to me that western scholars often

† Translations of Historical Manuscripts, Vol II. Page 65.

* Address by Mr. M. Rangacharya M. A. on 'Indian Loyalty.'

err in their calculations about Hindu dates, relying solely on copper-plate documents and stone-inscriptions, as if the peopling of a kingdom or a continent went only *pari passu* with such symbols of later civilisation as copper-plates or stone-inscriptions. If we note the marvellous progress in the colonisation of America since its discovery by Columbus in 1492 A. D., which period of about 400 years is only a speck of time according to all known calculations of Hindu chronologists, and if we also note how quickly population has pressed and squeezed itself within the last half a century into all available nooks and corners of India in the mad desire to possess land, making one fear that one's grand-children may scarcely have elbow-room to stand upon, it is not a bold statement to make that within a thousand years after the first Aryan set his foot in the Punjab, the whole continent from the Himalayas to the Cape must have been more or less peopled. The fact has nothing to do with the dates when the oldest Indian Epics were written or when the feats of Rama and Krishna recorded therein took place. I would therefore give Kerala an age of about 6,500 † years at least—an inference which should incline one to a greater belief in the oral traditions extant than in the learned deductions of scholars.

Concluding remarks. It is not at present possible to say how much of the foregoing narrative may be relied upon as perfectly authentic The following facts however are generally accepted.

The land of Kerala was within historic period reclaimed from the sea; probably the upheaval was due to volcanic action. The *Keralolpatti* mentions the quaking and shaking of the land and the quaking is said to have been stopped by Parasurama's divine powers. Apart from the legend that surrounds the great Brahmin hero, Parasurama was undoubtedly the leader of the earliest Aryan colony into South West India.

He created a separate military caste from among his Brahmin colonists and ordained them to rule his new land; when they found they could not, he helped them to secure one or two Kshatriya rulers from the other coast. The necessity for division of labour, which all authorities agree was the main basis of the caste distinctions in India, thus showed itself in ancient Kerala as it did more clearly in later times. There was evidently good authority for Parasurama's Brahmins receiving instruction

† The age of Kerala herein fixed is, if at all, far below the mark, for a Nambudiri friend of mine 76 years old and a well-known Adhyan of Vaikam Taluq in North Travancore tells me that his Illam has stood there for about 2,000 years. They had originally settled near Guruvayur before they came to Vaikam and he cannot say how long they were there. Thus it is clear that the peopling of Kerala could not have been on this side of 6,500 years.

in the arts of war and bearing arms, "if we only remember the fact that both Viswamitra and Jamadagni were Vedic Rishis; and they bore arms and composed hymns, when Kshatriyas and Brahmins, as such, were unknown." As Mr. R. C. Dutt observes, a great historical truth underlies the story of Parasurama killing whole families of Kshatriyas, thus confirming the spirit of rivalry which seems to have existed from times of yore between the priestly and the warrior classes, the first indications of which are observable even in the Upanishads.*

After Parasurama, the Brahmin colonists tried several devices at government. At first a form of republic among themselves was adopted, then an oligarchy, then a rule of elected Protectors chosen from four of the premier villages, then a series of foreign princes known as Cheraman Perumals brought to rule over them for cycles of twelve years; and then a permanent ruler was made of the last Cheraman Perumal so brought, before whose time, however, had already come into existence the race of Kulasekhara Perumals in Travancore.

The Aryan invaders from the north-west of India had by this time advanced considerably into the interior parts of the Peninsula, migrating into distant Kerala also where they had mingled with the first Dravidian inhabitants of the east coast. But these Dravidians themselves had already come under the influence of the serpent-worshippers of the north.

Then came the Jaina and the Buddhistic waves of evangelisation, that have left lasting traces all over South India. There are Buddhistic temples in Travancore, now converted into Hindu places of worship, Buddhism itself having been entirely absorbed by the Brahmins into their own faith. At a much earlier date the Brahmins had peopled Keralam and acquired sovereign powers there, as they did in all the other places of the continent they had passed through.

Next came the gigantic Saivite movement propagated by the Tamil saints and latterly by Sri Sankaracharya himself. Lastly came the early Christians and the followers of Mahomet. These successive waves of religious colonisation probably account for the different versions given of the conversion of one of the Cheraman Perumals, for every proselytising religion was responsible then, as now, not only for the *quantity* of its conversions but for the *quality* as well of its converts—by which standard was often judged the value of the work done by its propagandists. But

* Ancient India, Vol. I. Page 212.

Hinduism is still the dominant faith in Travancore, in spite of its being the only mass material in the country for the promulgators of the different religious persuasions to work upon.

The law of nepotism, the system of hierarchy well defined, the perfect cleanliness of the places of worship and the rigidity of the caste-scruples observed in them, the peculiar institution of marriage allowing considerable freedom to both parties in the choice and change of partners, the superior educational status of the women, the scrupulous neatness and attention paid to all matters of personal hygiene by the true Malayali population, the proud Jenmi-tenure of the Brahmins, the living in isolated homesteads with extensive premises round them, respect to elders and to authority more formally expressed, less loquaciousness as a race, the front tuft, the wearing of the cloth and the nature of the cloth itself both among men and women, the altered language and scores of different *Acharams*, are all landmarks still distinguishing the colonists of Parasurama from the inhabitants of the old country beyond the Ghauts.

SECTION B—EARLY HISTORY.

" History, which is, indeed, little more than the register of the crimes, follies and misfortunes of mankind."

Gibbon.

PART I (UP TO 1100 A. D.).

It has already been shown that Travancore is a very ancient kingdom. Its *early* history as narrated in this section comprises a period of about twenty centuries; but owing to meagreness of material this period is passed under a rapid review leaving it to the future historian to compile fuller account as the researches into Epigraphy and other sources make possible.

From early times India carried on an extensive foreign trade and the Malabar coast from Gokarnam to Cape Comorin, with its rivers and its land communications by the lagoons which run parallel to the coastline, was a convenient destination for the small vessels which crossed from the Arabian or African shore in search of the pepper, the spices and the ivory to be obtained here. At this early period Indian merchants sailed to Arabia and China and it is said that Hindu colonies were planted in Africa and Arabia and that a powerful Hindu empire arose in Java and the Spice Islands. Mr. Kennedy is of opinion that the men who thus sailed from India were the Dravidians of the south and were not the Aryan immigrants from the north.

The Earliest Traders (B. C. 1000—300). The Phœnicians visited the coast of Malabar about 1000 B. C., in search of ivory, sandalwood and spices. They were the first intermediaries between the East and the West. Even before 1000 B. C., they were the sole masters of the Mediterranean and had founded colonies on the Atlantic coast and in Britain. The Jews on the east coast of the Mediterranean early noticed the enormous profits made by their neighbours (the Phœnicians) and wished to emulate their successes. For this purpose, commercial treaties were entered into between Hiram, king of Tyre, and Kings David and Solomon. About 1000 B. C., Solomon, King of Israel, fitted out a commercial fleet manned by the Phœnicians to Tarshish and Ophir. Dr. Burnell thinks that the last mentioned place (Ophir) should be somewhere in Malabar or Travancore. This is most probably the sea-coast village of

Puvar in the Neyyattinkara Taluq, now the seat of a large Mahomedan population, partly a fishing but mostly a trading one. Some of the articles carried by Solomon's ships from Malabar were peacocks, sandalwood, gold, ivory and apes. The Phœnicians had the monopoly of the eastern trade from these early times until the destruction of Tyre by Alexander in B. C. 332. Their ships sailed from Malabar with Indian articles to a port in the southern part of the Red Sea whence they were conveyed by land to Phinoculara, the port on the Mediterranean nearest to the Red Sea. From this place goods were re-shipped to Tyre and then distributed to the Phœnician trading centres." The port which they frequented on the Malabar coast was probably Cranganore.*

"There is abundant reason to suppose that the early Hindoos were not altogether disinclined to a seafaring life and that the aversion they now evince is only a later development fostered by the influence of Brahminism. Judging from the traces of colonies in Arabia and elsewhere and especially in the island of Socottra at the mouth of the Gulf of Aden, we are constrained to conclude that the Hindoos had at an early period of their existence sailed out of India and formed settlements at distant places. The Malayalees themselves seemed to have formed colonies in Arabia, and Strabo (about A. D. 20) mentions an hereditary caste division in Arabia Felix, as well as a community of property and women in the several families quite similar to those of the Nairs of Malabar." ‡

In the time of Herodotus (484—413 B. C.), the trade with India was in the hands of the Egyptians and the Phœnicians. About 500 B. C., Scylax, a Greek sent by Darius, had voyaged home by sea from the mouth of the Indus.

Early Greek Accounts (300 B. C.—150 A. D.). Megasthenes (306—289 B. C.), the Greek ambassador of the Grecko-Bactrian kingdom at the court of Chandragupta, writes in his description of Ancient India, "Next follow the *Narœ* enclosed by the loftiest of the Indian mountains, Capitalia.....The poorer king of the *Charmæ* has but 60 elephants, and his force is otherwise insignificant." According to Wigram, Megasthenes' *Narœ* refers to the Nayars of Malabar, *Capitalia* is the Camel's Hump which is 6,000 feet in height and a conspicuous landmark for mariners and *Charmæ* is the kingdom of Chera. Megasthenes also alludes to the fact that the southern people were ruled by queens, probably the female sovereigns of Attungal, by which name the Ranis of Travancore are still known.

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* Mr. K. Padmanabhan Tampi's lecture on "Early Accounts of Travancore and Malabar."

‡ Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon's paper in the Madras Review on "Malabar as known to the Ancients."

Eratosthenes who lived about 276 B. C. is the first foreign writer who mentions Cape Comorin. He thought India lay east to west.

The second and thirteenth edicts of the Emperor Priyadarsin or Asoka (257 B. C.) contain special references to the king of Chera or Kerala. "In all the subjugated territories of King *Priyadarsi*, the beloved of the Gods, and also in the bordering countries (*Pratyanta*) as *Chola, Palaya Satyaputra, Keralaputra, Tambapani*, it is proclaimed....." It is quite clear from this that Kerala existed as an independent kingdom at the time of the edicts (257 B. C.). The special mention of the country by name probably indicates also its importance.

"It was not till about 120 B. C. that an attempt was made to go from Egypt to India. A Hindu, said to have been wrecked in the Red Sea, volunteered to take a ship to India. The ship was fitted out and in it sailed Eudoxus of Cyzicus. The voyage was successful; the ship brought back a valuable cargo, but it was appropriated by the King (Ptolemy Euergets II). The same fate befell a second expedition sent out by Cleopatra. Strabo wrote of Eudoxus' attempt to reach India as something altogether new and exceptional."*

In 47 A. D. a new route to India was discovered.

The Periplus says, "Hippalos was the pilot who first by observing the bearings of the ports and the configuration of the sea, discovered the course across the ocean, whence as at the season when our Etesians are blowing, a periodical wind from the ocean likewise blows on the Indian sea, the wind which is the south-west is, it seems, called in those seas Hippalos". According to Dr. Robertson, "this route to India was held to be a discovery of such importance that in order to perpetuate the memory of the inventor, the name of Hippalos was given to the wind which enabled him to perform the voyage".

We have in Pliny (23-79 A. D.) a very accurate description of the route to India, of the country of Malabar and its main articles of trade. The Greek ships anchored at either Musiris (Pliny calls it '*primum emporium indiæ*') or Nelkanda, the former of which has been identified by Dr. Burnell to be Cranganore and the other is believed to refer to some port near Quilon, probably Neendakara. The ruler of the country was 'Calabothras'. The things which fetched the highest prices in Rome were spices, pearls, diamonds and silks—the first three were exported from the east coast (Madura and Tinnevelly), while silk was brought down in country ships from China. The prices paid were fabulous; the silks were sold for their weight in gold.

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. 1. Page 249.

Pliny says:—

"To those bound for India, it is most convenient to depart from Okelis (now Galla or Cella, a small bay within the straits of Babelmandeb). They sail thence with the wind Hippalos in forty days to the first emporium of India, *Muziris* (Kodungalur), which is not a desirable place to arrive at on account of pirates infesting the neighbourhood who hold a place called Nitrias, which is not supplied with merchandise. Besides, the station for ships is at a great distance from the shore and cargoes have both to be landed and shipped by means of little boats. There reigned there, when I wrote this, *Calobothras*. Another port belonging to the nation is the more convenient *Neacyndon*—which is called Becare. There reigned Pandion in an inland town, far distant from the emporium, called *Modura*—the region, however, from which they convey pepper to Becare in boats formed from single logs in *Cottonara* (Kottarakara)".

Pliny estimated that India took 55,000,000 sesterces (4,86,979 £.) annually and the goods purchased for that sum brought a hundred times that amount when sold in Europe.

The Periplus of Arrian was probably written in the first century A. D. The author was an Alexandrian Greek and a contemporary of Pliny. He made several voyages to Malabar. His description of the Malabar ports runs as follows:—

"Then follow Naoura and Tundis, the first marts of Limurike, and after these, Musiris and Nilkanda the seats of Government. To the kingdom under the sway of Keprobotras Tundis is subject, a village of great note near the sea. Musiris which pertains to the same realm, is a city at the height of prosperity, frequented as it is by ships from Arike and Greek ships from Egypt. It lies near a river at a distance from Tundis of 500 stadia,* whether this is measured from river to river, or by the length of the sea-voyage, and it is 20 stadia distant from the mouth of its own river. The distance of Nilkanda from Musiris is also nearly 500 stadia, whether measured from river to river, or by the sea-voyage, but it belongs to a different kingdom. ... ..."

He also refers to the Varkala hills and gives a fine description of Cape Comorin, he says:—

"After Bakare occurs the mountain called Pyrrhos (or the Red) towards the south, near another district of the country called Paralia § (where there are pearl fisheries which belong to King Pandion), and a city of the name Kolkhoi. In this district the first place met with is called Balita, which has a good harbour and a village on its shore. Next to this is another place called Komar, where is the Cape of the same name and a haven. Those who wish to consecrate the closing part of their lives to religion come hither and bathe and engage themselves to celibacy. This is also done by women, since it is related that the goddess once on a time resided at the place and bathed. From Komarei towards the south the country extends as far as Kolkhoi, where the fishing for pearls is carried on. Condemned criminals are employed in this service. King Pandion is the owner of the fishery. To Kolkhoi succeeds another coast lying along a gulf having a district in the interior bearing the name of Argalon. In this single place are obtained the pearls collected near the island of Epiodores." ‡

* A Stadium is equal to 582 English feet.

§ The king of Travancore was called in the old days Paralisan 'the lord of Parali.' Parali is still the name of a river in South Travancore.

‡ Mc Crindle's Periplus Maris Erythraei. Page 139.

Ptolemy's geography (139 A. D.) mentions the following places in Limurike. "Brahmagara, Kalaikanei's, Musiris, Podoperonra, Lemne, Karoura, Hakarei and two rivers, namely, the Pseudostomos and the Baris." Inland cities mentioned by him are:—"To the west of the Pseudostomos, Naroulla Kamba, Poloura. Between the two rivers—Pasage, Mastonover, Courellour, Karoura (the royal seat of (Kerobothras), Areambour, Bidderis, Pantiopolis, Adarima, Koreo. South of Nilkanda lies the country of the Aivi." The cities named in this region (Aivi) are "Ealngkour (a mart), Kottara (a metropolis), Bamala, Komaria (a cape and town) and Morunda."

Dr. Caldwell thinks that 'Limurike' represents the Tamil-Malayalam country and that 'Karoura' is the modern town of Karur on the Amaravati in the Coimbatore District. The Peutingerian Tables (third century A. D.) called the country 'Damurike.' The chief ports of importance in the first century A. D., were 'Naura' (the present Onore), 'Tundis' (Kadalundi near Beypore), 'Musiris' (Kodungalur), and 'Nilkanda' (Neendakara near Quilon).

"The description given by Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy of *Limurike* or the Tamil Malayalam country, enables us to gauge approximately the extent of the sway of Cœlobothras or Keprobothras. From Pliny it is difficult to gather its northern limit, but after making mention of the important port of Musiris he goes southwards and names Neacyndon, which, according to him, belonged to Pandion. In this the Periplus agrees with him. Ptolemy calls the place *Meikynda* and places it in the country of *Aioi*, identified by Caldwell with South Travancore. Ptolemy and the author of the Periplus are at one in making Tundis the most northern port in Limurike. The Periplus gives its distance at 700 stadia or nearly 12 degrees of latitude if we reckon 600 stadia to the degree. The location of Tundis somewhere near Calicut (11° 15′ N. Lat.) has been completely justified by the satisfactory identification of Musiris with Cranganore instead of with Mangalore as previously accepted."*

South India and Rome (30 B. C.—540 A. D.). The next event of importance in the history of the west coast is the intercourse between South India and Rome, the mistress of the ancient world. It is highly probable that Indian goods were even in very early times taken to Rome by the early carriers, the Egyptians and the Greeks. But after the conquest of Egypt by the Romans, especially after Egypt was made a Roman Province by Emperor Augustus, the commercial activity with the East reached its zenith. The Egyptian Greeks were no longer the intermediaries, but Rome came into direct contact with India. The embassy of Augustus in 20 B. C., to the Pandyan king who ruled over Tinnevelly, Madura and Travancore, was probably only one of a series.

* Mr. K. P. Padmanabha Menon in the Madras Review.

"And about this same time (24 A. D.), the first Hindu embassy from King Porus, or as others say, from the king of Pandya, proceeded to Europe and followed the Roman Emperor Augustus to Spain. It was on this occasion that an ascetic (probably a Jain) who accompanied the expedition voluntarily, sacrificed himself at Athens on a funeral pyre."†

According to the Peutingerian Tables (3rd centuary A. D.), there was at one time (no date specified) a temple of Augustus at Kodungalur with a garrison of two cohorts and 1,200 men. This evidently indicates that the relation between Rome and South India was no longer merely of a commercial nature. There is reason to believe that there was also a Roman colony at Madura. The finds of Roman coins in the various parts of South India, afford valuable evidence of long-standing commercial relations and large monetary dealings between Rome and South India.

Potfuls of Roman coins and medals have been discovered at Vellore, Pollachi, Chavadipalayam, Vellalur, Coimbatore, Madura, Karur, Ootacamond, Cottayam in North Malabar, Kilabur near Tellichery, Kaliamputur, Avanasi, and Trevor near Cannanore. They range from the time of Augustus to that of Zeno—from B. C. 27 to A. D. 491, and are found only within certain specified limits—Coimbatore, Mysore, Tondainad, South Malabar and Cochin. Coimbatore has the largest share but Malabar ranks next. "The gold coins found at Cottayam were so numerous that six coolies could scarcely carry them and those found at Trevor numbered 300 large gold coins." We also find that the coins discovered in Coimbatore and Malabar are earlier in date than those found at other places. The coins were all buried in the earth. The perforations in most of them clearly show that they had been used as ornaments. These establish the long standing commercial relations between Rome and South India.

The Pandyan kings, as well as the rulers of Malabar, seem to have sent more than one embassy to Rome. The one to Augustus is noticed by Strabo, and subsequently to him in the *Chronographia* of Georgius Syncelles (800 A. D.) who says under the head of the 185th Olympiad, "Pandion, king of the Indians, sends an embassy to Augustus desiring to become his friend and ally". This embassy, says Florius, was four years on the road. Dr. Oppert speaks of Indian envoys with precious presents being sent to Augustus, Claudius, Antoninus Pius and Julianus, and even so late as the reign of Justinian (540 A. D.), one was despatched to

† The Malabar Manual. Vol. I. Page 249.

Constantinople. "The Roman coins found in Madura are supposed by Mr. Sewell to point to something more than mere commercial relations. The company of Romans that lived in Madura possessed, according to Mr. Tracy, the right of minting coins which indicates some political power." The temple of Augustus and the Roman garrison at Cranganore no doubt point to the same conclusion. Kodungalur must have once been a Roman colony.

"About B. C. 14, Drusus the younger brother of Tiberius had command of an army in Gaul, and in order to secure more fully the allegiance of the northern tribes who, after a fashion, acknowledged the sway of Augustus, hit upon the device of building a temple for the worship of the image of the Emperor. May we not conjecture, with some show of reason, that it was for a similar purpose that the Romans set up a temple of Augustus at Kodungalore?. But in the dearth of historical data it would be idle to speculate; as yet we have no evidence of any Roman conquests in South India on the western Coast". *

The Early Missionaries. (A. D. 345—A. D. 825.) The next event concerning Kerala is dated 345 A. D. Thomas Cana (Kona Thoma), merchant and missionary, visited the Malabar Coast in that year. He brought to Cranganore a colony of four hundred Christians from Bagdad, Nineveh and Jerusalem. He found a Cheraman Perumal ruling in the kingdom on whose death the country was divided among his descendants. A manuscript volume in the British Museum dated 1604 A. D, gives information about Thomas Cana from a grant made to him by a Cheraman Perumal which is quoted here in a subsequent chapter (Religion).

In 522 A. D., Cosmos Indicopleustes visited the Malabar Coast. His writings are of great historical value to us, for he is the first traveller who mentions the Syrian Christians. He wrote, "In the island of Taprobane (Ceylon) there is a church of Christians, and clerks and faithful. Likewise at *Male* where the pepper grows; and in the town of Kalliana there is also a bishop consecrated in Persia".

The Nestorian Patriarch Jesujabus who died in 660 A. D., makes special mention of Quilon in his letter to the Simon, Metropolitan of Persia. "India which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Persia to Colon, a distance of more than 1,200 *Parasangs*, § deprived of a regular ministry, but Persia itself is left in darkness".

In 744 A. D. (the date fixed by Dr. Burnell), King Vira Raghava made a grant to Iravi Korttan, a Christian of Cranganore, making over to him the territory of Manigramam and giving him the rank of merchant.

* Mr. Padmanabha Menon's "Malabar as known to the Ancients."

§ A Persian measure of length, containing 30 stadia, equal to 3¾ miles.

The copper plate which is in old Tamil character with some Grantha characters intermixed, is preserved in the Kottayam Seminary. The accuracy of the date 744 A. D., is very doubtful. *

In 822 A. D., two Nestorian Persian Bishops, Mar Sapor and Mar Peroz settled in Quilon with a large following.

Two years later (824 A. D.), the Malabar Era began, and was called after Quilon, which was undoubtedly the premier city of Malabar (including Travancore and Cochin). Shungoonny Menon says that the era was founded by Koda Marthanda Varma, King of the South. Mr. Logan seems to think that the era was founded in commemoration of the independence of the chiefs of Malabar from the sway of the Perumal or of the religious revolution created by Sri Sankaracharya. Professor Sundaram Pillai surmises that the era may be merely an adaptation of the *Saptarsha* or *Sastra Samvatsara* era of the north. The era begins on the first Chingam or the middle of August for the southern portion of Malabar and on the first Kanni or the middle of September for the northern portion.

"In the same year King Sthanu Ravi Gupta anxious to secure the pecuniary assistance from the Christian merchants in his efforts to repel an invasion of Malabar by the Rahakas, granted the copper plate known as the second charter. In this, the King gave permission to Mar Sapor to transfer to the Tarasa church and community at Quilon, a piece of land near the city with the hereditament usual at the time of several families of low caste slaves attached to the soil." †

Trade with China. The trade with China, which had very much decreased in the previous centuries, revived with great vigour in the eighth century. According to the records of the Tang Dynasty (618 A. D. to 913 A. D.), Quilon was their chief settlement and they gave it the name of 'Mahlai'. Several were the embassies sent by the Malabar Kings to the Celestial Emperor. The King of Quilon and the neighbouring districts is referred to in these records as *Benati* or Venad, the name by which Travancore is designated even to day. This Chinese trade decreased again about 900 A. D., and was not revived till the 13th century.

The Early Mahomedans. It was probably in the beginning of the 8th century that the Moslems of Arabia superseded the Greeks in their trade with the west coast of India. Their first arrival is closely mixed up with the tradition of Cheraman Perumal and his conversion. This last of

* Mr. Venkayya assigns the grant to the 14th century A. D., on palæographical grounds. — Indian Antiquary vol. IV. page 293. Dr. Keilhorn accepts Venkayya's conclusion and fixes the date of the grant to the 15th March 1320 A. D. —Ind. Ant. vol. VI. page 83.

† The Syrian Church in India — Milne Rae.

the sovereigns of Keralam, so goes the story, was converted to Islam by the Mahomedan missionaries who visited his coast, and embarked with them to Arabia to see the Prophet in person. On reaching his destination, he was so struck with the grandeur of the faith and the enthusiasm of the believers that he immediately despatched missionaries to his coast with letters of introduction to the chiefs; one of them sent on his death-bed from Zapher, was Malik Ben Habeck, who travelled from Cranganore to Quilon. He built a mosque at the latter place, settled as a preacher and undertook several preaching expeditions in the neighbourhood.

Merchant Soleyman of Siraf in Persia, who visited Malabar in the middle of the 9th century, found Quilon to be the only port in India touched by the huge Chinese ships on their way from Canton to the Persian Gulf. At Quilon they paid a heavy port duty of 1,000 *denarii* * and it was the chief port of call between China and Western India. Another Mahomedan traveller of the period describes it as the first port which vessels touch from Muscat at a month's sail from that port. The Mahomedans probably settled in small numbers on the coast for trading purposes, but it does not appear that their religion made any progress. The traveller referred to above has left on record:— "I know not that there is any one of either nation (Chinese and Indian) that has embraced Mahomedanism or speaks Arabic."

The Mahomedans first settled in Malabar in the 9th century A. D. We have an interesting, though brief, account of the origin and growth of this community in the early chapters of *Tahafit-ul-mujahideen*—an historical work by Sheik Zeenuddin, a Malabar Mahomedan, who lived in the court of Sultan Adilshah of Bijapur.

In the *Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems* written about 950 A. D. by El Masudi, Arab traveller and merchant, we have an account of Malabar and a detailed narrative of a successful invasion of Travancore by the Hindu Emperor of Java.

Al Biruni (A. D. 970-1039) is probably the first to call the country Malabar. His account of the coast runs thus:—

"Beyond Guzerat are Konkan and Tana; beyond them the country of Malibar, which from the boundary of Karoha to Kulam (Quilon), is 300 Parasangs in length. The whole country produces the pan, in consequence of which Indians find it easy to live there, for they are ready to spend their whole wealth on that leaf. There is much coined gold and silver there, which is not exported to any other place. Part of the territory is inland and part on the sea-shore.

* *Denarius* is a Roman silver coin equal to 9¾d.

They speak a mixed language, like the men of Khabhalik in the direction of Rum, whom they resemble in many respects. The people are all *Samanis* (Buddhists) and worship idols. Of the cities on the shore the first is *Sindabur*, then Faknar (Barkur in South Canara), then the country of Manjarur, (Mangalore,) then the country of Hili, then the country of Sadarsa, then Jangli, then Kulam. The men of all these countries are Samanis. After these comes the country of Sawalak * which comprises 125,000 cities and villages. After that comes Malwala * which means 1, 893,000 in number. About forty years ago the king of Malwala died, and between his son and the minister a contest arose and after several battles they ended with dividing the country between them. The consequence is that their enemies obtained a footing and are always making their incursions from different parts of Hind, and carrying off goods and viands, sugar, wine, cotton cloths, captives and great booty. But through the great wealth of that country no serious injury is done."

Territorial Extent. The account given above is what the foreign travellers and traders knew of the Malabar Coast and its people generally. An attempt may next be made to describe briefly the social and political condition of South India before the 11th century of the Christian era. The following stanza ascribed to the famous Tamil poet Kambar who is said to have flourished, in the 9th century A. D., gives the boundaries of Chera or Kerala thus:—

வடக்குத்தலம்பழனி, வாழ்கீழ்செங்கோடு
குடக்குத்திசைகோழிக்கொடாம்—கடற்கரையின்
ஓரமது தெற்காகும்ஒரெண்பதின்காதம்,
சேரநாட்டெல்லையெனசெப்பு.

which translated means, "To the north lies the place (or fane) Pulney, to the east *Chengodu* (Shencottah); the western limit is *Kolikudu* (Calicut), and the southern the sea. Say these are the boundaries of Chera, 80 *Katams* (leagues) from north to south."

(There are two other readings of the stanza and these are thus translated by Mr. Logan.)

One version:

1. To the North, the place *Palani*—hail! to the East, the South *Kasi*,
2. The West point *Koli-kudu* will become. The sea-shore of
3. The margin that will make the south. An 80 *Katams* (leagues)
4. The *Cheranad* boundary; speaking, say thou.

Another version: "On the north *Palani*, to the East the great town (*Perur*) on the south the sea, on the West the great mountain, from East

* Probably Laccadive and Maladive islands.

to West 40 *Katams* (leagues), from South to North 40 *Katams* (leagues) making together 80 *Katams*".

There is a difficulty about this last stanza. Pulney is the northern boundary. Perur, near Coimbatore, lies north of Pulney and cannot be the eastern boundary. It is probable Perur lies somewhere near Shencottah or Tenkasi. Again, the western boundary is the great mountain. The other two stanzas make it the sea.

Neighbouring Kingdoms. We have already seen that Megasthenes and the Edicts of Asoka refer to three kingdoms in the south: Chera or Kerala, Chola and Pandya. It must not be supposed that all these were independent kingdoms at all times; sometimes Pandya held supremacy over the other two and sometimes Chola. We see the Chola king invading Ceylon in the 3rd century B. C., 2nd century B. C., and again in the 2nd century A. D. In the 6th century A. D., the Pallavas of Kanchi rose from small dimensions and, before two centuries elapsed, were masters of the whole of South India. In the 6th century, the western Chalukyans rose to power. In the beginning of the 7th century, one of the kings of this dynasty, Pulakesin II, "caused the great prosperity of the Cholas, and the Keralas, and the Pandyas, but became a very sun to (melt) the hoar frost which was the army of the Pallavas".

On the death of Pulakesin II, the Southern Powers combined to overthrow the western Chalukyans. This was successful for a time, for the sons of Pulakesin were yet children. "But retribution speedily came, for it is recorded of Vinayaditya that during the lifetime of his father Vikramaditya I (*circa* 670-680. A. D.) and by his command, he arrested the exalted power of the Pallavas, whose kingdom consisted of three *component dominions*". There is little room for doubt that the last phrase refers to the Chola, Pandya and Kerala rulers, who, in another grant of Vinayaditya's, are specifically referred to as the "proud summits of three mountains which he rent open (like Indra) with the thunderbolt which was his prowess".

Vikramaditya II of the same dynasty (732-747 A. D.) is said to have "withered up Pandya, Chola, Kerala, Vallabha and other kings".

The Rattas or Rashtrakutas superseded the Chalukyans about 750 A. D., and the lien on Kerala for tribute must have passed on to the conquerors of Chalukyans. Govinda III (about 800 A. D.) is said to have conquered Kerala. According to the Malayalam tradition the Rashtrakutas were driven back.

The extent of these kingdoms is not known. But it may be roughly stated thus. The Pallavas ruled over Chingleput, North and South Arcot; the Cholas over Tanjore and Trichinopoly; the Kongus over Coimbatore and Salem; the Pandyas over Madura and Tinnevelly; the western Chalukyans over the Karnataka and South Mysore; and the Rashtrakutas over North Mysore.

The *Nannul* and its original *Tolkapyam* refer to the following twelve 'Nadus' as the places where old Tamil was spoken.

தென்பாண்டி, குட்டம், குடம், கற்கா, வேண், பூழி,
பன்றி, அருவா, அதன்வடக்கு (அருவாவடதலை)
நன்றாயிதம், மலைகாடு, புனறாடு, செந்தமிழ்
சேர்-ஏதமில் பன்னிருகாட் டிடண்.

I. South Pandy, 2. Kuttanad, 3. Kudanad, 4. Karkanad, 5. Venad, 6. Pulinad, 7. Panrinad, 8. Aruvanad, 9. the country north of that, 10. Sitanad (or the cold country), 11. Malanad, 12. Punnad. These were not all independent kingdoms; they were probably chieftainships under the main kingdoms already referred to.

Mr. Logan says that about this period (1,000 A. D.),

"The Cochin Rajas seem to have been the principal power in central Kerala, and it is in accordance with this that in the Kollam year 93 (A. D. 917-918) an expedition (probably of Kongus or Gangas) from Maisur was driven back when attempting an invasion of Kerala *via* the Palaghat gap. Local tradition assigns this as the date on which the Cochin Rajas acquired the small district of Chittur still held by them and lying to the east of Palaghat in the very centre of the gap".*

By the 11th century A. D., the Pallavas had sunk to the position of mere feudatories of the Cholas who now became the great suzerain power of South India. The Malanad (Hill country, West Coast, or Malabar) was more than once invaded by the Cholas at this time, and they doubtless drew tribute from one or more Malayali chiefs. These invasions, however, do not seem to have left any permanent traces on the country or to have given rise to any political changes among the ruling families.

The Chola supremacy in South India continued throughout the 12th century A. D.; it attained its widest bounds probably in the reign of Kulottunga Chola (from about 1064 to 1113 A. D.) and in 1170 A. D., Madura, the Pandyan capital city, had become incorporated in the Chola dominions.

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. I. Page 179.

Political Organisation in Malabar. Below the suzerain power of Malabar were a number of chieftains or princes (Udayavar, literally owners) of Nads (countries), including among them the well-known families of Venad (Travancore), Eranad (Zamorin), Valluvand, and Nedumpuraiyanad (Palghat).

The *Nad* was the territorial organisation of the ruling Nayars. It was divided into a number of Desams or villages. The *Tara* was a Nayar organisation and was not conterminous with the Desam or the village. One Desam may have more than one Tarawad and sometimes a Tara included two or more villages. The Nayar inhabitants of a Tara formed a tribal Government, as it were, under the patriarchal rule of their Karanavar. These Karanavars formed the 'Six Hundred' who were the supervisors (Kanakkar) and protectors of the Nad. Their duty according to the *Keralolpatti*, was "to prevent the rights from being curtailed or suffered to fall into disuse". They were in short the custodians of ancient rights and customs; they chastised the chieftains' ministers when they committed unwarrantable acts, and were the 'Parliament' of the land. Each village and Nad had its hereditary chief who was subject to the king of the country. He paid a certain sum of money annually to the king in addition to the men and provisions. In his own little dominion he was absolute. This was the case in the northern parts of Malabar as then known. No vestiges of it are to be now found as a political organisation in any part of Travancore except the Tarawad and the rule of the Karanavans, which prevailed universally throughout the coast.

Mr. Logan in his *Malabar Manual* makes mention of three deeds, one granted by Bhaskara Ravi Varma in 700 A. D., another by Viraraghava Chakravarti in 774 A. D., and the third by Sthanu Ravi Gupta in 824 A. D., and draws from them certain inferences regarding the political organisation of Kerala. Prof. Kielhorn and Mr. Venkayya consider that the Kottayam plate of Viraraghava belongs to 1320 A. D., and not to 774 A. D. There is also reason to suppose that these grants are spurious. For, at least in one case, the Portuguese version of the grant does not in the least agree with the Sanskrit version of the same. Until the dates of these grants are ascertained with any certainty, it would be idle to speculate upon their contents or on the names of the sovereigns mentioned in them.

We do not know what the divisions of Kerala were at this period. Mr. Ellis considered that Malabar was divided into chieftainships (Udayavar) about 389 A. D. Nor are we in a position to state anything

definitely as to the sovereigns who ruled over Venad till the beginning of the 12th century A. D. From an inscription in the Temple of Mahavishnu at Parthivapuram, it would appear that between the years 149 M. E. and 166 M. E. (974-981 A. D.), there ruled over Venad two kings—Kodai Aditya Varma and Virakerala Varma, but more definite information is awaited from the archæological researches in progress.

The People. Custom was the law of the land. Agriculture was the chief occupation. Trade was in the hands of foreigners. The inhabitants were Brahmins, Nayars and the lower castes. The Jews and the Christians occupied probably only selected spots on the coast. Mr. Logan is of opinion that the Vedic Brahmins must have arrived in Malabar in the early part of the 8th century A. D., and not earlier and that they must have come by the coast from the Tulu country. But the arguments on which his conclusions are based will not bear any critical scrutiny. As has been shown in the section on Ancient History, there is convincing evidence that South India and Malabar had become Brahminised at a very early date.

The language spoken by the people at this period was probably Tamil. Dr. Caldwell holds that Malayalam is a recent language derived from Tamil. Dr. Gundert thinks that Malayalam and Tamil had a common source. But from the Stanzas from *Nannul* and *Tolkapyam* quoted above, it is clear that a large part of this country was Kodun Tamilnad (the tract of country where corrupt Tamil was spoken). Probably it was from this period that Sanskrit words began to be largely incorporated into the native tongue.

Sankaracharya. After Parasurama, the founder of Keralam, no name is more intimately connected with the religious and social history of the people on this coast, than that of the great Brahmin savant and reformer, Sri Sankaracharya. To the historian of Travancore, Sankara's life is important for, (1) he was a native of Travancore, (2) his name is so closely associated with the reform of society, (3) he overthrew Buddhism and (4) he popularised Saivite and Smarta forms of worship throughout India. His life and teachings which have shed lustre throughout the Indian continent will be referred to, in detail, later on.

PART II (1100—1400 A. D.).

In the beginning of the 12th century A. D., a battle was fought between the king of Kupakas (Travancore sovereign) and Rajasimha, the Pandyan king, at the dam of the river Parali, *alias* 'Pandian Anai', during which the dam was demolished by the forces of the king of Kupakas. He defeated Rajasimha and conquered the country of Kottar together with the whole of Nanjanad on the 11th Chingam 292 M. E. (1106 A. D.). It does not appear that this king of Venad, whose name we do not know, ruled long over Nanjanad, for we find that at the end of the 1st quarter of the 12th century A. D., Vadasseri was the eastern limit of his territory and Kottar and other portions of Nanjanad were under the sovereignty of Kulottunga Chola Deva who was one of the Mummudi Chola kings, named Rajakesarivarman *alais* Rajendra Chola Deva, and who reigned for a long period of forty and odd years with Kanchipuram as his capital. He changed the name of Kottar to Mummudi Cholanallur, approximately in the 39th year of his reign. Rajendra is then said to have come to Vizhinjam. "He with his army commencing his march towards the west on an auspicious day, caused the mountains to bend their back, the rivers to forsake their beds and the Vilinjam seas to be stirred and agitated". * In confirmation of the above fact we find that until recently the town of Vizhinjam was called in deeds and documents Vilinjamana Rajendra Cholapattanam.

Shungoonny Menon gives the following events for the period : — It was about this period that the combined army of Travancore and Kolathunad drove out the Bellalas from Kerala and enjoyed their respective territories as originally assigned to them by Parasurama — the former from Korampuzhay to the south and the latter from that river to the north. Again the Travancore territories were reduced to small dimensions, the Raja of Cochin taking possession of the northern Districts of Travancore and the Pandyan kings assuming Nanjanad and other possessions. The petty chiefs of Changanachery, Thekkamkur, Vadakkamkur, and other places asserted their independence and consequent y the vast kingdom which once extended to 800 miles in length was reduced to a length of 70 miles and a breadth of 20 miles, that is, from Edawa near

* Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai's Tamil Historical Manuscripts. The Indian Antiquary Vol XXI.

Varkala in the north to Erattamalai (eastern side of Udayagiri) in the south. Two members of the Royal family of Travancore were adopted to the Madathinkur Swarupam at Mavelikara, which was originally related to the Travancore Royal family and thus the two territories became united. During the Mahomedan rule of Pandya which continued for half a century, one Nanja Koravan, a feudatory chief of Travancore, obtained possession of Nanjanad and established himself as a petty ruler. But subsequent to the release of the Madura kingdom from the Mahomedan sway, Nanja Koravan and his confederacy were driven away by the king of Travancore in the year 292 M. E. (1117 A. D.).

In 301 M. E. (1125 A. D.), SRI VIRA KERALA VARMA I flourished in Venad and his loyal chieftains made over the tax in paddy and money due from Vadasseri as a gift to the temple of Rajendra Cholesvara for the daily performance of *Tirumadura-Panakam*. Travancore or Venad, as it was then called, was under him a well-organised principality with loyal feudal chieftains to transact public business and to levy taxes, as it is done now, both in kind and in cash; the Government dues were then moderate and fair. The circumstances under which Sri Vira Kerala of Venad was prompted to dedicate so piously a portion of his revenue to a temple founded by a foreign monarch are difficult to determine. The grant was, however, meant in all probability as a political peace-offering to the representatives of the Mummudi Chola power in the land. † We do not know how long this king ruled. We find his successor SRI KODAI KERALA VARMA ruling in Venad between 320 and 325 M. E. (1145—1150 A. D.). This king recovered possession of Suchindram and other portions of Nanjanad and made to the temple of Suchindram a gift of lands in the following villages, namely Suchindram, Karkadu, Tenvalanallur (or Kakkumudur as it is now called) and Tenkanpudur. During his reign, the measurements of land and grains were the same as they were in the Chola country. Kodai was an epithet applied to the kings of Travancore.

The successor of this king was SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA who ruled over Venad from 336 to 339 M. E. (1161—1164 A. D.). The remaining northern portion of Nanjanad was added by him to his kingdom. The gift of the lands in Tazhakudi Puduvurarmulai to the temple of Puravari Vinnavar Alvar was made by his loyal chieftains Singan Rangan of Pasunkulam (Painkulam) Tennadu, and three others on the 6th of Edavam 336 M. E. There was no uniform standard for measures and

† Early Sovereigns of Travancore — By the late Prof. P. Sundaram Pillai M. A.

weights anywhere in Southern India; each temple used its own under the name of the local deity. The village governments that existed received the support and sympathy of this sovereign. One of his documents confirms the inference that has already been drawn with respect to the eastern boundary of the Venad principality at that time. Since the executive officers referred to in the deed are styled "officers in charge of the affairs of Nanjanad" (நஞ்சிறை நாட்டுக் கரியங்களுக் கமைவாரில்), the Chola power must have been by this time altogether extinct there. Vira Ravi Varma ruled peacefully over all South Travancore, his affairs in Nanjanad being administered by a triumvirate composed of Kerala Santosha Pallavaraiyan, probably the chief of the local officers, Govindan Vikraman and Anandan Chakrapani who were in charge of the civil administration. The Rajah's ministers of State at the capital were the loyal chieftains, Pullalan Aiyan, Singan Rangan, Narayanan Shungaran and Kodai Devan.

The immediate successor of Ravi Varma was SRI VIRA KERALA VARMA II, who reigned over Venad from 339 to 342 M. E. (1164 to 1167 A. D.). His experienced Prime-minister was Singan Rangan of Pasunkulam, who made gifts to the temple of Puravari Chaturvedimangalm in 336 M. E. His officers in charge of the civil administration at Nanjanad were Kali Kunra Peralan, and Nayinan Kunra Peralan. During this reign the Pandya king Maravarman Sri Vallabha, who ascended the throne in 333 M. E., married the daughter of Vira Kerala's younger brother, Sri Vira Udaya Martanda. Sri Vallabha belonged to the family of the Canarese Rajahs whose capital was Attur (ஆற்றூர்) before he intermingled with the Pandyas. For, he subscribed to one of his edicts as "the lord of Vali-Attur" to show his patriotism. The channel of the Tamrapurni river known as 'Kannadiyan Caul' in the Tinnevelly district commemorates the original tribe of Canarese people to which he belonged. Sri Vallabha Pandya ruled over Eastern and Western Vembanad (i. e., Tinnevelly and North Travancore) until the year 364—365 M. E., (1190 A. D.) with Valliyur (ancient name Alliyur) for his capital. It was somewhere between 337 and 339 M. E., that Sri Vallabha married the daughter of Sri Vira Udaya Martanda, the date of whose accession was about 348 M. E. His wife assumed the name of Tribhuvana Devi after one of his surnames, viz., *Tribhuvana chakravarti* (i. e., the emperor of three worlds). The king Sri Vira Kerala II gave the village of Virakeralamangalam in Valliyur, as dowry to the princess Tribhuvana Devi at her wedding. In 341 M. E., the queen Tribhuvana Devi was delivered of a son. In 349 M. E. (1174 A. D.), the Sri Vaishnavas and the temple

authorities of Puravari Chaturvedimangalam in South Travancore petitioned to Sri Vallabha for the gift of certain lands free of tax to the temple of Puravari Alvar. The gift was duly made by him in 351 M. E., (1176 A. D.) with the knowledge of his wife, and the implied consent of his son Kulasekhara, who was then ten years old, as the property was a portion of his wife's dowry granted by Vira Kerala II. Consequently one *niyogam* (order) was issued by the minor son to the assembly of Virakeralamangalam with a (கடையீடு) certificate of his guardian (முனையதரையர்) directing them to place the property under the management of the temple of Puravari Alvar. To symbolise the minor's right over this donation, an emblematic style (எழுத்தாணி இலாஞ்சனம்) was engraved on the boundary stone, besides the disc of the divine donee. Meanwhile Tribhuvana Devi gave birth to a second son Elaya Perumal and died. Elaya Perumal erected the Udayamartanda mantapam, and deified his mother therein as a common tutelary deity (உதயமார்த்தாண்ட திருபுவனதேவி), to protect the two families of Cheravamsam (சேரவம்சம்) and Srivallabhavamsam (ஸ்ரீவல்லபவம்சம்). The first son of Maravarman Sri Vallabha was Jatavarman Kulasekhara Perumal who ascended the throne in 365 M. E., the last year of the reign of Sri Vallabha.

SRI VIRA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA, the brother of Vira Kerala II, and the father of Tribhuvana Devi, succeeded to the throne in 348 M. E., (1173 A. D.). His capital was Kolidaikuru, now the insignificant village of Kulikod near Padmanabhapuram. He built the front *mantapam* in the temple of Tiruvattar, and named it after him. According to Shungoonny Menon, the Pantalam Royal family which had already settled in Travancore in 904 A. D., received some territorial grants from the Travancore king in 345 M. E. (1170 A. D.) ; so also did the Punjar Rajah who emigrated to Travancore at the time. Evidently the Rajahs of Travancore with their diminished dominions and power were not then in a position to make large grants to the chiefs of Pantalam and Punjar.

The next sovereign we have to note is SRI DEVADARAM KERALA VARMA (Sri Vira Kerala III), who flourished in Venad in Kanni 368 M. E. He founded a village (with a temple) called after his name Virakeralapuram or Viralam, as it is now called, near Attungal in Chirayinkil Taluq. The country about Attungal was known in early times as *Kupadesam* -- a province altogether distinct from Venad. Jatavarman Kulasekhara, who ascended the throne in 365 M. E., and reigned over North Travancore for a period of thirty years, was the contemporary of Sri Vira Kerala III and of his successors Sri Vira Rama Varma and Sri Vira Raman Kerala.

In 371 M. E. (1196 A. D.), the ancient throne of Venad was occupied by SRI VIRA RAMA VARMA TIRUVADI. From the inscription in which this king is mentioned, we are able to trace two or three striking features of the social economy of the times.

"Besides the village associations already noticed, Venad, it would appear, had an important public body under the name of the 'Six Hundred' (ஆறுநூற்றார்) to supervise the working of temples and charities connected therewith. What other powers and privileges this remarkable corporation of 'Six Hnndred' was in possession of, future investigation can alone determine. But a number so large, nearly as large as the British House of Commons, could not have been meant, in so small a state as Venad was in the 12th Century, for the single function of temple supervision. There is an allusion again in this record to the Valanjiyars of the eighteen districts. The 'eighteen districts' were no doubt eighteen administrative divisions of Venad..... .....We may reasonably presume that the eighteen *Valanjiyars* were eighteen local magnates, or feudal barons of the realm.....It looks probable that the loyal chieftains transacting business in the name of the king and forming, as it were his government or cabinet ministry came from this class of *Valanjiyars* or feudal barons"*.

There were also slaves attached to the land and there were two important kinds of land tenure, *Ural* or *Uranmai*, subject to the control of the village associations, and *Karanmai* or freeholds, directly under the control of the state.

The successor of this Rama Varma was probably SRI VIRA RAMAN KERALA VARMA who ruled over Venad from 384 to 389 M. E. (1209—1214 A. D.). His daughter Sri Vira Umaiyammai, constructed the temple of Mahadeva at Kadinangulam on the 18th day of the month of Minam in 389 M. E. Raman Kerala Varma's inscription at Trivandrum clearly shows, according to Prof. Sundaram Pillay, "that in 384 M. E., Trivandrum like so many other villages, had a *sabha* or assembly, with a *sabhajnita*, chairman or secretary of its own, and that it used to meet on occasions of importance in the old temple at Mitranandapuram about a furlong to the west of the present shrine of Sri Padmanabha. The south-western corner of the courtyard of this temple is still pointed out as the sacred spot where *sabhas* used to meet of old, and the word *tek* or 'south' serves as no dubious guide to that spot. The raised floor of this hall still remains but the roof which must have resounded with the voice of many a wise counsel, is no more". The other inscription of Sri Vira Raman Kerala Varma taken from the temple of Kadinangulam proves beyond all doubt that on the morning about 8 A. M. of Thursday the 18th Minam 389 M. E. (1214 A. D.), that sovereign occupied the throne of Venad. How

* Early Sovereigns of Travancore. Indian Antiquary. Vol. XXIV. Page 285.

long ago he ascended it, and when exactly it passed away to his successor are points yet to be determined by further researches.

Next in order comes SRI VIRA RAVI KERALA VARMA, as may be inferred from a Vattezhuttu inscription at Manalikarai, a petty village near Padmanabhapuram in South Travancore. The purport of the inscription is that on the 27th Medam 410 M. E., when Jupiter was in Vrischigam, was issued the following Proclamation:—

"Agreeably to the understanding arrived at in a consultation duly held among the loyal chieftains of Sri Vira Iravi Kerala Varma Tiruvadi, graciously ruling over Venad, the members of the *sabha* (or assembly) of Kodainalloor, and the people of that village as well as Kandan Tiruvikraman of Marugatacheri, entrusted with the right of realising the government dues: We command and direct that the tax due from government lands be taken as amounting in paddy to.....and 24, in *arakkal* crop (Kanni crop), and 725 and 24, in *charal* crop (Kumbham), and making up per year a total of.....and the same, due from tax-paying village lands, be taken as amounting in paddy to..... and 24, in *arakkal* crop; and 728.....and 24, in *charal* crop, and making up per year a total of .....709 2/10; ..... and that when the due quantity is measured out, a receipt be granted, discharging the liability; the fact being duly noted also in the rent roll, and we command moreover that the order of permanent lease (now in force) be surrendered into the hands of the clerks who write or issue such deeds.....From the Tuvami, (Swami), too, no more lease be taken. When part of the tax is paid, and part is still due, a list shall be prepared showing the arrears for the whole year; and an *anchali* (or authorisation) taken in writing to realise the same from the *sabha* and the inhabitants; and the arrears then recovered accordingly. In seasons of drought and consequent failure of crops, the members of the *sabha* and the people of the village shall inspect the lands, and ascertain which have failed and which have not. The lands that have failed shall be assessed at one-fifth of the normal dues, but this one-fifth shall be levied as an additional charge on the remaining lands bearing a crop. If all the taxable lands appear to have equally failed, the *sabha* and the villagers shall report the matter to the Swami and, after the Swami has inspected the lands and ascertained the fact, one-fifth (of the entire dues) shall be levied. This one-fifth shall be taken to include *pattavritti* and, *onacheluvu* amounting in paddy to ..... If the members of the *sabha* and the inhabitants agree among themselves, and pray in common for a postponement of payment, as the only course open to a majority among them, this demand (one-fifth drought rate) shall be apportioned over all the lands paying tax to government (to be levied in the subsequent harvest) but without interest and *pathari*, the rent roll of the current year being scored out. Should anything whatever be done contrary to these rules, the deviation shall be visited with fine.....and the strict procedure again adopted. This Our regulation shall continue in force as long as the moon and the stars endure."

This is a true stone-inscribed copy of the Royal writ. According to the late Prof. Sundaram Pillay, the Travancore Honorary Archaeologist,

"This grants not a perpetual lamp or 'a mountain-like drum' to the Gods above, but peace and protection to toiling humanity here below. One of the most momentous questions in all human communities has been, and will always be, the

price each individual in it has to pay for the advantages of organized social life. In proportion to the fixity and definiteness characterizing this price, in all its aspects, is the government of the community said to be civilised, stable and constitutional. An important item in the price to be thus paid is the pecuniary contribution given by each individual for the maintenance of the State. In all agricultural countries, the bulk of the contribution must assume the form of land tax. In Travancore, then, which is little else than agricultural, where in fact there is no individual but has his *taracal*, his plot of land, the plot in which he is born, in which he lives and works and in which he dies and is cremated too, so that his very ashes stick to it even after his soul departs from this world, in a country so entirely agricultural, there can be no question of more vital interest, or of more universal concern, than the nature and amount of land tax, the manner and time of paying it, and the machinery through which it is realized for the State. It appears to have been the practice with several governments in by-gone days to farm out the land revenue to the highest bidders, with a view to save themselves the trouble and expense of collecting it in dribblets. The iniquity of of the system may be better imagined than described. It seems, nevertheless, to have been current in the neighbouring districts of Tinnevely and Madura to the very days of the Honourable East India Company. But in Travancore, thanks to the village associations and the magnanimity and political sagacity that seem to have uniformly characterized the Venad sovereigns, the system, if it was ever largely introduced, was nipped in the bud, and the disasters of the fable of the goose with the golden eggs were early averted. For, observe how the royal writ before us deals that system a death blow. It quietly takes away, in the first place, its sting by fixing the government dues exactly and unalterably per year and per harvest. The lease again is not to be a *tira tarara*, an enduring one, but to be renewed from time to time so that the government farmer would have no chance of abusing his power on the strength of the hold he might otherwise have of the people. The writ provides further, for the reduction of the government demand to one-fifth in times of drought and failure. Why, when some lands alone fail in a village, this one-fifth should be given up on those lands, but levied as an additional charge upon the remaining, might demand a word of explanation. In seasons of partial failure, and in tracts of land not fully opened out by easy lines of communication, the price of corn goes easily high; and the Kodainallur council seems to have thought it just, or at all events conducive to fellow-feeling, that those that are benefited by such an adventitious rise of prices should forego a portion of their profits for the sake of their suffering fellow-villagers. At any rate, the measure must have acted as a check upon false complaints of failure, since the duty of determining what lands had failed, and what not, was left to the villagers themselves under the supervision of the *sabha*. It would be interesting to know who the Swami was, to whom the edict assigns the duty of ascertaining and certifying the fact, in case the whole village fails. He was, no doubt, some high ecclesiastical functionary, with a considerable portion of the land revenue of the village probably assigned to him for his own support and the support of the temple he was in charge of. The prohibition to take out leases from the Swami would then mean prohibition to farm out to the highest bidder the land revenue so assigned to him. Anyhow, when the Swami certifies a complete failure of crops in the whole village, the government reduces its total demand to one-fifth, and, forgoes in addition, its right to levy two minor charges, under the name of *pattavritti*, (probably a present on the anniversary of the Sovereign's accession to the throne,) and *onachelavu*, a special contribution to keep up the annual national festival of that name (Onam)."

Further he writes:—

"It is said that the edict is issued in terms of the understanding come to, in a council composed of the loyal chieftains or ministers of the king, the assembly of Kodainallur, the people of the village, and Kandan Tiruvikraman, the local revenue farmer or collector. I call him the collector, for, however oppressive a lessee or farmer he might have been before the date of this document, he and his successors in office could have been nothing more than simple collectors of revenue after the exact definition of the government dues given in the edict itself. No doubt he must have been a terrible man in his day with an appointed function in the evolution of history, not unlike perhaps the one played by those who went forth to demand 'ship money' in the days of Hampden. The good people of Kodainallur seem to have been also equal to the occasion. Here is proof, if need be, of the independent nature and constitution of the old village assemblies of Travancore..... The *sabhas* appear as permanent and well constituted public bodies that acted as a buffer between the people and the government.... The whole procedure reflects the greatest credit on all the parties concerned, their conjoint action resulting in so precious a charter to the people, and so unmistakable a monument of the sovereign's unbounded love of his subjects. Though the wording of the document makes the enactment applicable primarily only to the village of Kodainallur, I have no doubt it was sooner or later extended to the whole of Venad. A just principle needs but once to be recognised to be applied on all hands. I hesitate not, therefore, to call this Manalikarai Proclamation, one of the great charters of Travancore.

"But the immediate purpose for which the Manalikarai charter is here introduced, is to prove the rule of Sri Vira Ravi Kerala Varma on the 28th Medam 410 M. E., or about April 1235 A. D. Having met Sri Vira Rama Kerala Varma only 21 years prior, we may take the two reigns as having been conterminous with one another."*

From a Vattezhuttu inscription at Varkala, it is inferred that seventeen years later still, another monarch ruled over Venad, SRI VIRA PADMANABHA MARTANDA VARMA TIRUVADI, whose loyal chieftains in 427 M. E., (1252 A. D.) repaired the temple of Vadaserikkarai at Udayamartandapuram in Varkala. The sacred spot where the temple of Janardanaswami now stands was then called Udayamartandapuram, no doubt, in commemoration of an earlier sovereign at whose instance it was built.

According to the mention in the inscription of the temple of Arulala Perumal at Kanchipuram (Conjeevaram) published by Prof. Kielhorn, there was a queen of the Kupaka family named UMA DEVI who was ruling over Venad in 1252 A. D. She was married by Jayasimha Deva, a king belonging to the Yadu family of the Lunar race. JAYASIMHA DEVA ruled over Kerala with his wife Uma Devi who brought forth a son Ravi Varma Kulasekhara Perumal in the Saka Samvat 1188 (1266-7 A. D.). This Jayasimha seems to have been a good warrior, for he brought the whole of Kerala under his sway. Quilon

* Early Sovereigns of Travancore. Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXIV. Page 311.

was his capital, and the country round about was till recently called 'Jayasimhanad' after his name.

The date of Jayasimha's death cannot now be definitely ascertained. He probably lived to the last years of the 13th century. His son, the great RAVI VRMA KULASEKHARA PERUMAL was ruling over Kerala in 1299 A. D., with Quilon as his capital. He had already defeated the Pandyan king and married his daughter. He made the Pandyas subject to the Keralas. He was famed as a great warrior at the time of the invasion of South India by Malik Kafar in 1310 A. D. Within a few years of his accession to the throne of Quilon, he seems to have made large conquests in South India. He conquered the Cholas and the Pandyas and at the age of 46, i e in 1312 or 1313 A. D., he was crowned on the banks of the Vegavati at Conjeevaram.

The king of Venad at the time was SRI VIRA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA TIRUVADIYAR *alias* Vira Pandya Devar. Ravi Varma Kulasekhara had evidently already subjugated him. "He apparently again made war against Vira Pandya, defeated him and drove him into Konkana and from there into the forests and conquered the Northern Country". This war against Vira Pandya took place in 1316 A. D.

To return to Venad. Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma Tiruvadiyar occupied the throne of Venad in 1316 A. D. The inscription at Keralapuram two miles from Padmanabhapuram, which mentions his name, also calls him Vira Pandya Deva. It may be interesting to know the circumstances that led to the assumption of this new and foreign title. Prof. Sundaram Pillay surmises:—

> "May it be that when the Pandya power shrunk back to its original condition, after having been blown out into dangerous and meddlesome greatness by the breath of a Kochchadaiyan or a Komaran, the Venad kings not only regained their lost ground, but also retaliated by invading and conquering a portion of the dominion of their recent conquerors and assumed, too, their style and manners to legitimise their hold upon the territories so added to their own? Agreeably to this foreign title, we find also the no less foreign method of dating the inscription in the year of the sovereign's reign."

From one of the grants of Martanda Varma, we learn that bamboo-grain and hill produce were the staple products on which hillmen subsisted. To the known tax on handlooms we find here attached a tax on the palmyra, and it looks probable that what is meant is a tax for tapping and not for otherwise using that palm. Besides fines, the government of those days appropriated certain payments under the name of *ko-muraipadu* literally 'royal-justice-income'. It could be taken to represent the

court fees and judicial revenue of modern times. *Karaippattu* means 'adhering to' or 'reaching land', and it might be taken to include treasure-troves, mines, jetsams and floatsams, and all such royalties known to law.

According to Shungoonny Menon, in the year 480 M. E. (1305 A. D.), two females from Kolathunad family were adopted by Aditya Varma who then reigned and they were installed as Attungal Moothatampuran (Senior Rani) and Attungal Elayatampuran (Junior Rani). Palaces were constructed at Attungal for their residence, and the country around was assigned to them, the revenue derived therefrom being placed at their disposal.

The accounts of the Vaikam temple show that in 505 M. E. (1330 A. D.), the king assumed authority over the affairs of that temple, which proves that the king of Travancore extended his sovereignty over some of the northern *Desavcams* at this period. It has to be noted that this information is not corroborated by any inscriptions.

Nanjanad. A short digression is necessary here to view in brief the history of Nanjanad, the tract of land lying between the Kerala and Pandyan kingdoms. In the palmy days of the ancient Pandyan Empire, this district, along with the rest of South India belonged to it. When the Cholas conquered the Pandyas, Nanjanad passed to them by right of conquest. The kings of Kupaka seem very early to have claimed the district, for we saw the king of the Kupakas defeating the Pandyan king at Parali in 1100 A. D. The country thus conquered remained with the Venad king Sri Koda Kerala in 1145 A. D. In 1166 A. D., Suchindram and the country adjoining were again under the Pandyan king, Maravarman Sri Vallabha. About the close of the century the country seems again to have been reconquered by the Venad kings. Three dated inscriptions of the temple of Rajendracholesvaram Udaya Nayanar clearly show that the foreign adversaries again transformed Kottar into Cholakeralapuram from 1217 to 1265 A. D.

It appears from some of the inscriptions of Rajendracholesvaram and Suchindram that one—Kochchadaiya Varma *alias* Sundara Chola Pandya Deva ruled over the whole of Nanjanad in South Travancore up to the 11th year of his reign, 1262 A. D. Sundara Chola Pandya Deva succeeded at least in subjugating the whole of the district of which Kottar was the centre. He seems to have also established his authority so widely and well as to leave private parties to reckon their grants by the year of his

reign, and to call an ancient hamlet like Suchindram by a new-fangled name *Sundarachola Chaturvedimangalam* coined specially to flatter his vanity. Sundara Chola Pandya Kochchadaiya Varma was by no means the last of the revived dynasty of the Pandyas to molest Travancore. This Sundara Pandya is identified by some scholars with the Pandya sovereign Jatila Varma who about 1275 A. D., is said to have "unsheathed the victorious weapon in order to destroy the town of Vilinjam which has the three waters of the sea for its ditch, whose strong and high walls which rub against the inner part of the receding sky rise so high that the sun has to retire in his course, which is as strong as the fort in the beautiful town of Ilankai (Ceylon), and whose lofty halls and walls are resplendent in jewels, conquered and destroyed the king of Venad who had a victorious army and took possession of numerous elephants resembling hills, horses with manes, the family treasures and the fertile country along with its magnificent treasures."* This certainly speaks for the prosperity of the country of Venad in the thirteenth century.

About the close of the century, Jayasimha conquered part of Nanjanad and this partial conquest was completed by his son, the great Ravi Varma who was crowned at Conjeevaram. It was probably after the death of this Ravi Varma that the district came under the sway of Nanji Koravan, the traditionary account of whose life may be thus briefly given.

The country of Nanjanad comprised twelve *pidagais* or small divisions belonging to the two Taluqs of Tovala and Agastisvaram. After the downfall of the government of the Chera, Chola and Pandya kings, there were many petty States, each independent in itself, ruled by petty chiefs. At that time there was one Konangi Koravan leading the life of a hunter. He made his livelihood by making baskets &c., from the fibre of the date and other palms. He had two wives, the elder of whom had a son about eighteen years of age. He was wandering with his son and wives in the woods in search of date palms for making baskets and one day he came near Bhutapandi and saw a large bush of palm on what is called the Taduga Malai, a little hill to the east of it. While he was tearing the stem of the date leaves with his scythe, all at once the scythe was turned to a golden hue. He was very much surprised and called his wives and son to his side and they all began to examine the place. A well was seen there. All the weapons they had were dipped into it and they at once turned

* Mr. Venkayya's Translation of the Madras Museum plates of Jatila Varma--Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXII.

gold. They then concealed the well from view. Konangi Koravan soon became very rich. He built a house and a small hamlet around it and the inhabitants were all brought under his control. He increased his influence and power gradually and made himself king of the Koravas. The probable date of his rule may be taken to be after 455 M. E. (1280 A. D.). The villages of Cape Comorin, Suchindram &c., came gradually under his sway. He ruled over his subjects very kindly, the tribute paid to him by his subjects being only iron implements; they were thus left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the whole produce of their lands. The Korava chief collected all iron implements from his subjects and converted them all into gold by immersing them in the well. This Konangi Koravan is said to have ruled over the two Taluqs for about thirty-five years. His son, Bommayya Koravan, also followed his father's example in ruling over his subjects kindly and considerately. He amassed immense wealth by turning all iron vessels and implements into gold. He had under his command an army of 10,000 foot and 100 elephants. He also gave all the produce of the fields to his subjects and looked after their welfare. He is said to have ruled for about thirty-two years. Nanji Koravan was the son of Bommayya Koravan. He was a very intelligent and capable ruler. He equipped himself with all the necessary weapons and acquired influence over the neighbouring Poligars. He looked after the welfare of his subjects and gained their respect and goodwill. While thus ruling, the want of a son to succeed him made him miserable. He married seven wives and at last had a son by the seventh wife. He was very much gratified, invited all his subjects to his palace, gave them liberal charities and entertained them sumptuously. He caused sandal and betel to be distributed among those present enquiring of each to what caste he belonged. He came to know that there were several castes of people under his sway, of whom the Vellalas occupied the highest social position. The ceremony of *Annaprasanam* or the first giving of rice to the child was performed with great mirth and festivity. All the subjects of the kingdom were invited and sumptuously fed according to their respective ranks and social position. The Vellalas he treated with especial respect and after dismissing all the other caste people he addressed the Vellalas as follows:— "You have already promised to co-operate with me in satisfying my eager longing at the time of the birth of my child. I now ask you to give one of your daughters in marriage to my son". The Vellalas were horrified at this strange request and remained speechless being unable to express their opinion boldly. At that juncture one of them by name Periaveettu Mudali said that he had a female child of three months and that he would willingly give that child in marriage to the son of the

ruler. All the Vellalas were then sent away with suitable presents and the Periaveettu Mudali was made his minister. The Vellalas joined together and concerted a plan to get rid of the odious Korava chief and his family. The Mudaliar as minister told the chief that the marriage of his child should not be performed like that of ordinary persons in a thatched pandal, but a huge *mantapam* of stone should be constructed for the marriage. Accordingly the stone *mantapam* work was begun in earnest on a huge scale and it is said that the Periaveettu Mudali contrived a mechanism by which the stone fabric might tumble down any moment he wanted. Preparations for the marriage went on on a grand scale as soon as the boy completed his fifth year. All the inhabitants of the country were invited and everything was ready for the marriage. Certain ceremonies were gone through inside the *mantapam* with the bride and the bridegroom seated on a raised dais. Then the Koravas were informed that it was the custom among the Vellalas that the bridegroom and his relâtions should be seated inside the pandal, while the bride and her mother followed by all the relations of the bride with music and the beating of tomtoms &c., should go round the pandal three times and then enter it when the Tali-tying ceremony should be gone through. This was of course agreed to and while all the Koravas were seated inside the *mantapam* the Vellalas went round it with the bride taken by the mother. At that nick of time the stone roof collapsed and crushed to death all the Koravas seated inside it. So ended, it is said, the Korava dynasty of Nanjanad. After the Koravas, the land was ruled by the Vellalas belonging to the family of Periaveettu Mudali for a very long time.

Resuming our historical narrative, we find that according to the fragmentary inscription at Krishnan Koil, Vatasseri, there was a sovereign named ADITYA VARMA TIRUVADI who ruled over Venad on the 23rd Dhanu 508 M. E. (January 1333 A. D.). It was probably this king that transformed Krishnan Koil into Adityavarma Chaturvedimangalam. It is possible that he was the immediate successor of Ravi Varma Kulasekhara Perumal of Jayasimhanad.

The next sovereign was SRI VIRA RAMA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA, the senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy, who reigned in Venad from the 7th Makaram 511 M. E., to 21st Mithunam 518 M. E., (1336—1342 A. D.). It could be traced from the inscription of Kurandi that on the 23rd Mithunam 518 M. E., a chief of Kothukulam (Dyuta caste), named Suryan, constructed a temple and a well under the command of the Kothukula assembly of Rajakkaneri *alias* Srivallabhamangalam of Kilakkalakkuru in Pandinad, to commemorate the name of this sovereign.

Hence it seems that Udaya Martanda Varma was very kind towards foreign settlers and encouraged them very much. The Kothukula assembly of Rajakkaneri was in affluent circumstances at the time and was very skilful in winning royal favour; and they were also very charitable. This sovereign might have been identical with the king of whom Shungoonny Menon writes, "Sri Vira Rama Martanda Varma, who was then in his 28th year was installed on the musnud in 510 M. E., (1,335 A. D.)". But Shungoonny Menon makes this king rule forty years, while according to the inscription he could not have ruled more than nine years.

At the end of the year 520 M. E. (1344 A. D.), there was a sovereign who was known by the name of SRI VIRA KERALA VARMA TIRUVADI, as mentioned in the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy. The chronicle reveals that on the 32nd Mithunam 520 M. E., Sri Vira Kerala Varma Tiruvadi made, as atonement for the sin of having murdered *Desikal* (the Brahmin emigrants) in Nilaimelkunnu, a hilly tract in the Taluq of Chirayinkil, certain grants of lands to the aggrieved survivors in Vellanad and Kurakkodu, and also 157 kottas of land in Munaraichuttu and also 30,000 fanams to the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy as *garvakkattu* (an amercement for overbearing conduct). But the actual transfer of lands to the aggrieved Desis, and the remittance of the sum specified in the gift to Sri Padmanabhaswamy were made by one of his successors, named Bala Martanda, according to the resolution passed at the *sabha* of Mahabharata-Konam, when he was in urgent need of Desis for the celebration of the local festival on the 2nd Alpasi 911 M. E. But the circumstances under which the Brahman emigrants at Nilaimelkunnu were then murdered by this sovereign are yet unknown, and they are to be determined only on further researches.

The inscriptions of the temple of Udaya Martanda Vinnavar Emperuman at Putugramam *alias* Raja Narayana Chaturvedimangalam go to prove that from the 13th Tulam 538 M. E., to 14th Chingam 541 M. E., SRI VIRA MARTANDA VARMA III ruled over Venad and made gifts of lands in Teranalakya Cholanallur to the village temple. The first writ was executed by him when he halted in the new quarters at Kottar and the second writ when he was at Amaravati. The transformation of the village Putugramam into Raja Narayana Chaturvedimangalam was probably made either by Raja Narayana, the descendant of Nanji Koravan, or by Kulottunga I *alias* Rajakesari Varman, whose reign commenced, according to Prof. Kielhorn, between the 14th March and the 8th October 1070 A. D. The temple chronicle states that in the

year 557 M. E., this Martanda Varma having put to death several men during the war that took place in several places especially in Manur (Kilimanur in Chirayinkil Taluq), made a gift of four silver pots and five thousand fanams as *garvakkattu* to the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy, similar to the gifts of Sri Virakerala IV. During this period Kottar and other portions of Nanjanad in South Travancore were probably under foreign sway; for one Kochchadaiya Varman *alias* Tribhuvana Chakravartigal Sri Parakrama Pandya, reconstructed the temple of Rajendra Cholesvaram at Kottar and granted some lands in Chengalakurichi to the temple of Suchindram according to the inscriptions of Kottar and Suchindram. The inscriptions of Rajendra Cholesvaram state that in the *Saka Samvat* 1295 (1373 A. D), the temple of Rajendra Cholesvaram Udaya Nayanar at Kottar, *alias* Mummudicholanallur, in Nanjanad, was reconstructed by Sri Kochchadaiya *alias* Tribhuvana Chakravarti Sri Parakrama Pandya Deva during the fifth after the tenth year of his reign, when the sun was in Makaram on the third day after the new moon which was Friday, the star being Sathayam. From this it could be traced that this Pandya king is certainly Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya whose reign commenced between the tenth of July 1357 A. D., and the ninth of January 1358 A. D. His other document at Suchindram records that in the 28th year of his reign Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya granted lands in Chengalakurichi (Tinnevelly District) to the temple of Mahadeva at Suchindram for the performance of *Parakramapandya Sandhipuja*. As this royal writ was executed by him in the 28th year of his reign, its date must be 1385 or 1386 A. D. (560 or 561 M. E.). It seems from this edict that the birthday of this Pandya king was the star of Mrigasiram in the month of Medam. It is therefore clear that Parakrama Pandya ruled over Nanjanad in South Travancore for a period of 12 or 13 years from the 15th to the 20th year of his reign i. e., about 548—561 M. E. Hence it is reasonable to think that one of the wars in which several individuals were killed by Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma in the year 550 M. E., was made against Parakrama Pandya in South Travancore.

Mr. P. Sundaram Pillay mentions also a king SARVANGANATHA ADITYA VARMA II who built the temple of Gopalakrishnaswamy at Trivandrum in 1372 A. D. He was probably a governor or sub-king under this Martanda Varma.

An inscription at Tiruvitancode in the Taluq of Kalkulam, shows that SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur (Kilapperur), ruled over Venad in the year 558 M. E. (1383 A. D.). He seems

to have been the immediate successor of Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma. Sri Vira Ravi Varma might have conquered Kottar and other portions of Nanjanad in South Travancore from Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya. SRI VIRA KERALA MARTANDA VARMA of Kilapperur and MARTANDA VARMA who was the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur in Tulam 587 M. E. (1412 A. D.), were the successors of this Ravi Varma. The chronicle reveals that in Malabar year 592 (the end of 1416 A. D.), Sri Vira Ravi Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur, granted six silver pots and an elephant together with a lump sum of 5,000 fanams as *garvakkattu* to Sri Padmanabhaswamy as an atonement for sin committed during the wars that took place at Karuvelankulam, Nityanadai and its adjoining countries. At the same time he made also some other gifts as an atonement for wrongly appropriating properties belonging to the Kurvai Illam. All the properties were restored to the owner and the Illam as well as all other estates belonging to the aggrieved were exempted from the usual land-tax. The war at Karuvelankulam that was made by this sovereign might have been against Jatavarman Parakrama Pandya, as the battle-field was apparently in the District of Tinnevelly which was then under the sway of this Pandyan king.

From an inscription at Alvar, about three miles to the south of Padmanabhapuram in South Travancore, we learn that MARTANDA VARMA "of boundless fame and mild disposition" was the chief among the kings of Kerala in 578 M. E. (1403 A. D.). This would imply that there were at this period several kings in Kerala. From this inscription we learn also that as late as 578 M. E., the measure used was *kalam* and not *kottai marakal* or *parah*. The word 'perai' occurs as part of the name of a particular piece of land. This may be traced to 'pirai' and therefore to 'peru' meaning 'to contain,' 'to be worth' or 'to multiply.' The use of the expression 'home measure' implies that some foreign measure was also then current in the country. Reference is made to the village councils of those days which, it would appear, had influence and independence enough to obstruct the provisions of a royal charter. In cases of such obstruction, however, provision was made for an appeal to be taken to the door of the temple, and therefore, to the government authorities connected with the temple. The caste name, *Varian*, occurs in this inscription. A temple in South Travancore too had then Varians who were bound to do all duties in accordance with the daily *pujas* of the temple and supply a garland of flowers as in the temples of North Travancore.

From a fragmentary inscription at Suchindram, we find that Martanda

Varma continued to rule in *Saka* 1332 (1410 A. D.). According to Shungoonny Menon the king that died in 1382 A. D., was not Martanda Varma, but Ravi Varma. His successor was KERALA VARMA who performed the coronation ceremonies and assumed the title of Kulasekhara Perumal. He died after a very short reign of three months. His twin-brother CHERA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA succeeded him. The reign of this Sovereign appears to have been the longest on record in the history of Travancore. He regained all the southern possessions on the Tinnevelly side, and often resided at Valliyur and Cheramahadevi (Shermadevi) which once belonged to Travancore. In consequence of the mild and unwarlike disposition of this king, some of the subordinate chiefs in the East became refractory, and there was constant fighting and latterly, while this sovereign was residing at Trivandrum, the chief of Rettiapuram invaded Valliyur, and the king's nephew, being defeated in battle committed suicide. Chera Udaya Martanda Varma died in 619 M. E. (1444 A. D.) at the ripe age of seventy-eight.

It should be noted here that this account of Shungoonny Menon differs from the information gathered from inscriptions. The differences here, as well as elsewhere, are difficult to reconcile, but Mr. Menon had no epigraphical data to guide him.[1] The following surmise may however be safely made. I have already adverted to the fact that Travancore was divided into a number of small chieftainships. We see from the archæological accounts that a certain king of Jayasimhanad (Ravi Varma who was crowned at Kanchi) was a contemporary of Chera Udaya Martanda Varma, king of Venad, who was also called Vira Pandya Devar. Thus there were at least two kingdoms one at Quilon and the other further south. It has already been noted that the inscription at Alvar calls Martanda Varma "chief among the kings of Kerala." Is it not therefore probable that all these were really independent chiefs who ruled over small portions of territory? In his own kingdom each Rajah was a great king; but the poor gifts to temples which the inscriptions record, indicates the smallness of their possessions.

Accounts of Travellers. AL IDRISI, the greatest of Arab geographers, who flourished in the twelth century, and who lived for some time at the court of the enlightened Roger II of Sicily, gives some interesting information regarding Malabar. But as he obtained it chiefly from books and from travellers and had no personal knowledge of the countries he wrote about, his account is much confused.

"From Bana (Tanna) to Fandarina is four days' journey. Fandarina is a

town built at the mouth of a river which comes from Manibar (Malabar) where vessels from India and Sind cast anchor. The inhabitants are rich, the markets well supplied, and trade flourishing. North of this town there is a very high mountain covered with trees, villages and flocks. The cardmon grows here and forms the staple of a considerable trade. It grows like the grains of hemp, and the grains are enclosed in pods.....From Fandarina to Jirbatan, a populous town on a little river, is five days. It is fertile in rice and grain, and supplies provisions to the markets of Sarandib. Pepper grows in the neighbouring mountains."

This was the person who wrote that the pepper vine grows nowhere else but in Fandarina (Northern Quilon), Jirbatan (Srikandapuram) and the large and pretty island of Mali, and asserted that the pepper vine leaves curl over the bunches of grapes to protect them from rain and return to their natural position afterwards—'a surprising fact'!

AL KAZWINI (1263-1275 A. D.) is another Mahomedan geographer who compiled his account of India from the works of others. Among other places, he mentions "Kulam, a large city in India. Mis'arbin Muhalhil, who visited the place, says that he did not see either a temple or an idol there. When their king dies, the people of the place choose another from China.* There is no physician in India except in this city. The buildings are curious, for the pillars are (covered with) shells from the backs of fishes. The inhabitants do not eat fish, nor do they slaughter animals, but they eat carrion"; and he goes on to describe the pottery made there and contrasts it with Chinaware. "There are places here where the teak tree grows to a very great height exceeding even one hundred cubits."

MARCO POLO, the great Venetian traveller, had in 1275 A. D., gone to the court of Kublai Khan, had risen high in Chinese service, and visited Quilon and other places when he was a Chinese mandarin under him. Kublai must have had a good deal of diplomatic intercourse with Quilon. From the *Chinese Annals*, we learn that in 1282 A. D., some envoys from the king of Quilon landed at Zayton (T'swan-chau), the chief port of China at that time, with presents of various rarities, and that the king of Quilon was called *Pinate* (or *Benate* which represents the lord of Venad). The royal residence was called *Apu'hota*.

Marco Polo on his way home to Venice in the suite of the Princess Kokachin visited Quilon in 1293 A. D. He spent a long time in Malabar. He has given interesting descriptions of Quilon, Comorin and Malabar.

Of the kingdom of Quilon (*Coilum*) he says:—

* Probably a mis-statement for Chera.

"When you quit Maabar * and go 500 miles towards the south-west you come to the kingdom of Coilum. The people are Idolaters, but there are also some Christians and some Jews. The natives have a language of their own, and a king of their own, and are tributary to no one. A great deal of brazil is got here, which is called *brazil Coilu nin* from the country which produces it; it is of very fine quality. Good ginger also grows here, and it is known by the same name of *Coilumin* after the country. Pepper too grows in great abundance throughout this country, and I will tell you how. You must know that the pepper-trees are (not wild but) cultivated, being regularly planted and watered; and the pepper is gathered in the months of May, June and July. They have also abundance of very fine indigo. † This is made of a certain herb which is gathered, and (after the roots have been removed) is put into great vessels upon which they pour water and then leave it till the whole of the plant is decomposed. They then put this liquid in the sun, which is tremendously hot here, so that it boils and coagulates, and becomes such as we see it. The merchants from Manzi (China), and from Arabia, and from the Levant come thither with their ships and their merchandise and make great profits both by what they import and by what they export. There are in this country many and diverse beasts quite different from those of other parts of the world. Thus there are lions black all over, with no mixture of any other colour; and there are parrots of many sorts, for some are white as snow with red beak and feet, and some are red, and some are blue, forming the most charming sight in the world; there are green ones too. There are also some parrots of exceeding small size, beautiful creatures. They have also very beautiful peacocks larger than ours, and different; and they have cocks and hens quite different from ours; and what more shall I say? In short, everything they have is different from ours, and finer and better..... Corn they have none but rice. So also their wine they make from (palm) sugar; capital drink it is and very speedily it makes a man drunk. All other necessaries of man's life they have in great plenty and cheapness. They have very good astrologers and physicians. Man and woman— they are all black and go naked, all save a fine cloth worn about the middle. They look not on any sin of the flesh as a sin. They marry their cousins german, and a man takes his brother's wife after the brother's death; and all the people of India have this custom."

This is his account of *Comari* or Comorin :—

"Comari is a country belonging to India, and there you can see something of the North Star which we had not been able to see from the Lesser Java thus far. In order to see it you must go some 30 miles out to sea, and then you see it about a cubit above the water. This is a very wild country, and there are beasts of all kinds there, especially monkeys of such peculiar fashion, that you would take them for men! There are also *gatpards* (a kind of ape?) in wonderful diversity, with bears, lions, and leopards in abundance."

Of *Melibar* he says,

* "Maabar was the name given by the Mahomedans in the 13th and 14th centuries to a tract corresponding in a general way to what we call the Coromandel Coast. The word in Arabic signifies the passage or ferry, and may have referred either to the communication with Ceylon, or, as is more probable, to its being in that age, the coast most frequented by travellers from Arabia and the Gulf". Yule's Marco Polo, Vol. II. Page 332. According to Abulfeda whose geography was completed about 1321 A. D. Cape Comorin was the point where Malabar ended and Maabar began. But Wassaf, an earlier writer, says that Maabar extended in length from *Kaulam* (Quilon) to *Nilacar* (Nellore).

† No indigo is made or exported at Quilon now, but still there is the export of sappan-wood, ginger and pepper.

"Melibar is a great kingdom lying towards the west. The people are idolaters; they have a language of their own and a king of their own and pay tribute to nobody."

He then proceeds to describe the pirates of Melibar and of Gozurat, and their tactics in forming sea-cordons with a large number of vessels each five or six miles apart, communicating news to each other by means of fire or smoke, thereby enabling all the corsairs to concentrate on the point where a prize was to be found. Then he goes on to describe the commerce:—

"There is in this kingdom a great quantity of pepper, and ginger, and cinnamon, and turbit, and of nuts of India. They also manufacture very delicate and beautiful buckrams. The ships that come from the east bring copper in ballast. They also bring hither cloths of silk and gold and sandels; also gold and silver, cloves and spikenard and other fine spices, for which there is a demand here, and exchange these for the products of these countries. Ships come hither from many quarters, but especially from the great province of Manzi. Coarse spices are exported hence both to Manzi and to the west and that which is carried by the merchants to Aden goes on to Alexandria, but the ships that go in the latter direction are not one to ten of those that go to the eastward; a very notable fact that I have mentioned before."*

FRIAR JORDANUS OF SEVERAC. In 1324 A. D., Friar Jordanus of Severac came to Quilon and spent some years in mission work among the Nestorians. He was subsequently nominated Bishop of the See of Kaulam, latinised as *Kolumbum*. He is the first writer who gives an account of the Marumakkattayam law. The king of Quilon was a Nayar Lingayet and the commercial wealth of the port had made the kingdom powerful. Jordanus built St. George's Church and established Christians at Quilon and other towns on the coast. In his *Mirabilia Descriptia*, Jordanus pays a noble tribute to the rulers of Malabar for their toleration and mildness and gives a favourable account of the character of the people. "The people" he says, "are clean in their feeding, true in speech and eminent in justice, maintaining carefully the privileges of every man according to his degree, as they have come down from old times." He also speaks highly of the astrologers and physicians of Malabar. ‡

FRIAR ODORIC. Almost at the same time, Friar Odoric of Podrenore, a native of Bohemia, visited Malabar on his way to China. He

* Yule's Travels of Marco Polo Vol. II. Page 390.

‡ Gasper Correa, the historian of Portuguese India, gives a story of a Kanian or astrologer living at Cannanore about three hundred or four hundred years before the arrival of the Portuguese "who had such a great reputation for astrology that his predictions were committed to writing, one of which related to the arrival of Europeans from the west who would attain supremacy of India."

reached Pandarani near Calicut, touched at Chaliat, Kodungalur and Quilon; in the last two places, he met several Jews. He mentions the great respect paid to the cow by the Hindus, as does Friar Jordanus too.

IBN BATUTA. A few years later, Quilon was visited by the great traveller Abu Abdulla Mahomed, better known as Ibn Batuta, the greatest traveller of the Arabian race. He left his native country Tangiers for a pilgrimage in the 725th year of the Hejira (1324-1325 A. D.). His coming to Quilon forms an interesting episode in the history of the time. After passing through various parts of the world in 1332, he passed over from Afghanistan to the Court of Mahomed Tughlak at Delhi where he was made chief judge. About 1347 A. D., an embassy came from China seeking permission to rebuild a Buddha temple in the Himalayas, much frequented by the Chinese pilgrims. Ibn Batuta was selected to answer the embassy and he with a large retinue started from Delhi. The party embarked in country ships in the Gulf of Cambay and landed at Calicut where he was the guest of the Zamorin. When they were about to start, a sudden storm arose, the ships were obliged to put out to sea and Ibn Batuta who was on shore was thus cut off from his ship. He then travelled by backwater to Quilon to reach the ships, but the storm destroyed them. Batuta was not willing to go to Delhi, so he stayed three years wandering in the Malabar cities. His account of Malabar covers 100 pages in a French translation. What was a loss to the Emperor's embassy turned out to be a gain to the early history of Malabar, for he was a prolific writer of the places and things he visited. He describes Quilon as "one of the finest cities in Malabar with magnificent markets and very wealthy merchants". The king was a person called Attrewery (Tiruvadi or Royal feet), "eminent for his strict and terrible justice". Here is an interesting picture of criminal justice of the times. He writes:—

"During my stay at Kaulam, a Persian archer, who was wealthy and influential, killed one of his comrades and then took refuge in the house of one Alawedji. The Mussulmans wanted to bury the dead body, but the officers of the king would not allow them to do so, until the murderer was seized and punished. The officers of the king took the dead body in a bier to the gate of Alawedji and left it there to rot. The smell soon compelled Alawedji to hand over the murderer to the officers of the king, who refused a large bribe offered by the Persian, and had him forthwith tried and executed. The body of the victim was then buried."

This barbarous custom might perhaps have been introduced into Quilon from China where it appears to prevail even now, Quilon being then the port most frequented by Chinese ships. Calicut had already become a great rival of Quilon. The trade with the West, Arabia, Egypt

and Venice was absorbed by Calicut, while the trade with the East, Bengal and Malaccas remained with Quilon. The following is his description of Malabar:—

"We next came into the country of Malabar which is the country of black pepper. Its length is a journey of two months along the shore from Sindabur to Kawlam. The whole of the way by land lies under the shade of trees and at the distance of every half mile there is a house made of wood in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be Moslems or infidels. To each of these there is a well, out of which they drink; and over each is an infidel appointed to give drink. To the infidels he supplies this in vessels; to the Moslems he pours it in their hands. They do not allow the Moslems to touch their vessels, or to enter into their apartments; but if any one should happen to eat out of one of their vessels, they break it to pieces. But in most of their districts the Mussalman merchants have houses and are greatly respected. So that Moslems who are strangers, whether they are merchants or poor may lodge among them. But at any town in which no Moslem resides, upon any one's arriving they cook, and pour out drink for him, upon the leaf of the banana; and whatever he happens to leave is given to the dogs. And in all this space of two months' journey, there is not a span free from cultivation. For everybody has here a garden, and his house is placed in the middle of it; and round the whole of this there is a fence of wood, up to which the ground of each inhabitant comes. No one travels in these parts upon beasts of burden; nor is there any horse found, except with the king who is therefore the only person who rides. When, however, any merchant has to sell or buy goods, they are carried upon the backs of men, who are always ready to do so (for hire).

"Every one of these men has a long staff, which is shod with iron at its extremity and at the top has a hook. When, therefore, he is tired with his burden, he sets up his staff in the earth like a pillar and places the burden upon it; and when he has rested, he again takes up his burden without the assistance of another. With one merchant you will see one or two hundred of these carriers, the merchant himself walking. But when the nobles pass from place to place, they ride in a *dula* made of wood, something like a box, and which is carried upon the shoulders of slaves and hirelings. They put a thief to death for stealing a single nut, or even a grain of seed of any fruit, hence thieves are unknown among them; and should anything fall from a tree, none except its proper owner, would attempt to touch it.

"In the country of Malabar are twelve kings, the greatest of whom has fifty thousand troops at his command; the least five thousand or thereabouts. That which separates the district of one king from that of another is a wooden gate upon which is written: 'The gate of safety of such an one'. For, when any criminal escapes from the district of one king and gets safely into that of another, he is quite safe; so that no one has the least desire to take him so long as he remains there.

"Each of their kings succeeds to rule, as being sister's son, not the son to the last. Their country is that from which black pepper is brought; and this is the far greater part of their produce and culture. The pepper tree resembles that of the dark grape. They plant it near that of the cocoanut, and make frame-work for it, just as they do for the grape tree. It has, however, no tendrils, and the tree itself resembles a bunch of grapes. The leaves are like the ears of a horse; but some of them resemble the leaves of a bramble. When the

autumn arrives, it is ripe; they then cut it, and spread it just as they do grapes, and thus it is dried by the sun. As to what some have said that they boil it in order to dry it, it is without foundation. I also saw in their country and on the sea-shores aloes, like the seed-aloe, sold by measure, just as meal and millet is."

MARIGNOLLI OF FLORENCE, the Papal Legate, visited Quilon in 1347 A. D., on his way to Europe from China—Quilon which he called "the very noble city of Columbum where the whole world's pepper is produced". He lived for over a year at Quilon and preached in the Latin Church of St. George founded by Jordanus and got one hundred gold fanams every month as his tithe. There is still a Syrian Church of St. George at Quilon and a mosque. A vague tradition of extensive trade with China still survives. He gives a ravishing account of Malabar. Being an ambitious man, he wished that the people of Quilon should never forget his name. According to his own account,

"And after I had been there sometime, I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column. For I erected a stone as my landmark and memorial and anointed it with oil. In sooth, it was a marble pillar with a stone-cross on it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved on it with inscriptions both in Indian and in Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon's. So after a year and four months I took leave of the brethren."

But though the monument lasted for several centuries being washed away by the sea only a few years ago, it did not serve to keep fresh the name of Marignolli. The inscriptions were destroyed by the climate and the sea-air. The pious Christians of Quilon, however, attributed the pillar to St. Thomas, the founder of their Church and revered it as a proof of the visit of the great Apostle of the Indies to the shores of Malabar.

PART III. (1400—1600 A. D.).

State of South India. Before passing on to the history of the next century, it will be necessary to note the great events in South Indian history at this period. Reference has already been made to the supremacy of the Cholas, Pallavas, Western Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas of South India. About the end of the tenth century the Rashtrakutas were superseded by the Western Chalukyas under Tailappa II. The Hoysala Ballalas appeared in 1080 A. D., and took possession of the Kongu territories. How the Cholas revived under Kolottunga Chola and how the Pandyan capital was incorporated into its dominions in 1070 A. D., has already been stated.

In the first half of the twelfth century A. D., the Hoysala Ballalas of Halabid were the rising power in the south. Their king Vishnuvardhana took Talakad, the Ganga or Kongu capital, and brought that dynasty to a close.

"A few years later (A. D. 1182 or 1189) the suzerains of the Kongus—the Western Chalukya dynasty, came to an end in the reign of Somesvara Deva, the last king of that branch of the family, that territory being swallowed up by the Yadavas of Devagiri coming from the north, and by the Bijjala of Kulabhuriya Kula who was in turn supplanted by the Ballalas advancing from the south."*

It was about this time that the Chola territories were invaded by the king of Ceylon on the south, apparently in aid of the Pandyas, and by the Warrangal dynasty in the north. The Ballalas took Canara in their movement southward and they called this country Kerala; but it does not appear that they had anything to do with Kerala Proper or Malabar.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Southern India was convulsed by a Mahomedan invasion from the north under Malik Kafur (1310 A. D.). Mr. Logan says, "It has sometimes been supposed that the Malabar Coast fell in common with the rest of the Peninsula before the Mahomedans at this time; but there is nothing to show that this was the case and the name applied at this time by Marco Polo (1293 A. D.) and by Ibn Batuta (1342—1347 A. D.) to the eastern portion of the peninsula—namely, Maabar, probably gave rise to the idea." Both Chola and Pandya kingdoms, however, succumbed to the Mahomedans, but Kerala escaped probably owing its immunity from invasion to its dense forests and mountain fastnesses.

With the founding of the Vijayanagar dynasty in 1336 A. D., a new political influence appeared in the south. Before the century expired, the kingdom of Vijayangar had extended itself to the whole of the Peninsula. The establishment of the Bahmani kingdom and its contests with Vijayanangar and the final supremacy of the latter do not concern us here. It may be noted here that "the Mahomedans continued their raids into Southern India during the fourteenth century, and in 1374, in one of these, under Mujabid Shah of the Bahmani dynasty, they came as far south as Ramesvaram, but the rapid rise and extension of the Vijayanagar Raj in the last half of the century put an end for a time to these Mahomedan raids into the south."

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. I. Page 282.

Even in Malabar, which was free from such expeditions, Mahomedan influence was on the increase and it is not improbable that owing to this circumstance the influence of the Zamorin was in the ascendant at the end of the fourteenth century as he was in close touch with the Mahomedan merchants of Calicut, a port which attracted considerable trade by the safety and facility it gave. According to Mr. Logan,

"One of the first effects of this Mahomedan alliance seems to have been that the trading rivals of the Mahomedans, the Chinese merchants whose fleets Ibn Batuta so graphically describes, received some bad usage at the Zamorin's hands, and deserted Calicut and the Malabar coast generally after undertaking an expedition of revenge in which they inflicted no small slaughter on the people of Calicut. This happened, Colonel Yule thinks, about the beginning of the fifteenth century." *

Internal History. From 1444 to 1680 A. D., all that we have in the shape of history is but a list of names of kings and their dates.

Venad Mootha Rajah— 619—633 M. E. / 1444—1458 A. D.

Sri Vira Martanda Varma — 633—646 M. E. / 1458—1471 A. D.

Aditya Varma — 646—653 M. E. / 1471—1478 A. D.

Ravi Varma — 653—679 M. E. / 1478—1504 A. D.

Sri Vira Ravi Varma — 679—703 M. E. / 1504—1528 A. D.

Martanda Varma — 703—712 M. E. / 1528—1537 A. D.

Udaya Martanda Varma — 712—735 M. E. / 1537—1550 A. D.

Kerala Varma — 735—738 M. E. / 1550—1553 A. D.

Aditya Varma — 738—742 M. E. / 1553—1567 A. D.

Udaya Martanda Varma — 742—769 M. E. / 1567—1594 A. D.

Sri Vira Ravi Varma Kulasekhara Perumal — 769—779 M. E. / 1594—1604 A. D.

Sri Vira Varma — 779—781 M. E. / 1604—1606 A. D.

Ravi Varma — 781—794 M. E. / 1606—1619 A. D.

Unni Kerala Varma — 794—800 M. E. / 1619—1625 A. D.

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. I. Page 294.

Ravi Varma — 800—806 M. E. / 1625—1631 A. D.

Unni Kerala Varma — 806—836 M. E. / 1631—1661 A. D.

Aditya Varma — 836—852 M. E. / 1661—1677 A. D.

The inscriptions no doubt give some more information but of a meagre kind. But there is a difficulty about the names of some of the kings. Two or more kings of the same dynasty are mentioned as ruling at the same time. It may be that both were independent chiefs ruling over small tracts. Or it may be that the senior associated the junior with him in governmental affairs e. g., we find the Mogul Emperors appointing their sons governors of provinces. Or again it may be that one of them is the reigning sovereign while the other is only a member of the family making certain gifts under his sanction.

Mention has already been made of Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur,* who ruled in Venad in 592 M. E. (1416—1417 A. D.).

The next ruler we meet with is SRI VIRA RAMA MARTANDA VARMA KULASEKHARA. A Vattezhuttu inscription at Tirunavaykulam in the Taluk of Chirayinkil records that in 614 M. E. (1439 A. D.), Sri Vira Rama Martanda Varma Kulasekhara of Kilapperur, the Senior Tiruvadi of Venad, constructed a granite temple of fine workmanship with the *mantapam* and the inner shrine roofed with copper plates. In connection with this, the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy state that Sri Vira Rama Martanda ruled over Venad till the 21st Kanni 644 M. E. (1468 A. D.), and two writs were issued by him concerning the temple arrangements, one on the 19th Dhanu 634 M. E. (1459 A. D.) and the other on the 20th Makaram 636 M. E. (1461 A. D.). On the 21st Kanni 644 M. E. (1468 A. D.), this Rama Martanda Varma Kulasekhara Perumal of Jayasimhanad made a gift of 13,000 fanams to cover the cost of making a golden elephant, and 360 fanams for four silver pots for Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple in order to expiate the sin committed by him during the war against Jayasimhanad. The chief against whom this war was made cannot now be identified.

Another Prince CHEMPAKA ADITYA VARMA, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy, is also mentioned as a ruling king of the period. On the 20th

* Tiruppapur is a village ten miles north of Trivandrum from which the Travancore kings take their title 'Tiruppapur Swarupam'. From a religious point of view this is an important place as the Travancore Maharajahs have to go there and worship at the temple at the time of their coronation ceremonies.

Edavam 630 M. E. (1455 A. D.), he consecrated an image of Gangadhara in the Krishnancoil at Vatasseri. It looks strange that a Siva image should be put into a Vaishnava temple. This Aditya Varma and Rama Martanda Varma Kulasekhara Perumal might have been co-kings, *i. e.*, members of the same family in charge of different portions of the country, ruling on behalf of the head of the family and under his authority. It is equally probable that Venad and Jayasimhanad which became one kingdom in the reigns of Ravi Varma Kulasekhara and his successors were again separated into two kingdoms ruled respectively by Martanda Varma and Aditya Varma who according to the inscriptions belong to the Tiruppapur (Jayasimhanad) and Siraivoy (Attungal or Venad) dynasties respectively.

At that period there was also one queen of the Kupaka family who was known by the name of Kulasekhara Nambirattiyar. The temple of Kariyamanikka Vinnavar Emperumal at the village of Idaraikudi in the Taluq of Agastisvaram was constructed by this queen with an additional *sopanam* and *mantapam*. This work was completed and consecrated by her on the 30th Medam 643 M. E. (May 1468 A. D.). This temple was probably founded by a Pandyan or other foreign king Kariyamanikka and named after himself.

The next Prince of whom the epigraphical records give some information is SRI VIRA RAMA VARMA *alias* Chempaka Rama Varma of Jayasimhanad, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur. An inscription in the temple of Suchindram records certain gifts made by this king for the performance of daily *pujas* in that temple. From this inscription we learn that the reign of Sri Vira Rama Varma commenced even before 1468 A. D., that the market rates of the goods and aromatics mentioned in it were only one-seventh of the present rates and that the measurements of the lands and grains were then the same as they were at the time of his predecessors.

There was on the 1st of Kumbhom 647 M. E., (1472 A. D.) a king by the name of SRI VIRA KODAI ADITYA VARMA of Kilapperur, Jayasimhanad, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy according to the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy. But beyond this bare fact nothing could be ascertained except that he might have been one of the co-regents at the time. There is an inscription to prove that Aditya Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad, as well as his younger brother named Rama Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy, reigned on the 14th Kumbhom 659 M. E. (1484 A. D.). This latter may be identical with

Sri Vira Kodai Aditya Varma who flourished in Venad in 1472 A. D. But he is mentioned in the temple chronicles as the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy while Aditya Varma of 1484 A. D., is clearly referred to in the inscription as the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad, Kilapperur. On this basis the reign of Sri Vira Kodai Aditya Varma may be taken as having lasted up to the year 1484 A. D. His younger brother Rama Varma was probably his co-regent under the title of the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy.

SRI VIRA RAVI RAVI VARMA, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur, ruled over Venad for a period of thirty-two years from 654 to 686 M. E. (1479-1512 A. D.), for the first five years of which he ruled probably as co-regent. The temple chronicle records that on the 3rd Karkadagam 673 M. E. (1498 A. D.), Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma made a gift of twelve silver pots and granite images as an atonement for sin committed in a fight which took place at the northern entrance of Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple, and that he granted some lands adjoining the tank of Viranarayanaseri to the aggrieved parties. It states also that on the 24th Medam 675 M. E. (1500 A. D.), he gave 5,000 fanams as *garvakkattu* together with a silver vessel to the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy to expiate the sin of having destroyed several villages at that time. Ravi Varma having killed several people during the fights that took place in the year 682 M. E., (1507 A. D.) made another gift of twenty-seven silver vessels to the same temple together with the grant of lands at Vembanur, Kaladi and Kappukal. It appears from these gifts that at this period several small battles were fought between the years 673 and 682 M. E. (1498-1507 A. D.) during which many people were killed. The inscriptions also make mention of several princes at the time. Of these ADITYA VARMA and UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA were reigning sovereigns. Jayasimha Deva (afterwards Jayasimha II) and Sakalakalai (Sarvanganatha) Martanda Varma were probably their co-regents.

There is also evidence to show that at this time some other princes also ruled over small bits of territories showing divided authority and internal dissensions in the ruling family.

Of the above-mentioned co-regents, JAYASIMHA DEVA II reigned in Venad in the year 661 M. E. (1486 A. D.), and SAKALAKALAI MARTANDA VARMA about 670 M. E. (1495 A. D.). The latter established a temple of Vinayakar at the village of Marungur in Agastisvaram Taluq after his own name. His coat of arms consisted of three swords, a drum, a bow and an arrow, all of which formed his escutcheon; that of Jayāsimha II consisted of the divine thunderbolt after the manner of Indra's

Vajrayudham, an umbrella, a chowri, a flag and one *Purnakumbham*. The same ensigns were used by the kings of Jayasimhanad even at the commencement of the second quarter of the sixteenth century A. D. Of Jayasimha II, we gather the following information from the pillar inscription of Parasurama Perunteru in Kottar. On the 1st Chittrai 661 M. E., (1486 A. D.) the crowned king of the Chera family by name Jayasimha Devar came on tour to Vatasseri in South Travancore. The Brahmins, the Pillamars and the other superior sections of the community looked down upon the inhabitants of Parasurama Perunteru who earned their bread by dyeing clothes and who had come from distant lands and colonised the said Perunteru. They further kept them aloof saying that they were of low origin and that they belonged to the left hand caste of the community. They were subjected to further hardships by being prevented from paying their respects to the king except through themselves, and that they should not worship the village gods as the high class people did, that they should readily submit to pay any kind of tax levied upon them and that, if any of these rules were infringed, they would be subjected to corporal punishment and forbidden from living even in their own village or from using the village wells. The poor people took advantage of the Royal presence in their midst and prayed for redress of their grievances. The king Jayasimha Deva was pleased to grant them audience and after hearing them issued orders to the following effect:—

(1) That if they had any grievances to be redressed they might appear before the king and acquaint him of the same whenever he came in procession on his elephant;

(2) That they need pay no other tax than that for the maintenance of the navy, *viz.*, *kappalvari* (கப்பல்வரி) and that of the army, *viz.*, *padaippanam* (படைப்பணம்);

(3) That the superior classes (including the right hand castes) should not interfere with their religious worship, with the celebration of their festivals, nor with the use of the necessary flags and other appendages within certain limits exclusively set apart for their use;

(4) That no injustice should be done to them;

(5) That they should be allowed free use of the public wells and tanks;

(6) And that any interference on the part of the Brahmins, Pillamars and other superior sections of the community with the affairs of the left hand caste would meet with Royal displeasure and be punished accordingly.

It may be pointed out here that the king's order to allow these low born subjects of the left hand castes to approach him whenever he came in procession on an elephant is based on the old orthodox belief that the presence of an elephant purifies a crowd and no pollution ensues by the approach of low castes then. We may add that this feeling of tolerance is characteristic of the Maharajahs of Travancore though sufficient credit was not always given them for it in later times. Needless to state that this humane order allowing full privileges to the people of low castes for using public wells and tanks, and dispensing justice to them all impartially and prohibiting the Brahmins, Pillamars and other high castes from molesting them under pains and penalties, reflects great credit on the early sovereigns of Travancore who ruled five centuries before our time and shows in them possession of rare tact and talent for conciliating conflicting interests.

Accounts of Travellers for the period. It may be of some interest to refer to the accounts given by the various travellers who visited the coast in the fifteenth century, which give a general idea of some of the sea-coast towns, their rulers and population.

MAHUAN visited the coast in 1409 A. D. He writes of Cochin thus:—

"The king or ruler is of the solar race and is a sincere believer of Buddhism and has the greatest reverence for elephants and oxen and every morning at daylight presents himself before an image of Buddha. The king wears no clothing on the upper part of his person; he has simply a square of silk wound round his loins kept in place by a cloured waist band of the same material and on his head a turban of yellow or white cotton cloth. The houses are built of the wood of the cocoanut tree and are thatched with its leaves. There are five classes of men. The Nayars rank with the king. In the first class are those who shave their beards and have a thread or string over their shoulders. These are looked upon as belonging to the noblest families.* In the second are Mahomedans, the third the Chetties who are the capitalists; in the fourth Kolings who act as commission agents, the fifth the Mukuvas, ‡ the lowest and poorest of all. The merchants of the country carry on their business as pedlars do in China. All trading transactions are carried on by the Chetties who buy and sell pepper to foreign ships and buy and collect precious stones and other costly wares. The coinage of the country is a gold piece called a fanam; there is also a little silver coin called a *tarlu* (worth half a penny) — fifteen *tarlu* make one fanam. There are no asses or geese in the country, neither wheat nor barley; rice, maize, hemp and millet abound."†

NICOLO CONTI, a Venetian noble, also visited Malabar in the earlier part of the fifteenth century. He says that after having quitted Java he bent

* This probably refers to the Brahmins.

‡ The fishermen on the sea-coast.

† Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for April 1886.

his course westward to a maritime city called Ciampa which journey occupied him one month, and departing thence he in a like space of time reached *Coleon* (Quilon), "a noble city the circumference of which is twelve miles". The province he calls *Melibaria* (Malabar), where ginger, pepper, brazil wood and cinnamon are collected. He accurately describes the jack tree, which he calls *cachi*. "A tree grows here in great abundance, the trunk of which produces fruit resembling the pine-apple, but so large as to be lifted with difficulty by one man; the rind is green and hard, but yields nevertheless to the pressure of the finger. Within are from two hundred to three hundred apples resembling figs, very sweet to the taste, and which are separated from each other by follicles ..... The fruit of this tree is sometimes found under the earth in its root; these excel the others in flavour and for this reason it is the custom to set these apart for royal use". He also describes the mango under the name of *amba* (Sans. *Amra*).

ABD-ER-RAZZAK visited Malabar in 1442 A. D. From him we learn that the Chinese influence on the Malabar Coast had then declined completely and that the whole trade was in the hands of the Mahomedans from the west. He gives a very interesting account of his sojourn at Calicut, which he describes as a "perfectly safe harbour". He bears testimony also to the excellence of the Zamorin's rule which may be taken as the type of administration then in vogue on the coast generally.

"Security and justice are so firmly established in this city that the most wealthy merchants bring thither from maritime countries considerable cargoes, which they unload, and unhesitatingly send into the markets and the bazaars, without thinking in the meantime of any necessity of checking the accounts or of keeping watch over the goods. The officers of the custom-house take upon themselves the charge of looking after the merchandise, over which they keep watch day and night. When a sale is effected, they levy a duty on the goods of one-fortieth part; if they are not sold, they make no charge on them whatever."

Of the people he says:—

"The blacks of this country have the body nearly naked. In one hand they hold an Indian poignard which has the brilliance of a drop of water, and in the other a buckle of ox hide, which might be taken for a piece of mist. This custom is common to the king and to the beggar. As to the Mussalmans, they dress themselves in magnificent apparel after the manner of the Arabs, and manifest luxury in every particular. The sovereign of this city bears the title of *Sameri*. When he dies, it is his sister's son who succeeds him, and his inheritance does not belong to his son, or his brother, or any other of his relations. No one reaches the throne by means of the strong hand."*

The Portuguese in Malabar and Travancore. It was in 1497 A. D., that King Emmanuel of Portugal fitted out three vessels

* Major's India in the Fifteenth Century.—Journey of Abd-er-Razzak. Page. 17.

on an expedition to find a route for India. The little fleet left Lisbon harbour under Da Gama on the 8th July. After various vicissitudes of fortune the vessels reached Calicut on the 28th May 1498. Gama soon after sent a message to the Zamorin announcing his arrival as an Ambassador from the king of Portugal with a letter and presents.

The traders from Egypt and Arabia who till this time completely monopolised the commerce of the coast viewed the advent of the interlopers with extreme jealousy. They were able to convince the Zamorin, his ministers and chief men of the place that the Portuguese were pirates and not the peaceful merchants they appeared to be. The result was that though Gama had landed his goods and the Zamorin gave him a house, the factor placed in charge of the house could neither sell nor buy and was soon treated as a prisoner. Gama in return seized some fishermen. The king's officers when they heard of this released the factor. But Gama did not free all the fishermen as he wanted to carry some of them to Portugal. This proceeding confirmed the natives in their suspicion that the foreigners were pirates and slave traders. The alarm spread along the whole coast and Vasco da Gama found that the country was against him. He left Calicut with his ships and returned to Portugal after an absence of twenty-six months, on the 29th August 1499. The king of Portugal immediately sent another expedition under Cabral with thirteen ships and twelve hundred men.

Cabral reached Calicut on the 13th of September 1500 A. D., with six ships. The Zamorin now became more friendly to the Portuguese and gave them a house at Calicut, where a factor was placed with goods and money under the protection of sixty chosen Portuguese.

But the Portuguese were not successful in trade, as their old enemies the Moors had persuaded the people not to sell them any goods. The Portuguese admiral was in a rage and in a fit of passion ordered the capture of a Moorish vessel and transferred the cargo to his own ship and set the enemy's ship on fire. The Moors were not prepared to put up with such violence and an attack was immediately made on the factory which was plundered, fifty men being killed. The Portuguese burned fifty native ships that were lying in the harbour and cannonaded the city of Calicut for two days. They then returned southward to Cochin whose Rajah had a special feud against the Zamorin and was therefore anxious for the friendship of the powerful strangers. The Rajah concluded a treaty with the Portuguese, supplied them with cargoes and permitted them to build a fort within his territory.

The ruler of Quilon in 1501 A. D., sent a deputation to Cabral at Cochin inviting him to visit Quilon, and promising to supply him with pepper and spices at a cheaper rate than he could obtain at Cochin. But the offer was politely declined. Soon after, Cabral returned to Lisbon.

The disasters of Cabral did not in the least discourage the King of Portugal. He was ambitious of founding an oriental empire and, having obtained a bull from the Pope conferring on him the sovereignty of all the countries visited by his fleets in the East, he assumed the title of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest and Commerce of Ethiopia, Persia, Arabia and India", and fitted out a third expedition under Gama with fifteen vessels. Gama arrived at Calicut and demanded reparation for the insult offered to Cabral, which being refused, he set the town on fire. He then proceeded to the friendly port of Cochin.

The King of Cochin realised much profit by his trade with the Portuguese. Gama treated him with much liberality. When the Queen of Quilon heard of these, she sent a message to Gama, as she had pepper enough to load twenty ships each year, requesting him to send two of his largest ships to her port which she promised to load with pepper on the same terms as he had already established at Cochin. Vasco da Gama replied that as he had promised the King of Cochin not to do anything in that country in the matter of trade without his leave and good pleasure, she could better inform the King of Cochin of the matter. The Queen immediately sent a message to the King who, thinking that as the Portuguese could obtain all the pepper they required from Cochin, they would not trouble to send ships to Quilon, gave his assent and communicated it also to Gama. "Two ships were sent to Quilon and they were taken to a river called *Callecoulam* (Kayangulam) which was five leagues south from the port (Cochin), were filled up in ten days and returned to Cochin loaded with pepper and spices. Besides, the Queen sent a present to Vasco da Gama (Captain Major) of several silk stuffs of various colours which were made in the country, and very fine white stuffs of very great worth". Gama left Pacheco at Cochin with a handful of men to protect the Portuguese factories and unaccountably set sail for Europe.

On the departure of Gama the Zamorin of Calicut invaded Cochin for having harboured the Portuguese, but Pacheco with his comrades was able to defeat him severely thus demonstrating for the first time the superiority of European over Asiatic soldiers. Da Gama was succeeded by Albuquerque (Afonso Dalboquerque) who arrived at Calicut in

September 1503. The first European fort in India was built at Cochin and christened Emmanuel after the name of the sovereign of Portugal.

Albuquerque lands at Quilon. The trade in Quilon at that time was even more extensive than that of Cannanore and Cochin, and vessels laden with rich merchandise daily came from Ceylon, Bengal and Malacca. The state of Quilon at this time is thus described:—

"At the time when Afonso Dalboquerque arrived at Coulao, it was a very large city, peopled with heathens, with not a single moor in it, nor any foreigner except the brother of Cherinamercar of Cochin, who had gone thither just lately to reside. This city was a great seaport of merchants, and anciently had in it many merchants stopping there from all parts of India, principally from Malacca. And as it was a port sheltered from the wind on every side, the ships which go to India, as well as those which passed the island of Ceilao (Ceylon) and Chale (Kayal?) made their entrepot there. In those days the island of Ceilao was subject to it, and paid tribute to it, and it possessed all the land from Coulao to Chale, which is about sixty leagues, and the distance from Caulao to the island of Ceilao is eighty leagues. The King of Coulao was a very honest man, and very gallant, and in the war which he carried on with the King of Narsinga, who had many soldiers, both horse and foot, he attacked him with sixty thousand archers and overcame him. Besides the Nambeadarim, who was the chief governor of the land, there were in the city thirty-six principal men who governed it, so that it was the best ruled city at that time in those parts." *

Albuquerque soon after started from Cochin and arrived near Quilon, and when the sea became calm he ordered a few of his crew to go ashore to see what they could discover. On landing they were received by about four hundred men on the beach lost in admiration of the boat in which they arrived and its contents. The following account as told by Eupoli, one of the crew thus sent,of their doings at Quilon is interesting and may be quoted here:—

"As soon as we were near enough, we gave them to understand by means of our interpreter that we were Christians, the which they sooner heard than they gave evident signs of the greatest satisfaction; at the same time intimating that they also were Christians, having been so from the time of St. Thomas; they were in number near three thousand souls. They showed us a church, which they had built after our form, but of an indifferent architecture, ornamented with saints and a cross and called Santa Maria; and in the neighbourhood of the church dwelt these people, who call themselves Nazarenes.

"We were then presented to the king, Nambiadora, who received us with great kindness and urbanity; and having asked him if we could be supplied with spices, he answered that in twenty days he would engage to load us with every kind of spice we could wish. We returned on board with the agreeable information, and immediately set about careening ships; as soon as that was finished, we took in our lading complete, of most excellent spices, which were in such abundance, that we could not take the whole of what was offered us.

* Commentaries of Alfonso Alboquerque, Vol. I. Page 11.

"As we now began to think of departing, a meeting betwixt the king and the captain was resolved on, and upon the day fixed, the captain ordered out six boats armed and elegantly decorated with velvet at the stern, Jack and flags flying, himself dressed in gold brocade, with gold-chains and other ornaments in honour of his sovereign; the crews were dressed also in form. The whole being arranged, were ordered to lay close in with the beach and wait the coming of the king. In an hour the king came down, attended by an innumerable concourse of people, all marshalled in procession, according to their several degrees; the whole closing with the king, seated cross-legged on an ivory chair, and carried by four Brahmins. The king was dressed in silk embroidered, with an upper robe of gold muslin; he wore rings of a considerable value, and had on his head a crimson velvet cap highly ornamented with jewels, and long chains of pearls and brilliants hanging from the top of the cap, with his hair flowing loose upon his shoulders. There were a number of elephants, and Persian horses followed in the train, which made an elegant appearance. A number of various war-like instruments joined in the procession, playing as they passed. Soon as they arrived opposite to where the boats lay, they made a halt; immediately the captain made the signal for a salute from the ships, the band playing all the time: he then was rowed to the shore, to have the honour of kissing the king's hand. The king perceiving this, ordered all his people to retire some distance in order to convince the Portuguese of the confidence he had in the captain by meeting him alone. Compliments being paid and the ceremony being gone through, the following compact was mutually entered into by each party: that the king should annually grant to the Portuguese all the spices which his territory produced, which we agreed to take at prices stipulated, paying for the same in goods at regulated prices. We also requested that whoever was left as agent for the king of Portugal, should have the right of punishing or trying any of his Portuguese Majesty's subjects who should remain on the land. This the king granted, though with reluctance, considering it as an interference with his juridical right. The whole being transcribed in silver letters, was properly signed and sealed; and thus the matter was concluded. The natives being desirous of seeing our priests, we landed the two friars, and had mass solemnly performed in their church, with a sermon preached afterwards and explained to the people by the interpreter." *

Albuquerque, after establishing a commercial depôt and factory at Quilon with a small staff and after loading his ships with pepper, sailed for Cochin on the 12th January 1504 A. D. It has to be mentioned here that the Moorish merchants of the land were greatly averse to this new friendship between the Portuguese and the king of Quilon; they spread all sorts of rumours about the Portuguese and strongly dissuaded the people from having any dealings with them. The Zamorin of Calicut also as soon as he heard of this, sent his ambassadors to the king of Quilon saying that "he must beware of what he was about, for the Portuguese were a very bad race, and if he admitted them into his land, they would rise up against him," and added that this was the chief reason which had induced him to insist so strongly upon driving them out of India. He also sent large presents to the governors of the land begging them to influence the

* Collection of Early Voyages, Vol. I. Book iii—Voyage of Albuquerque.

king against giving cargo to the Portuguese or receiving them in his port. But all these availed nothing, "for the king of Coulao was a man of such truthfulness that in spite of all these arguments which the Camorim advanced, he kept his word and established his friendship with Afonso Dalboquerque. And he answered the Camorim that he had received no injury or insult from the Portuguese, but rather was convinced that they were men of their word and unless it was their own fault, he would not withdraw from what he had agreed upon." * Evidently the Zamorin was not pleased with this reply and was very much annoyed at his inability to destroy the king of Quilon and hinder the Portuguese from carrying on the pepper trade.

In 1505 A. D., Albuquerque was recalled and Almeyda was sent out to India with the grand title of "Viceroy of India" though the king of Portugal did not possess a foot of land in it; Almeyda had special instructions for the erection of forts at Anjediva, Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon. The fleet of Francisco D'almeyda reached Anjediva about September 1505.

Almeyda and Quilon. Almeyda deputed captain Homem to go to Quilon on behalf of the Portuguese company to fetch cargo. When he met the foreign agent at Quilon, the latter told him that he was not sure if he could get pepper that time, for certain Arab merchants had already filled their boats with pepper. Captain Homem emboldened by the previous order of the king giving him permission to load his ships with cargo, at once sent his veterans to seize the masts and rudders of the Arab vessels. They did so and the rudders etc., were taken to the Portuguese house and lodged there.

The Arab merchants of Quilon smarting under the wanton insult offered to them by the Portuguese captain, combined together and went in a body to the ministers of the Rajah and represented their grievances. The chief ministers of the State at once went to the Portuguese house and asked Antonio De Sá, the keeper of the house, to return the things the captain had wrested from the Arabs. De Sá, though naturally of a modest and quiet temperament, had now become emboldened after the arrival of Almeyda. He insulted the ministers and refused to return the goods. Thence a fight ensued between De Sá supported by a few of his followers and the Nayars and Jonakas of the place. Each party used swords and other weapons, and at last the Portuguese escaped to a Bhagavati temple

* Commentaries of Afonso Dalboquerque, Vol I. Page 10.

which was surrounded on all sides by the Nayars and set fire to. Thirteen were burnt alive that day. When the Viceroy who had just then reached Cochin with a large force heard of the disaster, he at once deprived Homem of his command and appointed his son Lorenzo in his place. Lorenzo landed at Quilon and destroyed twenty-seven boats in the harbour and went straight to seize the Arab vessels. But on account of the force of the current his ships were driven to the shores of Ceylon. Lorenzo spent the winter there and started to Portugal. He then heard that there were some of the Jonakas who joined the Quilon revolt at Vizhinjam. On landing there he destroyed their vessels and blocked the Moplah trade from Cape Comorin to Cannanore. The town itself was sacked and mercilessly burnt.

Almeyda was in his turn superseded by Albuquerque who on his arrival in India attacked his old enemy the Zamorin of Calicut but lost a fourth of his force in the attempt. He came to the conclusion that instead of these desultory wars in which the Portuguese had been hitherto engaged it would be more profitable to get a permanent footing on the coast in some place which would afford a safe shelter for their ships and become the centre of their influence. He pitched upon Goa on the coast of Canara for this purpose. In the midst of his triumphs he was in 1515 A. D., superseded by the intrigues at the court, and he died broken-hearted in December 1519, at the age of sixty-three just when he was leaving the port of Goa to his native land.

The Portuguese Viceroy Soarez concluded a treaty of peace dated 25th September 1516 A. D., with the Queen of Quilon and with the governors of the land under which the latter agreed to rebuild at their own expense, in the same style and in the same place as before, the church of St. Thomas which had been destroyed when the factor was killed. They also agreed to favour and protect the Christians as formerly, to pay five hundred *bahars* (candies) of pepper in three yearly instalments commencing with the then current year 1516 A. D., to let the Portuguese have all the pepper and other spices they might require at the same prices as they could obtain them at Cochin, and not to export any drugs or spices without the knowledge of the Portuguese. In case of war with common enemies each party agreed to assist the other; no ships from Quilon were to enter the Straits of Aden beyond Cape Guardafui, unless in the service of the Portuguese, and any of the Queen's subjects whether native or Moor who might desire to become Christians were to be at full liberty to do so. *

* The Portuguese in India - Danvers. Vol. I. Page 336.

The special mention of the 'Governors of the land' as parties to the treaty by the Portuguese with the Queen of Quilon, probably refers to the semi-independent chiefs of the neighbourhood under the nominal suzerainty of the Queen of Quilon, or the *Ettuvittil Pillamars* who acquired such enormous power and influence in the next century.

Factory and Fort at Quilon. Heytor Rodriguez was then appointed captain and he landed at Quilon on the 1st February 1517 A. D. He paid a visit to the Queen and the ministers with suitable presents, and asked them for the balance of pepper due to the Portuguese. The Queen and the ministers promised to supply the same. But there was great delay. The Queen addressed him by his name and spoke to him as follows:— "We are going to invade our neighbouring kingdom of Travancore for which we start to-morrow. As we are now greatly pressed for money, please do not ask us about the church endowments now. As the clerks and Nayars are all accompanying me everything has to be settled in my presence only after our return from victory. Please therefore do not ask me about them before I return."

The captain was satisfied and requested that he might be allowed to build a house to give them safe shelter. This request was a take-in on his part made at the instance of his master, Soarez, who had ordered him to pitch upon a convenient spot for building a small fortress. After fixing upon a suitable place he at once commenced work. On hearing of this the Jonaka Moplahs became very apprehensive and complained to the Queen that the place had been selected not for building a house but for building a fortress. The captain bought over the Queen's ministers to his side who helped the Portuguese in the selection of a site with abundance of good water, and a small building was soon completed. The Moplahs spread all sorts of rumours to the effect that the Governor Soarez was killed in an encounter near Rumes (Gogala, called by the Portuguese *Villa dos Rumes*), that the Mahomedans had started for the capture of Goa and so on. The captain hearing of this, gave strict orders to his men not to get involved in any quarrel or fight. News, however, soon arrived that Soarez was returning victorious and that the attempt of the Mahomedans to capture Goa proved futile. The captain was much gratified, and by his tact and care was able to conduct himself to the Queen's entire satisfaction.

Soarez thought that a factory alone at Quilon was insufficient and that a fort was indispensable. He deputed Rodriguez to go to the Queen and the chief minister with presents to the value of four thousand

Cochin fanams. The Queen was delighted and accepted the money and presents. Rodriguez interviewed the three great officers of the country, namely Ummini Pillay, Bala Pillay and Kuruppu, and having made himself sure of their friendship broached to them the idea of the fort and they promisd to assist him. The work was soon begun. But this enraged not only the Moplahs, but also the junior Princes and Princesses. These latter tried to prevent the fortification work, but they were soon pacified and an open revolt was averted. Yet the Princes were not satisfied; on the day when Rodriguez with twenty-seven of his people laid the foundation stone, about two thousand Nayars collected there and tried to oppose them. But Rodriguez not minding raised one wall and apprehending a fight the next day mounted two of his big guns. The sight of these guns frightened the Nayars and they retreated; the Moplahs too lost courage and looked on. The work of building the fort was vigorously pushed on even in the rainy season, and the whole fortress was completed by September 1519 A. D., and christened Fort Thomas. The Queen indifferent to the feelings of her own people, encouraged Rodriguez in the building of the fort and rendered him all possible assistance. As a Portuguese author quoted by Elphinstone in a foot note to his *Rise of the British Power in India* observed:—"The fort of Quilon was afterwards razed by the same hand that built it, after having cost many lives, all the effect of the ill usage of the Portuguese towards the natives from their unlimited pride and boundless avarice."

Siege of the Quilon Fort. The captain never asked for the balance of pepper due while the fortress work was in progress, but as soon as it was completed, he reminded the Queen of the balance due to him. The Queen was much put out at this inconvenient demand. She never thought that she would be asked to pay this after she had given permission to build the fort. On the captain's insisting upon payment, she thought of taking the fort. At her instigation the young Prince Martanda Tiruvadi began to annoy the captain in several ways. The captain complained to the Queen but without effect. He was enraged and immediately prepared for war against the Queen and her subjects with the three chief officers above referred to for his assistance. Relying on their false promises he began preparations for the struggle. But they at last with a large force laid siege to the fort and took it without much difficulty. The first who took the offensive was Bala Pillay who with 1,500 Nayars started to the front of the main gates while from the back side all the Moplahs scaled the fort walls. The Nayars as soon as they entered the fort imprisoned all the Christians,

the blacksmiths, the masons and others who were engaged in the building of the fort. A fight ensued at the end of which the Quilon troops sustained severe loss from the guns of the Portuguese. All the Europeans within the fort had to starve for want of food and many actually died of hunger and disease. On these news reaching Cochin, the Governor sent his nephew with a consignment of provisions and a small band of veteran soldiers. They reached Quilon speedily and saved the lives of the survivors within the fort. This happened in August 1520 A. D.

The Queen of Quilon then sent a letter of apology to the Governor at Cochin and an amicable settlement was effected between the two parties. By this treaty dated 17th November 1520 A. D., it was stipulated that the pepper still due under the treaty of 1516 should be paid at once, that all pepper in the land should be sold to the King of Portugal and to no one else, that all ships arriving at that port (not being enemies' ships or laden with pepper) should be allowed free access and be well received, and that the captain of the fort should grant all reasonable assistance the Queen might require.

State of the Country and condition of the People. At this time trade was prosperous and the people throve. Ludovica di Varthema who visited Malabar in 1505 A. D., describes the extensive trade that was going on and speaks highly of the protection afforded by the native kings to their subjects, particularly the great security to person and property which they enjoyed. He praises the administration of justice and the probity of the merchants. Duarte Barbosa who visited the coast about 1514 A. D., bears similar testimony to the good administration of India especially in regard to justice in olden times.

From Calicut, VARTHEMA travelled by a river, "the most beautiful he has ever seen", and arrived at *Cacolon* (Kayangulam) distant from Calicut by fifty leagues. The river is evidently the continuous water communication formed by the rivers and backwaters and estuaries and running parallel to the coast from Ponnani as far as Quilon. "The king of Cacolon is a pagan and is not very rich and follows Calicut in his manner of living, dress and customs. A good deal of pepper grows in their country. There are some Christians of St. Thomas here, who say that a priest comes there every three years to baptise them." After leaving Cacolon, he came to *Colon* (Quilon) distant twenty miles.

"The king of this city is a Pagan, and extremely powerful, and he has 20,000 horsemen, and many archers, and is constantly at war with other kings. This country has a good port near to the sea-coast. No grain grows here, but

fruits, as at Calicut, and pepper in great quantities. The colour of the people, their dress, manner of living, and customs, are the same as at Calicut. At that time, the king of this city was the friend of the king of Portugal, but being at war with others, it did not appear to us well to remain here. Wherefore, we took our way by sea, aforesaid, and went to a city which is called Chayl, belonging to the same king, opposite from Colon fifty miles."*

We have next the account of DUARTE BARBOSA who visited Malabar and Travancore about 1514 A. D.

"*Coulam.* Beyond this kingdom of Cochin towards the south, the kingdom of Coulam is entered; between these kingdoms there is a place which is called Porca, it belongs to a lord..... Having passed this place the kingdom of Coulam commences, and the first town is called Cayncolan in which dwell many Gentiles, Moors, and Indian Christians of the doctrine of St. Thomas. And many of these Christians live inland amongst the Gentiles. There is much pepper in this place of which there is much exportation.

"Further on along the same course towards the south is a great city and good seaport which is named Coulam, in which dwell many Moors and Gentiles and Christians. They are great merchants and very rich, and own many ships, with which they trade to Cholmendel, the island of Ceylon, Bengal, Malaca, Samatara, and Pegu: these do not trade with Cambay. There is also in this city much pepper. They have a Gentile king, a great lord of much territory and wealth, and of numerous men at arms, who for the most part are great archers. At this city, withdrawn a little from it, there is promontory in the sea where stands a very great church which the apostle St. Thomas built miraculously before he departed this life.....This church was endowed by the King of Coulam with the revenue from the pepper which remains to it to this day."‡

Barbosa also tells us that the king of Coulam was called *Benatederi* (Venad Tiruvadi). Dr. Caldwell explains 'Pinate' or 'Benate', as representing Venadan, lord of Venad, that being the name of the District to which belonged the family of the old kings of Kollam, and 'Venadu' being their regular dynastic name. The Rajah of Travancore is still styled Venadan. Barbosa then describes how Sernaperimal (Cheraman Perumal), ruler of Malabar, divided the whole of his kingdom amongst his relations and constituted three kingdoms in the country, namely Calicut, Cananor (Cannanore) and Coulam, and commanded that no one should coin money except the king of Calicut, but that the kings of Coulam and Cananor afterwards struck money for a certain time in their countries without having the power of doing so.

"*Trinangoto.* Further on along the same coast towards the south, is a town of Moors and Gentiles called Trinangoto, (Tiruvitancode), which also possesses shipping. The town and territory belong to a lord, a relation of the king of Coulam; it is abundantly supplied with provisions, rice and meat. Further along the coast is the Cape of Comery where the Malabar country

* Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema Haklyut Society. Page 184.

‡ A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar—Haklyut Society. Page 57.

finishes; but the kingdom of Coulam reaches thirty leagues further, as far as a city which is called Cael (Kayal)."

The king of Quilon at this time must according to the Travancore authorities have been SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA. Kayal was regarded by the earliest Portuguese as belonging to Travancore and the king of Travancore as the legitimate sovereign of the whole of the south of Tinnevelly.

Barbosa writes thus graphically of the Brahmins and their customs:—

"The Gentile Bramans are priests all of one lineage, and others cannot be priests, but only their own sons. And when these are seven years old they put round their necks a strap two fingers in width of an animal which they call *Cressna Merguu* (Krishnamriga, the black deer) with its hair, which is like a wild ass; and they command him not to eat betel for seven years, and all this time he wears that strap round the neck passing under the arm, and when he reaches fourteen years of age they make him a Braman removing from him the leather strap and putting on another of three threads, which he wears all his life as a mark of being a Braman. And they do this with much ceremony and festivity, just as here at the first mass, and from this time forward he may eat betel. They do not eat flesh nor fish, they are much reverenced and honoured by the Indians, and they are not executed for any offence which they may commit: but their chief, who is like a bishop, chastises them in moderation. They marry only once, and only the eldest member has to marry and of him is made a head of the family like a sole heir by entail, and all the others remain bachelors, and never marry. The eldest is the heir of all the property. These Bramans, the elder brothers, keep their wives very well guarded, and in great esteem, and no other man can approach them; and if any of the married ones die, the person who becomes widowed does not marry again. And if the wife commits adultery, the husband kills her with poison. These young men who do not marry, nor can marry, sleep with the wives of the nobles, and these women hold it as a great honour because they are Bramans, and no woman refuses them. And they must not sleep with any woman older than themselves. And these live in their houses and estates, and they have great houses of prayer, in which they do service as abbots and whither they go to recite their prayers at fixed times of the day, and worship their idols and perform their ceremonies. And these temples have their principal doors to the west, and each temple has three doors, and in front of the principal gate, outside of it, is a stone of the height of a man, with three steps all round it and in front of the stone inside the church is a small chapel, very dark, inside of which they keep their idol, of gold, silver, or metal, and three lamps burning. And no one may enter there except the minister of that church, who goes in to set before the idol flowers and scented herbs, and they anoint it, with sandal and rose water, and take it out once in the morning, and another time in the evening with sound of trumpets and drums and horns. And he who takes it out first washes thoroughly, and carries it on his head with the face looking backwards and they walk with it three times in procession round the church, and certain wives of the Bramans carry lighted lamps in front, and each time they reach the principal door, they set the idol on that stone and there worship it, and perform certain ceremonies: and having ended the three turns with music and rejoicing, they again place it in the chapel, and each day they do this twice, by day and at night. And around this church, there is a stone wall, between which and the church they walk in the beforementioned

procession, and they carry over the idol a very lofty canopy upon a very long bamboo (cadjan umbrella) for state as for kings. They place all the offerings upon the stone before the principal gate of the temple, and twice a day it is washed, and they set cooked rice upon it to feed the crows twice a day with great ceremony. These Bramans greatly honour the number trine: they hold that there is a god in three persons, and who is not more than one. All their prayers and ceremonies are in honour of the trinity, and they, so to say, figure it in their rites and the name by which they call it is this, Berma, Besnu, Maycereni, (Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara), who are three persons and one sole god. Thus they confess him to be from the beginning of the world. They have no knowledge or information of the coming of Jesus Christ. They believe many more vain things, which they speak of. These people each time that they wash put some ashes upon their heads, foreheads and breasts, in token that they have to turn again into ashes; and when they die they have their bodies burned. When the wife of a Brahmin is in the family way, as soon as the husband knows it, he cleans his teeth, and eats no more betel nor trims his beard and fasts until his wife gives birth to her child. The kings make great use of these Bramans for many things, except in the deed of arms. Only Bramans can cook the king's food, or else men of the king's own family, and so all the king's relations have this same custom of having their food cooked by Bramans. These are the messengers who go on the road from one kingdom to another, with letters and money and merchandise, because they pass in safety in all parts, without any one molesting them, even though the kings may be at war. These Bramans are well read in the law of their idolatry and possess many books and are learned and masters of many arts: and so the kings honor them as such." *

This account though not free from mistakes is very creditable to Barbosa considering the times he lived in and the obstacles to get at correct information in those days.

Of the kings, their laws of succession and customs, he writes thus:—

"In the first place, the kings of Malabar are, as has been said, gentiles and honour their idols: they are brown, almost white, others are darker; they go naked from the waist upwards, and from the waist downwards are covered with white cotton wraps and some of them of silk. Sometimes they clothe themselves with short jackets open in front, reaching half way down the thigh, made of very fine cotton cloth, fine scarlet cloth, or of silk or brocade. They wear their hair tied upon the top of their heads, and some times long hoods like Galician casques, and they are barefooted. They shave their beards and leave the moustaches very long, after the manner of the Turks. Their ears are bored and they wear in them very precious jewels and pearls set in gold, and on their arms from the elbows upwards gold bracelets, with similar jewels and strings of very large pearls. At their waists over their clothes they wear jewelled girdles three fingers in width, very well wrought and of great value.....When they are in their houses they always sit on high benches, and in houses without storeys. And they keep there a stand very white and four fingers high, and a cloth of brown wool undyed, after the manner of a carpet of the size of a horse cloth, folded in three folds and upon this they sit.....and they lean upon pillows, round and long, of cotton, silk or fine cloth. And they also sit on carpets of cloth of gold and silk; but they always keep under them, or near them, that cloth of brown wool, on account of their sect and for state.....and when any one comes to see them, they bring him this brown woollen cloth and put it near him,

* The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar. Page 123.

and when he goes out a page carries the cloth folded before him for state and ceremony. And likewise he always keeps a sword near him, and when he changes from one spot to another, he carries it in his hand naked, as they always keep it. These kings do not marry, nor have a marriage law, only each one has a mistress, a lady of great lineage and family, which is called Nayre, and said to be very beautiful and graceful. Each one keeps such a one with him near the palaces in a separate house, and gives her a certain sum each month or each year for expense, and leaves her whenever she causes him discontent, and takes another.... And the children that are born from these mistresses are not held to be sons nor do they inherit the kingdom, nor anything else of the king's. .....The heirs of these kings are their brothers, or nephews, sons of their sisters, because they hold those to be their true successors, and because they know that they were born from the body of their sisters. These do not marry, nor have fixed husbands, and are very free and at liberty in doing what they please with themselves.

"The kings of Malabar when they die, are burned in the country with much sandal and aloes wood; and at the burning all the nephews and brothers and nearest relations collect together and all the grandees of the realm. And before burning him they keep him there when dead for three days waiting for the assembling of the above mentioned persons, that they may see him if he died of a natural death or avenge his death if any one killed him, as they are obliged to do in case of a violent death. And they observe this ceremony very rigidly. After having burned him, all shave themselves from head to foot excepting the eye-lashes, from the prince the heir to the throne, to the smallest child of the kingdom i. e., those who are gentiles, and that they also clean their teeth, and universally leave off eating betel for thirteen days from that time and if in this period they find any one who eats it, his lips are cut off by the executioner. During these thirteen days the prince does not rule, nor is he enthroned as king, in order to see if in this time any one will rise up to oppose him; and when this term is accomplished, all the grandees and former governors make him swear to maintain all the laws of the late king and to pay the debts which he owed and to labour to recover that which other former kings had lost. And he takes this oath, holding a drawn sword in his left hand, and his right hand placed upon a chain lit up with many oil wicks in the midst of which is a gold ring which he touches with his fingers, and there he swears to maintain everything with that sword. When he has taken the oath, they sprinkle rice over his head, with many ceremonies of prayer and adoration to the sun, and immediately after certain counts, whom they call caymals, along with all the others of the royal lineage, and the grandees, swear to him in the same manner to serve him and to be loyal and true to him. During these thirteen days, one of the caymals governs and rules the State like the king himself: he is like an accountant-general of the king, and of all the affairs of the kingdom. This office and dignity is his, by right and inheritance. This person is also the chief treasurer of the kingdom, without whom the king cannot open or see the treasury; neither can the king take anything out of the treasury without a great necessity, and by the counsel of this person and several others. And all the laws and ordinances of the kingdom are in the keeping of this man." *

This account too, though not quite accurate, is very creditable to Barbosa.

To return to our historical narrative, from two inscriptions at Marungur (South Travancore), we have seen that the royal insignia of Sakalakalai

* The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar. Page 108.

Martanda Varma consisted of three swords, a drum, a bow and an arrow, and that in 1495 A. D., he promulgated certain rules for the conduct of the right and left hand castes of the community towards each other. In 1507 A. D., both Martanda Varma and Aditya Varma issued a writ to redress certain grievances of the Nadars in the villages between Parali and Tovala mountains. Aditya Varma died about 1517 A. D.

Aditya Varma's younger brother, BHUTALA VIRA SRI VIRA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA, who was already associated with him in the government in 1494 A. D., continued to rule over the country till 1535 A. D. But his name is erroneously entered in one or two edicts of the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy as SRI VIRA RAMA MARTANDA VARMA, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur and also as the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy. His surname was according to epigraphical records, Mankonda Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma. He was a famous warrior and conquered almost the whole of the Tinnevelly District from the Pandyas and ruled over it in addition to his own kingdom. He married a Chola princess by the name of Cholakulavalli who brought with her the district of Calacaud (*Cholakulavallipuram*) as a dowry. Bhutala Vira made Calacaud his capital and built in it a new palace under the name of *Viramartanda Chaturvedimangalam-puttumalikai*. He was also called PULI MARTANDA VARMA, as he married the Chola princess whose house had the leopard for its royal insignia; the dam across the river which stands even now under the name of *Virappuli anai*, was erected at that period. He was the first of the three Bhutala Viras whose names occur in the coins of Tinnevelly. The title "Mankonda Bhutala Vira" was assumed by him just after his conquest of the Tinnevelly District. He had two loyal chieftains in Tinnevelly one of whom was known by the name of Singa Perumal at Sevval and the other by the name of Chempakavanan Perumal at Sentanseri on the banks of the Chittar. His contemporaries among the Pandyas were probably Jatila Varman Parakrama Pandya, Kulasekhara Jatila Varman Sri Vallabha and Maravarman Sundara. Either Parakrama Pandya Kulasekhara who ascended the throne in 1480 A. D., or one of his co-regents or immediate successors seems to have been defeated by the famous warrior, Bhutala Vira I. Sri Vallabhamangalam, Sevval and several other places in the Tinnevelly District were under the sway of this Bhutala Vira Martanda Varma, even before 1495 A. D. It is probably of this Martanda Varma that Mr. Logan says:—

"His territory extended from Quilon to Cape Comorin and embraced besides the southern portion of the Pandyan kingdom including the port of

Kayal. The Raja exacted tribute from Ceylon, kept a corps of three hundred female archers, and it is said he had not hesitated to challenge to battle the Raja of Vijayanagar." *

There is evidence to show that there was perpetual war between Travancore and Vijayanagar lasting for over a century i. e., from 1530 till at least 1635 A. D. He made several gifts of lands as *pallichantam* to the god in the temple of Nagercoil, at the special request of Jivakarudaiyan Gunavira Panditan, and Narayanan Kamalavahana Panditan. The very names of these two persons are sufficient to prove that they were Jains. *Pallichantam* means a royal gift of lands to the deities of other religions at the special request of their adherents. About the same time the Christian Paravas, who resided at Kumari-muttam near Cape Comorin, were harassed and ill-treated by the Hindus. On the 20th Minam 701 M. E. (1526 A. D.), a royal writ went forth for redressing the grievances of the Christian Paravas under the sign-manual of Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma to the senior and junior Kangan (the head-man and his assistant among the Hindu fishermen) who resided in the haven at Kumari-muttam, commanding them that they should not thereafter molest or harass in any way the Christians who were exempted from paying the taxes due to the village community of the heathens, such as *idankai, valankai-panam* (the tax for the right and the left hand castes) *padaippanam* and *prachandakanikkai* &c. The pillar on which this edict is engraved stands in a dry field called 'Muthanayinar Vilai', near Cape Comorin.

The immediate successor of the said Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma was BHUTALA VIRA SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA, as mentioned in the inscription engraved on the southern side of the rock near the shrine of Kailasanathar in the temple of Suchindram. It reveals that on the 19th Medam 712 M. E., Bhutala Vira Sri Vira Ravi Varma granted some lands in Irukkanturai in the District of Tinnevelly to Suchindram Udaya Nayanar, for the daily performance of *Udayamartandan Sandhipuja*. This gift was made by him in the name of his predecessor Bhutala Vira I.

It appears that one SRI VIRA RAMA MARTANDA VARMA who was the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy and eventually became the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur was a co-regent of Bhutala Vira Udaya Martanda Varma. He made some gifts to the temple of Padmanabhaswamy as an atonement for the sins committed during the internal dissensions of 704 M. E. His name also occurs in the later records dated 713-723 M. E.,

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. I. Page 310.

(1538-1548 A. D.) of the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy as Sri Vira Rama Martanda Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy. The inscription dated 716 M. E. (1541 A. D.) on the western wall in the outer *mantapam* of Suchindram temple shows clearly that this was Sakalakalai Martanda Varma II, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy.

The successor of Bhutala Vira Ravi Varma was BHUTALA VIRA KERALA VARMA, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad. His name appears in a *neet* given to one Dikkellampukazhum Perumal of Vijayagudi in Tinnevelly, appointing him temple-accountant on the 27th Vrischigam 720 M. E. (1544 A. D.).

Advent of Francis Xavier. Francis Xavier arrived in South Travancore about 1543 A. D., and sought to introduce Christianity on the west coast. He was specially sent from Goa to look after the fishermen converts of Father Miguel Vaz at Cape Comorin. He wandered through fishing villages and baptised all those who submitted to it. He founded many congregations and built a number of churches. Before the close of 1544 A. D., he had founded forty-five churches in Travancore. These were at first merely booths made of branches of trees and palm leaves which in time were replaced by stone and cement. Kottar was his principal residence. In one of his letters dated March 1544, he describes the king of Travancore as the 'Great King' having authority all over South India. He also mentions that a near relative of the king resided at Sael (Cael or Kayal), and that the Badagas whom he described as 'tax gatherers' and 'lawless marauders' invaded Travancore in great force by the Aramboly Pass and endeavoured to possess themselves of the coast as far south as Cape Comorin in July 1544.

Mr. Venkayya identifies these Badagas with the officers and soldiers of Vittala, a Prince of Vijayanagar, who ruled over Madura in 1547—1558 A. D. This is corroborated by an inscription at Tiruvidaimarutur, which records that during the reign of Sadasiva Raya of Vijayanagar, Prince Vittala, son of Rama Rajah, made an expedition against Tiruvadi (the King of Travancore) shortly before *Saka* year 1466 (1544—1545 A. D.). That the Badagas, as Mr. Venkayya shows, were the officers and soldiers of the King of Vijayanagar is conclusively proved by another circumstance. From the *Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, we gather that in 1543 A. D., the Portuguese Governor Afonso de Sousa organised an expedition against some of the rich temples in India to rob them of their fabulous wealth, but that on coming to the Cape, he found a large army belonging to the Rajah of Vijayanagar, who held

sway over these temples, collected to prevent the Portuguese attack, and that consequently he had to retreat with his force to Kayangulam. This clearly explains the arrival of the army of the Rajah of Vijayanagar to South Travancore. It appears that the Badagas, after the Portuguese had gone, invaded the interior of Travancore. According to some accounts, the Rajah of Travancore was indebted to Xavier for deliverance from danger, a panic having, it is said, been produced in the ranks of the Badagas by the sudden appearance of Xavier in front of their host, crucifix in hand, and thus the Badagas failed in their attempt to conquer Travancore. It is related in *Oriente Conquistado* (I. 143.), that the Maharajah received Francis Xavier exclaiming, "They call me the Great King; but hereafter for ever they will call you the Great Father". Father Martin S. J., * fixes the scene of the retreat of the Badagas on a plain two miles north of Kottar. We have already seen that the king of Travancore at the time was Bhutala Vira Kerala Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad.

There is reason to believe that the Portuguese caused considerable annoyance and trouble to the king of Travancore, for Xavier in his letter of March 24, 1544 A. D., states in anger that his plans to enter Travancore were frustrated by the annoyance of the Rajah at some misconduct of the Portuguese officials.

De Sousa is stated to have then led an expedition to attack the temple of *Tebelicare*, which local information reported to be full of gold. If this is the Tevalakara of Travancore, it is a small village seven or eight miles north-east of Quilon and situated in the Karunagapalli Taluq. There were two *jangadas* ‡ attached to the temple, but one of them with all his guards at once went south when he heard of the movements of the Portuguese. An offer of twelve thousand pounds, it is said, failed to turn the Governor from his intention to rob the temple which was reached before nightfall. The Governor and his immediate followers went inside the temple and after shutting the door spent the whole night in torturing the Brahmins there and digging up the floor. It is not known exactly what was found: a gold patten worth about £50 was all that was shown. But an idea of their booty may be gathered from the fact that two empty barrels passed in and they each required eight slaves in relays to carry them out.

An anecdote is mentioned in this connection. When the Governor

* *Mission du madure*, IV. 18.

‡ These were probably military officers appointed to guard the temple.

and his men started on the return journey in the morning, a Nayar dressed with scrupulous care and wearing all his ornaments, flung himself on the Portuguese ranks followed by ten or twelve others. It was discovered that this was the remaining *jangada* with his relatives and dependents that thus tried to wipe out by their deaths the stain upon their honour. It appears that the Portuguese on their way back were much harassed by the country people and suffered a loss of thirty killed and one hundred and fifty wounded. They then sacked another temple from which they obtained a small amount in silver coins, which was distributed among the soldiers.*

From the date of the Badaga invasion the power of the king of Travancore had declined in Tinnevelly.

In Kollam year 722 (1546 A. D.) i. e., two years after the time of Bhutala Vira Kerala Varma, King BHUTALA VIRA RAMA VARMA made a gift to the temple of Suchindram in Tulam, as mentioned in an inscription of that temple. It appears that subsequent to the advent of the Badagas a compromise was effected between Rama Varma, the King of Travancore and Vittala (*alias* Rama Rajah according to some authorities), the ruler of Vijayanagar, by which the former ceded the Tinnevelly District to the latter, who in return agreed not to molest Travancore. It was also agreed that Rama Varma should allow Vittala to make a grant of lands to the Vishnu shrine in the temple of Suchindram for special offerings in commemoration of King Vittala's birth-day. It was with reference to this peace that Francis Xavier "took an active part in sending to Tuticorin the Brahmin envoy sent by the Maharajah of Travancore to make peace with Madura".

Xavier mentions a Prince of 'Tala' under whose protection he worked near Cape Comorin. Mr. G. T. Mackenzie surmises that 'Tala' may be Tovala, but Dr. Caldwell seems to think it refers to Kayal. The former is the more probable as there is still a village of that name (Talakil) in the Tovala Taluq a few miles to the north-east of Cape Comorin and evidently the seat of government.

Several internal dissensions took place between the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy and the Senior Tiruvadi of Jayasimhanad throughout the period (1545-1551 A. D.). Both of them made separate gifts to the temple of Padmanabhaswamy as an atonement for their sins. Kuttamangalam was also attacked by them during this period.

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* The rise of Portuguese Power in India(1497-1550).—Whiteway. Page 285.

SRI VIRA UNNI KERALA VARMA of Jayasimhanad, Kilapperur, the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur, reigned in Venad between the 2nd Minam 734 M. E. (1559 A. D.), and the 13th Mithunam 736 M. E. (1561 A. D.), as mentioned in the temple chronicles of Sri Padmanabhaswamy. His co-regent was SRI VIRA ADITYA VARMA the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy, who ruled over Travancore from 1559 to 1565 A. D.

According to the same records, King Aditya Varma made a gift of lands to the temple of Rameswaram Udaya Nayanar at Darisanamkoppu in the Taluq of Tovala, to meet the daily *puja* expenses of the temple. The lands thus given were then exempted from the tax called ***anjali***. This gift was made by him on the 6th of Mithunam 734 M. E. (1559 A. D.). According to the temple chronicles the reign of this king lasted till the 16th of Vrischigam 740 M. E. (1564 A. D.). The construction of the eastern *gopuram* of the Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple was finished on the 14th of Tulam 741 M. E. (1565 A. D.).

SRI VIRA UDAYA MARTANDA VARMA of Jayasimhanad ruled over Travancore from Vrischigam 743 to Tulam 763 M. E.(1567—1587 A. D.). According to the temple chronicles, this king was the Senior Tiruvadi of both Siraivoy and Jayasimhanad. In 752 M. E. (1576 A. D.), there was also a Queen of the Kupakas who was born in the star of Mrigasira. She reconstructed the temple of Kariyamanikka Vinnavar Emperuman of Idaraikudi (Idalaikudi) in the Taluq of Agastisvaram. The expression Kariyamanikka Vinnavar Emperuman indicates that the temple should have been founded by a certain Pandya king of that name.

In the *Calendar of State Papers** it is said that the Portuguese had a great war with the Queen of Malabar about 1571 A. D., and that the Queen was forced to peace. This Queen may have been the Queen of the Kupakas above referred to. Mr. Mackenzie says, "In the years 1571 and 1574 the Senior Rance of Travancore at Attingal took fright at the growing power of the Portuguese and set on foot an agitation against the Christians in the course of which three churches were burnt down."

From an inscription at Padmanabhapuram we learn that one King RAVI VARMA anointed the God of Mahadevar in the Padmanaphapuram temple on the first of Vrischigam 754 M. E. (1578 A. D.), after finishing his architectural undertakings. This king might have been the co-regent of Sri Vira Udaya Martanda Varma.

In the temple chronicles, it is said that SRI VIRA UDAYA MARTANDA

* Colonial Series (1513-1616).—Saintsbury. Page 9.

VARMA, Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur made certain arrangements with regard to the temple management on the 18th Mithunam 762 M. E. (1587 A. D.). From an inscription at Darisanamkoppu, we learn that this same king made some gifts to Raghavanisvaram Udayar for monthly offerings on the day of his star Purattathi. Another inscription in the Parakai temple reveals that BHUTALA VIRA RAMA VARMA, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy, born in the star of Kartika granted some lands to the temple for the daily performance of *Chempakaraman-puja* on the 13th Kanni 762 M. E. (1586 A. D.). He may have been the co-regent of Udaya Martanda Varma. There were also two princes by name Ravi Ravi Varma and Aditya Varma.

There are several documents in the temple chronicles to prove that SRI VIRA RAVI RAVI VARMA of Jayasimhanad reigned in Travancore from Vrischigam 771 to Makaram 782 M. E. (1595—1607 A. D.). From one of the Tiruvattar inscriptions, it is clear the reign of Sri Vira Ravi Ravi Varma lasted till the 16th Edavam 780 M. E., that he had two younger brothers by names, Aditya Varma and Rama Varma, that there were two Queens Iraiyummakkuttiyar and Ilaiyummakkuttiyar, under the patronage of this Ravi Varma, besides one Senior Rani named Nambirattiyar Ammai, that one Nachiyar Ammai was under the patronage of Aditya Varma and one Kesava Perumal Ammai under that of Rama Varma, and that all these had contributed to the repairs of the temple.

Sri Vira Rama Varma of Jayasimhanad is also mentioned in the chronicles as the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur during the years 779 and 780 M. E.

PART IV. (1607—1729 A. D.).

According to some of the epigraphical records, one Tirumeni Nambi established the temple of Kulasekhara Vinayakar at Suchindram on the 17th Karkatagam 784 M. E. (1609 A. D.) in commemoration of the demise of his sovereign Rama Varma Kulasekhara Perumal. As we have already said, this sovereign was ruling until 1607 A. D., which probably was the last year of his reign.

The next sovereign, according to the temple chronicles, was SRI VIRA UNNI KERALA VARMA, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy. His reign lasted from 787 to 799 M. E. (1612—1623 A. D.). Two inscriptions in Tamil verse in the Bhagavati temple at Valvachatottam in Kalkulam, prove that Venad was under the sovereignty of

SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA from 795 to 798 M. E. (1620—1623 A. D.). This Sri Vira Ravi Varma may have been the co-regent of Unni Kerala Varma. Their dates of accession and death are not definitely known.

In 782 M. E. (1606 A. D.), Muthuvirappa Nayak, elder brother of Tirumala Nayak, made certain gifts of land at Kakkarai and other places in Tinnevelly to the Bhagavati temple at Cape Comorin. There is also other evidence to show that the Cape and the Comorin temple were already in the possession of the Madura king.

The temple chronicles show that SRI VIRA RAVI VARMA of Tiruppapur was the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy and flourished in Venad for about twenty years from 803 to 823 M. E. (1628—1647 A. D.), and that UNNI KERALA VARMA was the Senior Tiruvadi of Tiruppapur and reigned from 807 to 826 M. E. (1632—1650 A. D.). About 1644 A. D., this king granted Vizhinjam to the English East India Company that they might erect a factory there for purposes of trade. This was the earliest English settlement in Travancore.

Advent of Tirumala Nayak. Tirumala Nayak, the greatest of Pandyan kings, established his capital at Madura immediately after his accession in 1623 A. D. After defeating the Mysore army, he turned his attention in 1634 to the more fertile regions southward, which had hitherto escaped the notice of his ancestors who ruled from distant Trichinopoly. He was now independent of the Narasinga dynasty of Vijayanagar and wished to make larger acquisitions under the auspices of his family deities, Sundara and Minakshi. The earliest record showing the advent of Tirumala Nayak with his forces to Nanjanad, is a *neet* (edict), dated 22nd Kumbham 810 M. E. (1635 A. D.), issued by the sovereign of Travancore to the Nanjanad ryots, regarding the remission of tax. This was found among the cadjan records preserved by Periya-vittu Mudaliar of Tazhakudi already referred to. The edict runs thus:—

"Whereas it has been represented to us at our residence at Kalkulam by the *nattars* (ryots) between Mangalam and Manakudi, including those of *perumpattu*, *tali* and *sanketam*, that the country is smitten by calamities, having had no cultivation for the *Kar* (Kanni) crop of 810, and that, as *Pisanam* (Kumbham) cultivation was not begun owing to the advent of Tirumala Nayakkar's forces and as the crops raised of *Manalvari*, *Samba* and *Adikkiravi* (different kinds of paddy) suffered by blight, the ryots have not the where-withal to begin fresh cultivation, we are pleased to command on this the 22nd day of the month of Masi in the year 810 M. E., that the levying of *orupoo-melvaram* (a fixed tax) be given up for the *Pisanam* crop and that this fact viz., that simple *melvaram* alone will be realized on the *Pisanam* cultivation between

Mangalam and Manakudi including *perumpattu*, *tali* and *sanketam* be duly notified to the ryots of the said places in the southern portion of Nanjanad North."

It would appear from the above edict that in 810 M. E., Kalkulam or Padmanabhapuram was the seat of government, that on account of the advent of Tirumala Nayak's forces (which according to tradition were encamped in the paddy fields), there was no cultivation for the *Kar* crop of 810 M. E., and that the *Pisanam* cultivation was not begun in time, and that Nanjanad was then divided into Nanjanad North and Nanjanad South. Mangalam is now a small village near Ponmana, nine miles north of Padmanabhapuram, and Manakudi is a seaport village in Agastisvaram Taluq, three miles along the coast from the Cape. The term *sanketam* is applied to the property of Sri Padmanabhaswamy; *tali* means temple or Devaswam property and *perumpattu* corresponds to *Pandaravagai-pattom* or Sircar's own—a name still used in the Shencottah revenue accounts. It is evident from the edict that Tirumala's first advent took place about the close of 809 M. E. (1634 A. D.), when Venad was under the joint-sovereignty of Ravi Varma and Unni Kerala Varma.

According to the temple chronicles, SRI VIRA RAVI RAVI VARMA succeeded Unni Kerala Varma in 827 M. E. Nothing more is known about this sovereign. One ADITYA VARMA is said to have ruled over Venad from 1661 to 1677 A. D., though according to the epigraphical records he died only a year later viz., in 1678 A. D.

On the 20th of Mithunam 839 M. E. (1664 A. D.), Tirumala Kolundu Pillai, one of the chieftains of Chokkanatha Nayak, a descendant of Tirumala Nayak, set up a *kal-matam* (stone-shed) on the bank of the Chakratirtham tank at Cape Comorin, and assigned certain lands in Tinnevelly and in Nanjanad for the maintenance of certain charities there. The steps of the Tiruppatisaram tank were constructed by one Tammappa Nayakkar. These facts go to show that at the beginning of the latter half of the seventeenth century, Tiruppatisaram and certain other places in Nanjanad were under the sway of the Madura Nayaks.

The Yogakkars and Pillamars. Reference may now be made to the *Yogakkars* and *Ettuvittil Pillamars*, who have played so important a part in the early history of Travancore. The Yogakkars were a body of Potti Brahmins who formed themselves into a committee of management of the Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple at Trivandrum. There were eight such Brahmin representatives belonging to eight Brahmin families. Each of them had a vote while the sovereign himself had only

half a vote—in all, eight votes and a half. The committee was therefore known by the name of *Ettara-yogam* (committee of 8½ votes). According to Shungoonny Menon, there was effected a reorganisation of the Devaswams in 220 M. E. (1045 A. D.) under the management of this *Ettara-yogam*. These members gradually became a powerful body and wielded immense influence in the conduct and administration of the temple establishments. The sovereigns had little or no control over them and were simply permitted to be present at the periodical ceremonies. The Ettuvittil Pillamars were the representatives of eight noble Nayar families and were entrusted with the collection of the Devaswam revenues. Originally they had nothing to do with the Devaswams. They were the tenants of Potti *jenmies* who were not members of the *Ettara-yogam* but mere landlords. In course of time, however, they acquired great wealth and power, defied their own *jenmi* landlords and allied themselves with the Yogakkars. As the king had no authority over the Yogakkars and was evidently unable to control the Pillamars, these latter easily rose to power and importance. They became as troublesome as the feudal barons of England were to King John—so much so that in 510 M. E., when the sovereign proposed to construct a palace for himself at Trivandrum, he was opposed by the Yogakkars. The king of course resented such a proceeding and in return called upon the Yogakkars to submit to him their Devaswam accounts. They told him that he had no controlling power over them and that he himself had only half a vote in the *Yogam* (committee), which was nothing as compared to their united will. This opposition continued for a long period, but open rupture was avoided by the tact of the sovereigns who fully realised their helplessness.

Matters, however, came to a crisis in the reign of Aditya Varma. He was of a very mild disposition and being of a religious turn of mind, he insisted upon the Devaswams being managed properly. The result was that his palace at Trivandrum was burnt by the Ettuvittil Pillamars and the king himself fled to Puthencottah, a small fortress on a beautiful hill by the side of the Killiyar, where he lived until he was himself disposed of by poison at the instigation of the Pillamars. According to the epigraphical records, the date of the king's death is 5th Dhanu 854 M. E. (December 1678 A. D.). From the temple chronicles we understand that the regular performance of the *pujas* in the Padmanabhaswamy Pagoda had been entirely stopped for a period of five years from 848 to 853 M. E. (1673—1678 A. D.), and the temple itself closed during the period owing to the internal dissensions caused by the unruly Ettuvittil Pillamars and their confederates, the Yogakkars. It appears that the temple was subsequently

opened for *puja* by the Queen of Attungal and Sri Vira Ravi Varma, the Senior Tiruvadi of Siraivoy.

In this connection, the following extract from an official document regarding the state of Malabar, drawn up in 1677 A. D., by Van Rheed, then the Dutch Governor of Ceylon and author of the well-known botanical work *Hortus Malabaricus*, is worthy of reproduction:—

"Travancore with whom a friendly contract was entered into, would never yet suffer the free and unlimited pepper trade in this country; he however allowed it with respect to all other Articles, with the exclusion of all other Europeans. He is a powerful Prince and his Dominions formerly extended from *Cailpatnam* on the coast of Madura to Poona. The Prince is an adopted son from a Cochin family called *Ramenacoil*, this court has often solicited a Cochin Prince and Princess as heirs, but I have never been able to persuade the king to it, not but that he saw the great advantages which might result therefrom to Cochin, but because this would be from the Cochin family of *Tyalour*, which he will not suffer. We never had any quarrels with this Prince, but a few misunderstandings respecting the prohibition of the Archa, but has been a stranger and not having the good luck to please the great Lords of his country, not the Princess of Attingah he has it not in his power to employ his whole strength, but as these differences are so far distant from us, and consequently of such a nature as not to hurt the Company, I have always in as friendly a manner as possible declined having any hand in the propositions of the Rajah as being the weakest, to bring in the Company as mediators, as I have always considered that a kingdom divided within itself was least in a situation to hurt us.

"The Princess of Attingah, who is not alone the mother of Travancore but the eldest of *Tippaposorewam* has a large territory of her own independent of Travancore, is also in alliance with the Hon'ble Company—along with the old Princess lives a younger one, but of such noble and manly conduct that she is both feared and respected by every one, some out of respect to her sex and others out of regard to the old Queen, which this youngest Princess knows so well how to turn to her advantage that she not only rules Attingah but Travancore itself within whose bounds no Princess may set her feet according to their laws, nor pass the river Canimani on pain of forefeiting their rights, but this young Amazon has lately violated those customs and made even the king fly before her."

The above document (found among the old Huzur records) clearly brings to light that the kingdom of Travancore formerly extended as far as Cailpatnam (Kayalpatam) in the Tinnevelly District, that the king could not hold his own against the powerful barons of the country, that the Queen of Attungal was a powerful ruler and had a large territory of her own, independent of Travancore (this explains the independent existence of the two Swarupams we have referred to, namely, Siraivoy near Attungal, and Tiruppapur), that besides the Queen there was a young Princess at Attungal of a very noble and manly conduct, and that commercial relations existed between the Queen of Attungal and the Dutch Company. The reference to Cochin is probably a mistake for Kolathunad from which

Travancore made adoptions, or it may be that the Raja of Kolathunad was at the time a tributary of the more powerful Prince of Cochin. We find the very same account in Nieuhoff's *Voyages and Travels to the East-Indies* (1653—1672 A. D.). He says:—"The ancient race of the kings of *Travankoor* owed its origine to *Attinjen*, but for want of male heirs, one of the princes of *Cochin* was placed in that throne; the king who then reigned, being descended from the *Cochin* race of *Rammerankoil* and elected king of *Travankoor*." *

The Dutch. The Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602 A. D. In the course of about fifty years the Company made very steady advance and formed numerous settlements all along the Malabar Coast ousting the Portuguese from most of their possessions. In 1653 they laid siege to Cochin which soon surrendered, and the Portuguese left Cochin according to the terms of the surrender. The Dutch troops were then marched to treat with a petty king viz., the Rajah of Poracad and it was on this occasion that the Dutch general showed himself to be a very severe disciplinarian. For four days the soldiers were unable to get any food and two of them having slaughtered a cow stolen by them out of dire necessity, the general ordered one of them to be hanged forthwith and intended to shoot the other who was however saved by the intervention of the Rajah. After the treaty the Dutch troops marched against Cranganore.

In 1661 A. D., the Dutch again attacked the fort of Cochin which was bravely defended by the Portuguese garrison stationed there. The Rajah of Poracad came to the assistance of Cochin with six thousand native troops. The Dutch determined to retreat and embarked in silence in the dead of night. The Dutch admiral Van Goens appeared with a fleet before Quilon, then the chief Portuguese possession in Travancore, in December 1661. This was opposed by a large body of Nayars who in spite of their brave resistance had at last to yield. The Dutch troops marched against the town which they soon occupied as the Portuguese garrison had fled to the neighbouring woods. They then took possession of the palace and the pagoda. The whole town was pillaged and all the churches were pulled down except that of St. Thomas. After this they marched against Cranganore which they found to be well fortified. After a bombardment for fourteen days the place was stormed and the fortress at last surrendered to the Dutch. In October 1662 the Dutch returned to Cochin but were vigorously met by the Portuguese.

* Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. II, Page 227.

But the attempt to prevent their landing failed. The Rajah of Poracad arrived with a large force and threw supplies into the fort. The natives under the Portuguese officers met their foes most gallantly and inflicted severe losses on them. The Poracad contingent fought valiantly but had to yield in the end. The Portuguese finding that resistance was useless now that all were worn out with fatigue and anxiety, at last surrendered on the 8th of January 1663 leaving the Dutch masters of Cochin and of the entire commerce of Malabar. With this event ended the influence of the Portuguese on this Coast.

A treaty was concluded between the Queen of Quilon and the Dutch by which her palace and the guns were restored and large sums were paid to indemnify her losses in the last war. In 1663 and 1664 alliances were formed between the Dutch and the chief princes of Travancore, the Company being represented by Captain John Nieuhoff, and the kings of Karunagapalli, Travancore, Quilon and Kottarakara being parties to the transaction. The articles of agreement were:—

"I. No body shall import, sell or exchange amsion (opium) into these countries, except the Dutch East-India company,

"II. No body, without any exception, shall be permitted to export any pepper or cinamome out of this country, or to sell them to any body, except to the said company.

"III. A certain price was settled, betwixt both parties, and what share each should have in the customs, whereby all former pretensions and exceptions should be annulled."

In connection with this treaty, the following account of Nieuhoff's interview with the Queen of Quilon in March 1664 A. D., as told by himself, is worth quoting:—

"The 2nd of *March* with break of day, the vice-roy of the king of *Travankoor* call'd by them *Gorepe*, the chief commandar of the negroes, call'd *Matta de Pulo*, and myself, set out for the court of the queen of *Koulang*, which was then kept at *Calliere* (Kallada). We arriv'd there about two a clock in the afternoon, and as soon as notice was given of our arrival, we were sent for to court, where after I had deliver'd the presents, and laid the money down for pepper, I was introduced into her majesty's presence. She had a guard of above 700 soldiers about her, all clad after the *Malabar* fashion; the Queen's attirement being no more than a piece of callicoe wrapt round her middle, the upper part of her body appearing for the most part naked, with a piece of callicoe hanging carelessly round her shoulders. Her ears, which were very long, her neck and arms were adorn'd with precious stones, gold rings and bracelets, and her head cover'd with a piece of white callicoe. She was past her middle age, of a brown complexion, with black hair tied in a knot behind, but of a majestic mein, she being a princess who shew'd great deal of good conduct in the management of her affairs. After I had paid the usual compliments, I shew'd her the proposition I was to make to her in writing; which she order'd to be read twice, the better to understand the meaning of it, which being done, she ask'd me, whether this treaty comprehended all

north-east, and the sea to the west, being about 12 leagues in length; its capital city is *Porka*. Another of the chief cities is *Koramallur* (Kutamalur), situate up in the same river with the cities of *Cochin* and *Koulang*.....The king reigning at *Porka* was a person of 30 years of age, very stately and well made. ..... He is a most absolute prince, acknowledging no superior, every foot of the countrey being his own, and at his disposal. Justice is administered here with extraordinary severity, especially on the account of theft, which makes this crime scarce ever to be heard of here." *

The king's revenue was chiefly obtained from pirates on the coast.

Among other kingdoms, mention may be made of PERITALLI (Nedumangad), ELAYADATHU SWARUPAM (including Kottarakara, Pattanapuram, Shencottah and Calacaud), PANTALAM, TEKKUMKUR (embracing the Taluqs of Tiruvalla, Changanachery and Kottayam), VADAKKUMKUR and PARUR.

Umayamma Rani $\frac{853—859 \text{ M. E.}}{1678—1684 \text{ A. D.}}$. When Aditya Varma died by treachery in Dhanu 854 M. E., the Royal family consisted of one female, the Queen of Attungal, and her six sons all minors. This is the Queen to whom Van Rheed refers in the extract quoted above in such flattering terms. The Ettuvittil Pillamars and their confederates waited upon the Rani and gave their assurances of allegiance to her and her children only as a take-off to the villainous act of treachery they had determined upon against her and her issue. Five of the princes were inveigled to go to a bathing tank known as *Kalippankulam* at Manakad (half a mile south of the Trivandrum town), on a fine moonlight night along with other boys they had set up ostensibly for purposes of swim and play. As the boys were enjoying their swim, a few ruffians hired for the purpose came also to the tank under the pretext of bathing, and seizing the princes drowned them in the water. The confederates then spread a rumour to the effect that the princes were accidentally drowned in the tank while bathing. The shocking news of the simultaneous death of her five sons left no doubt in the mind of the Queen as to the cause of death and the hands that wrought it. She was entirely helpless and finding her stay at Puthencottah unsafe, she retired with her only surviving son, a boy of nine years, to Nedumangad with a faithful staff of followers. She then gave up all concern in the affairs of her government, her whole thoughts being centred on the safety of her son and heir. †

* Churchill's Collection of Voyages and Travels, Vol. II. Page 223.

† Miss Augusta M. Blandford makes a mistake on this point in her pretty little book on Travancore, called by her "The Land of the Conch Shell." She says:—"The chief residence of the Rajahs of those days was at a place about 30 miles from Trivandrum, the present capital,

over neighbouring princes, but of this I am convinced to the contrary by my own experience; it is true they reverence him, as a potent king, but pay him no obedience. Others will have him to be a vassal of the king of *Narasinga*."

This much is certain that the king of Travancore did exercise some control over the neighbouring princes, for we find him interfering with the Dutch Company for their burning the royal palace of Quilon and for driving Godavarma Rajah (*Gondormo*) of Vettatnad from Cochin, and that the Dutch Company always held him in very great esteem.

QUILON (*Coulang* or *Singnaty*). This small principality was, as we have seen already, ruled at this time by a Queen "past her middle age, of a brown complexion, of a majestic mein, a princess who showed a great deal of good conduct in the management of her affairs".

"The city of *Koulang*, the capital of a kingdom bearing the same name, is situate upon the sea shore of the coast of *Malabar*, about 13 French leagues to the south of *Cochin*. It is fortified with a stone wall of 18 or 20 foot high, and 8 bastions; its suburbs which are very large and stately, are by the *Portuguese* called *Colang China*. For *Koulang* is separated into two bodies, one of which is called the *Upper* or *Malabar Koulang*, the other the *Lower Koulang*; in the first the king and queen kept their ordinary residences; the last was formerly in the possession of the Portuguese as lying nearer to the sea side.....The houses of the inhabitants were very stately and lofty built of free stone."

The rulers of this State were closely allied to the Travancore Royal family and about 1600 A. D., the eldest member of the Quilon or Travancore family seems to have ruled over the whole country from Quilon to Cape Comorin. The Rajah of Kayangulam (*Kalkoulang*) was a very powerful prince being frequently at war with the king of Travancore and claiming a second place among the Princes of Travancore at this time.

KARUNAGAPALLI (*Marta*). "The kingdom of *Marta* or *Marten* is very near as big as that of *Kalkoulang*, extending to the north as far as *Porka*; to the south it borders upon the Indian sea, and to the east it is surrounded by high mountains, and washed by the same river, upon which *Cochin* and *Koulang* lie. ..... This king possesses some parts of the countrey in common with the king of *Kalkoulang*, a thing not usual on this coast, where are so many petty kingdoms, that it requires no small time, to distinguish and know them from one another. .....The king is a sovereign prince, he that then reigned being of about 60 years of age, very large of body and a stern countenance; he keeps constantly 1,200 negroes in pay: his residence is at *Carnopoly* (Karunagapalli), a place surrounded with an earthen wall of 20 feet high but appeared much decayed at the time."

The capital of this State was Marta (Maruturkulangara) and Mavelikara (*Maulikara*) was another city belonging to this principality.

PORACAD (*Porka*). "The kingdom of *Porka*, otherwise *Perkatti*, has borrowed its name from its capital city; it borders to the north upon the kingdom of *Cochin*, to the south upon that of *Kalkoulang*, it has *Takken Berkenker* to the

Maharajah took him at his word, and going there one afternoon unawares went straight into the Pillai's house and seizing him by his *kudumi* (tuft of hair) asked him to show the cheetah-cub promised, whereupon the Pillai tried to extricate himself from the grip of the Maharajah, but the Maharajah overpowered him and cut him with his sword into two pieces—the spot in Pallichal where this was done is still known as *Naduvathumuri*, literally 'cut into two'. The Pillai's properties were confiscated to the State and sold. The lands were purchased by a Brahmin *Anaval* and endowed by him for public charity, which continues to this day. All the Ettuvittil Pillamars were either executed or banished as the later history will show—but it is believed they are not altogether extinct. Two families are said to exist and there was a great sensation caused sometime ago when a member of one of these proscribed families applied for a government appointment. The application was stoutly opposed on the ground of the man belonging to this set of ancient traitors to the Travancore Royal house. A petty subordinate of mine in the Settlement Department claims to be a descendant of one of the families.

Internal dissensions having broken out amongst the confederates themselves, anarchy and misrule prevailed throughout the country for some years.

A Mahomedan invasion. Taking advantage of this state of affairs, a petty Sirdar named Mukilan under the Mogul Emperor who was leading a wandering wayfaring life in the southern part of the Peninsula with a number of horsemen, invaded the southern part of Travancore and carried on depredations among the people there. This was not probably the name of the Sirdar, but the name of his race 'Mogul,' which in the vernacular may be called Mukilan. The invasion is still known as *Mukilan-padai*, literally 'Mogul's invasion.' None of the chiefs or nobles being able to oppose him or impede his march he soon reached Trivandrum which was deserted by the Yogakkars and Pillamars fleeing for their lives. A few faithful Pathans attached to the palace prevailed on the Sirdar not to demolish or pollute the pagodas or convert the people to Islam. The Sirdar encamped at Manakad and exercised his sway up to Edawa in the north and became master of the country between Tovala and Edawa. He did not care to go to Nedumangad where the Rani was staying with her son. The Mahomedan conqueror imposed certain customs and observances peculiar to Mahomedans on the Malayali Sudras living between Varkala and Vilavankod which tract was now under his sway. They were:—

1. Males should cover their heads and females their bodies, when going out of doors.

2. Males should undergo the ceremony of circumcision before the age of ten.

3. During marriage ceremonies the relatives and friends of the family should sit together and eat from the same dish.

4. Sudra women should cover the upper part of their bodies with a cloth like males and should not remain naked like their sisters of the north.

5. Every child on being weaned should have a handkerchief tied round its head.

6. Females should get themselves tattooed on some parts of their bodies.

7. Females need not wear the lower cloth as the women of north Trivandrum do viz., തൊട്ടുടുക്ക (Thattudukka).

Some of these customs still prevail among the Sudras in and about Trivandrum.

KERALA VARMA. The exiled Rani at Nedumangad now sought the aid of one Kerala Varma, a member of the northern Kottayam Rajah's family and related to the Travancore House, to drive the Mogul Sirdar and recover her country from him. Kerala Varma soon answered the call and raising a large force of archers at Neyyattinkara marched against the enemy. The Sirdar not having a sufficient force ready with him retreated to Tovala where his horsemen had gone for collecting the revenue. He was closely pursued by Kerala Varma and in a battle at Tiruvattar, the Mogul chief was killed. Kerala Varma with the horses and weapons seized from the Mogul, organised a battalion of cavalry and soon brought all the refractory chiefs to obedience. He then went to Nedumangad to bring the Queen to Trivandrum where he acted as her principal counsellor and commander of the troops.

Two palaces were constructed at Trivandrum called *Tevarathu Koikal* and *Valia Koikal* for the residence of the Queen and Kerala Varma respectively. When peace was restored, the Rani was greatly pleased with her commander whom she elevated to the position of Elaya Rajah or Heir-apparent. Subsequently misunderstandings arose between her and the heir-apparent and it is believed he was assassinated. He was one of the greatest poets of his time.

The Dutch. About 1680 A. D., the Dutch began to realise the results of their policy in seeking trade at the point of the sword. The expenses of the several garrisons maintained at the various settlements were so large that their trade yielded no profits, and they began to consider the advisability of destroying the forts of Cannanore, Cochin, Cranganore and Quilon. But this resolution was not however carried out until some years after viz., 1697 A. D.

The English. In 1684, the English East India Company obtained from the Rani of Attungal, a sandy spot of land at Anjengo and appointed a commercial Resident there. The place was not well selected on account of want of good water and an open roadstead and surf rendering shipping operations dangerous. But the selection was made on account of the abundance of pepper and piece-goods there. When the place was fortified some years later, the cannon of the fort commanded the backwater, the main-stay of traffic, and the shipping in the roadstead. At the time of the English settlement and for several years subsequently, Travancore did not offer facilities for commercial operations on account of the ascendancy of the Yogakkars and Pillamars making the Rajahs mere puppets at their hands. The English had now three factories in Travancore viz., Anjengo in the territory of Attungal, Brinjohn (Vizinjam) and Ruttera (Covalam). The Company paid ground rent in addition to the yearly presents.

Ravi Varma $\frac{859\text{—}893 \text{ M. E.}}{1684\text{—}1718 \text{ A. D.}}$. Ravi Varma, the son of Umayamma Rani, having attained his sixteenth year was installed on the musnud in 1684 A. D., according to the laws of the country. As there was no heir to the throne and as the Dowager Rani had become old, an application was made to the house of Kolathunad for permission to adopt from that family. It appears that the application was at first declined, or rather there was a hesitation to comply with the request, in consequence of the assassination of Kerala Varma. But not long after, a Prince of the Kolathunad house happened to be a guest at the Travancore court on his way back from a pilgrimage to Ramesvaram, when the Rani availed herself of the opportunity to explain to him the close relationship and attachment that had existed between the two houses from very early times and obtained from him a promise that he would as soon as he reached his country send two of his nieces and two of his nephews to be adopted as heirs to Travancore. The Queen honoured her guest with suitable hospitality and sent him to his country with a proper escort. The Prince kept his word and sent two

princes by name Unni Kerala Varma and Rama Varma and also two princesses, all born of the same parents. They were accordingly adopted with the necessary ceremonies and made heirs. A year after the adoption, the Dowager Rani and the elder of the adopted princesses died. The surviving Rani now became the Senior Rani of Attungal.

In 1690 A. D., permission was granted by the Queen to the English East India Company to build a fort at Anjengo which was completed about 1695. The following description of the fort is given by Surgeon Ives in his diary dated 17th December 1757 A. D.:—

"Anjengo fort is small but neat and strong; it is a square with four bastions, having eight guns mounted on each, carrying a ball of eighteen pounds. Two of these bastions face the sea, the other two the country. Besides these there is a line of eighteen or twenty guns pointing towards the sea of eighteen and twenty-four pounders. About a pistol shot from the back of the fort runs a river which besides a security to the factory, adds much to the agreeable situation of the place." *

But the Pillamars and Madampimars (petty chiefs) resented this act of the Rani, and in November 1697 A. D., the factory of Anjengo was violently attacked on the plea that the English were pirates, but without success. Mr. Logan writes:—

"It may however be doubted whether this, their ostensible reason, was the true one, for as will presently appear, the presence of the English in Travancore was gradually leading to a revolution in that State". †

The fort of Anjengo has since been of very great use to the Company's trade, and it was from here that the English were able to gradually extend their influence on the State affairs of Travancore and Cochin. This fort, as we shall see, served them in later days as a depot for military stores during the wars of the Carnatic; it was also the point from which the first news of outward-bound ships reached Madras.

In a letter, dated 6th June 1695, from the President and Council of Fort St. George to the Company, referred to in the Press-lists of the ancient records of Fort St. George, we find that there was a contract for pepper entered into between the Queen of Attungal and the Danes about 1695 and that the Danes had a factory in the territory of the Queen of Attungal, probably Edawa.

About this time the Dutch Company's business had considerably declined in spite of the strength of their numerous fortifications, for we find that in 1697 A. D., the Supreme Government at Batavia declared that the

* Ives's Voyages. Page 191.

† The Malabar Manual, Vol. I. Page 344.

Cochin fort should be reduced to half its size, that at Cannanore and Quilon only one tower was to be left standing, while at Cranganore the external works alone were to remain. The forces at all the military outposts were ordered to be withdrawn excepting those at Paponetty, Poracad and Kayangulam, and the marine and other establishments were considerably reduced.

Relations between Madura and Travancore.—Nanjanad. It is recorded in the Tamil chronicles that Visvanatha Nayak subdued some chiefs of Travancore and levied tribute from them, in the name of his sovereign, the Emperor of Vijayanagar. Not long after, the great Tirumala Nayak reduced the Travancore sovereign to subjection, made the "Nanchi-nattu Rajah" the foremost among his vassals—the seventy-two Poligars, and appointed him to guard the bastions of the Pandyan capital. Whether these are historical facts or not, we have ample proof of one fact, that Tirumala Nayak's forces attacked Nanjanad and made certain portions of it their own about the year 809 M. E. (1634 A. D.). The inscription of Kudiraipandivilai and Vaiyalivilai in the Taluq of Agastisvaram and copies of certain edicts, throw some additional light on the political and social conditions of Nanjanad during the ninth century of the Malabar era. It is clear from these records that the forces of Tirumala Nayak visited the country several times conquering and plundering wherever they went and that the country was in a state of anarchy and confusion for about half a century. Even in 1694 A. D., there was an invasion of Nanjanad by the forces of the Madura Nayaks. It should be remembered that the limits of Nanjanad which now comprise the Tovala and Agastisvaram Taluqs, were not the then limits of that tract. The records show that a large strip of land between Mangalam near Ponmana and Manakudi, formed part of Nanjanad, while a part of Agastisvaram Taluq from the Cape to Kottaram belonged to and was governed by the officers of Tirumala Nayak and his descendants. There existed in those days a partition wall, the remnants of which are still to be seen from Manakudi to Pottaiyadi, and the triangular piece of land on the other side of the line including Variyur, Karungulam, Alagappapuram, Anjugramam, Cape Comorin, Mahadanapuram and Agastisvaram, went by the name of *Purattayanad* or *Murattanad*. There was thus great facility for the Nayak's forces to march into Nanjanad and commit depredations. Purattayanad formed part of the Pandyan kingdom and was governed by its officers during the eighth and ninth centuries M. E. One of the edicts above referred to runs as follows:—

Inscription on the stone set up after redressing the grievances of the people on the fourth day of the month of Kartikai in the year 873 M. E. (1697 A. D.).

"Whereas owing to heavy losses sustained by the people on account of the invasion of the Nayakkar's forces at different times from the year 852 M. E. (1677 A. D.) forward, we had remitted *anjali* tax in arrears for the years 849 to 869 M. E., that is, for two *Kar* crops and thirteen *Pisanam* crops, or fifteen crops in all, We are pleased now and for ever to command the relinquishment of all claims for the following taxes viz., *anjali*, *kuttukai*, *kottapalivukanikkai*, supplying castor oil for torches, supplying cloths for the same and supplying paddy for royal birthdays; and whereas between Mangalam and Manakudi the people have lost their title-deeds with the baskets * in which they were kept, we do hereby command that, should any of them be found in the possession of any one, they be at once torn to pieces then and there, excepting those that relate to property holdings and services which must be restored to the respective owners, that the cadjan bonds and *kanam* documents lost during the confusion and plunder caused by the forces, if they be produced by any one except the rightful owner, shall not be considered as proofs; that the paddy alone be paid as *pattom* and *melvaram*, including *tali* and *sanketam* for the *Kar* crops in the months of Alpasy and Kartikai, and for *Pisanam* crops in the months of Panguny and Chittrai and that no money shall be paid or received at commutation value; that with regard to *padukalam* (debt bonds) and *ubhayam-palisa* which could not be realised, the monies under *padukalam* deeds are excused as well as the penalties imposed upon particular individuals and funeral fees. We are further pleased to declare with respect to *sanketam* and *perumpattu* ryots that distraint of the above properties for their debts shall be of no avail, that for the debts due from *sanketam* there shall be no distraint of the villages but should be realised out of any residue left after paying the *melvaram* dues; that during the payment of the taxes the ryots should produce the tax-receipt for the current year as well as for the year preceding; and that whenever our employees go out, the Brahmin shall not get more than twelve *nalis* and the Sudra nine *nalis* per day and that in accordance with the *neets* issued under dates 17th Alpasy 870 M. E. and 13th Vycausy 871 M. E. (1694-1695 A. D.) and the stones raised at Mavilai, Kudiraipandivilai and Vaiyalivilai in evidence thereof, the ryots are required to conduct themselves accordingly."

The above document, intended for the ryots inhabiting the southern portion of Nanjanad North, reveals many interesting customs and kinds of taxes to government then in vogue. There were at this time such cesses as *padukalam*, *ubhayam-palisa*, *tanittandam* and *savukanikkai* &c. In former days lands were never sold for arrears of tax, then known as *padukalam* debts, and after the said debts had been abolished, the interest on the amount of arrears was levied as an extra cess called *padukalam-palisa*. The people of Nanjanad had a right to make enquiries into the crimes committed by the individual members of the community and the penalty imposed on such criminals by a fixed committee was called குற்றத்தண்டம் (fines) and பரிதித்தண்டம் (compensation to the

* Even to this day cadjan documents are preserved only in rattan baskets by the indigenous population in rural parts.

sufferer). As the latter was abolished, the former alone remained in force and these fines were paid to the government. There were also special cesses called சாவுகாணிக்கை (death dues) and வாழ்வுகாணிக்கை (marriage &c., dues), the latter of which was abolished.

From the time of the advent of the Nayakkar forces the Travancore king was paying a tribute to the Madura kingdom. About the year 1697 A. D., owing to the disorderly state of the Madura kingdom, the Travancore king was unpunctual in remitting his usual tribute to the Nayak's treasury. As usual an army of Vadukans was sent by the Madura State to collect the arrears. This army entered Travancore through the pass near Cape Comorin. They immediately began to devastate the country in every direction and finally blockaded the king in Korkulam (Kalkulam)* his principal fortress. The king of Travancore determined to put an end to these periodical visitations of the Vadukans and also to get rid of the obnoxious factions in his own country viz., the Madampimars and Pillamars. With this double object, he opened negotiations with the officers of the Vaduka army, promising them that he would give them Korkulam and a few other districts if they would assist him in getting rid of the rebellious chiefs and lords. The Madura officers gladly accepted the offer and being placed in possession of the forts carried out their agreement by seizing and putting to death one or two of the refractory lords in the Trivandrum pagoda, while the others escaped or bought themselves off. But soon after, when the officers and troops of the Madura army had dispersed themselves about the town and were in great disorder, the king of Travancore collected a large army, captured the Kalkulam fortress which yielded without resistance and nearly destroyed the Madura forces. A small body of them fled in the direction of the pass but they too were captured by the main body of the Travancore army and killed.

It was about 1698 A. D., that Mangammal, the Queen-regent of Madura, actuated by a desire to repair this defeat and to exact the annual tribute which the Travancore king ceased to pay, entered on a war with Travancore and sent a large army under the command of Narasappayya the Madura Dalawa. He invaded the country, conquered the Travancore forces after hard fighting and returned to Trichinopoly with considerable booty consisting of spices, jewels and guns.‡

* Mr. Nelson in his Manual of Madura identifies Korkulam with Quilon. This is evidently a mistake. The place referred to must be Kalkulam or Padmanabhapuram.

‡ The Madura Manual, Part III. Page 226.

The attacks from Madura for collecting the arrears of tribute from the Travancore king became more frequent while the efforts of the latter to resist them seemed to be futile. The Nanjanad people, who had to bear the brunt of these frequent attacks, became naturally very callous to pay their homage and allegiance to their sovereign who was not able to protect them from his enemies. The feudal chieftains, therefore, became recalcitrant. Fresh taxes had to be imposed on them to meet the expenses of the army which had to be maintained on a very large scale. The discontent of the people developed into open revolt and the Nanjanadians are said to have convened five meetings in different places from 1702 A. D., forward. The following edicts found among the records of the Periavittu Mudaliar already referred to, written in Tamil, contain resolutions passed by the people of Nanjanad at four of these meetings :—

Resolutions (மொழிஓலை) dated first of Alpasy 878 M. E., passed by the *nattars* (people of Nanjanad) between Mangalam and Manakudi assembled in solemn meeting (திருவாசில்) at Vatasseri.

"As our land has from the year 852 M. E., been the scene of distress on account of foreign invasions (படையும்வினையும்) from the east and of troubles from within the State, we having failed owing to lack of union (and emigration ?) (கூடியும்குடிவாங்கி) to make a bold stand and to have our grievances heard in that our property (உற்பத்தி), holdings (க்ரைப்புள்ளி) and services (காணியாட்சி) are being usurped by others, the village chieftains (துரைக்கார்) oppressing us in doing things not heard of before, the government listening to tales carried by backbiters from the country and harassing us on account of old discharged *padukalam* deeds and debt bonds and false *padukalam* deeds and false documents produced by individuals, so much so that baskets are opened and documents produced with ease from any place where they happened to be at the time, government getting hold of debt bonds executed by *Pottis* (போற்றிகள்) and *Pillamars* (accountants) of the eleven *matams* appertaining to Sri Padmanabha Perumal and Adi Kesava Perumal, are not allowing us to sow our seeds and take the harvest, in that they tried to enforce the redemption of *chora-otti* (சோராஒற்றி) and obtaining extra monies for sub-mortgages (சிற்றொற்றி) in addition to taxes; in that we are deprived of our possessions by the (arbitrary) fixing of inscription stones; our houses and things distrained after ousting the inmates, our Paraya slaves taken away by the Sirkar and made to work for them as they pleased and such other calamities have befallen us; we do hereby resolve and determine that we do form ourselves into a body for union (and emigration), and that whenever any casualty should happen to any man in our country or to any village or *pidagai* or any affair occur that might cost some ten or sixteen fanams, the country should pay the same from the common funds and decide how best it could do under the circumstances and that whenever a calamity should happen to the country or to any village, the aggrieved person should meet in a common place and give intimation to the *pidagakkars*, when we all should assemble, resolve and decide according to circumstances and that the case of those persons who in contravention of the terms of these resolutions fail to attend and weaken the cause thereby, would be considered and decided in the public meeting,

Upon the holy feet of Lord Thanumalaya Perumal these resolutions are irrevocably passed. All the *nattars* of the southern portion of Nanjanad North consenting, signed Arumukaperumal."

The following resolutions were passed by the *nattars* between Mangalam and Manakudi assembled in solemn meeting for the second time at Asramam near Suchindram under date, the 14th Margaly 889 M. E., corresponding to December 1713 A. D.:—

"As royal cavalry and troops have repeatedly and in large numbers caused great damage to us, and as while from the time this land came into existence we continued to pay *anjali* and *melvaram* for lands we possess by purchase, we have been obliged to pay *kottappanam* (கோட்டப்பணம்) and unprecedented taxes, the land has suffered very grievously. Hereafter, therefore, we should, in accordance with the royal commands of our sovereign Kulasekhara Perumal Tampuran, continue to pay *anjali* and *melvaram* alone, but not any *kottappanam* and unusual taxes, and should protest against such attempts by unitedly making a bold stand and (if necessary) by emigrating. We should honourably keep up all the privileges or rights which our ancestors enjoyed in olden days. If palace officers should come, we should give them allowances only at the rate of twelve measures (*nalis*) for each Brahmin and nine measures for each Nayar among them. As regards the balance of *kottappanam* for the *Kar* crop of the above year, we should only pay arrears as per account of the *kelvi* (கேள்வி), but if they should demand any items as due from omission (ஒழுகு) or wrong entries in accounts (கணக்குப்பிசகு), we should protest against such (unjust) demands by unitedly making a bold stand and by emigrating. In thus asserting our rights, if any *pidagai* or village, or any single individual, is subjected to loss by acts of government, we should support them by reimbursing such loss from our common funds. If at such times any one should get into the secrets of government and impair the privileges or rights of the country, he should be subjected to a public enquiry by the *nattars*. We have thus passed these resolutions taking oath at the feet of our Lord Thanumalaya Perumal and our Lord Bhutanathaswamy. Signed Arumuka Perumal for the people of the northern and southern divisions of Nanjanad".

Resolutions of the third meeting of the *nattars* held on the 15th Vycausy 801 M. E. (1716 A. D.) at Isantimangalam:—

"As from the year 82 M. E., on account of the annual visits of the royal cavalry and troops, the levy of unprecedented dues (இறுதலிறை), and the payment of the unusual taxes which have been imposed on *Devada am*, *Brahmadanam*, *Manipam* and *Malapparam* (மடப்புறம்) tenures, religious offerings in temples have been stopped; as Srinivasa Rao has carried away flocks of sheep and herds of cattle as well as the leaders of the people (தம்பலக்காரர்); as Reddy cow-herds have been daily lifting herds of cattle from the country; as Anantoji Nayakkar has, in the southern division of Nanjanad, deprived women even of their marriage badges which were only cotton threads and ruptured the lobes of their ears, has carried away herds of cattle, paddy and seed-grain from the country, and has besides appointed watchmen (மடிக்காவல்) over every village and carried off paddy and seed-grain from there; as all the boxes containing documents (title-deeds), gold and silver, jewels, brass vessels, articles of dress, paddy and seed-grain of the whole country, which had been deposited at Suchindram, in the hope that it would serve as a place of safety, being within the *sanketam* (precincts of the Swamy there), have all been looted (by foreign

marauders); as Suchindram and Asramam villages have been set on fire; as the shops there were all plundered; as by these acts, even the precincts of the Swamy, have been tampered with; and as though there have been thus numerous kinds of troubles in the country, the Kariakars and Swarupakars have not, under royal command, redressed our grievances, and enabled us to live in peace, we should leave uncultivated the whole country between Mangalam and Manakudi from the *Kar* season of 892 M. E., and if after that the Kariakars and Swarupakars under royal command, redress our grievances and enable to live in peace, we may then cultivate our lands. We should keep up all privileges (or rights) in the country as in the days of our ancestors. If any in the country get into the secrets of the government and undermine the established privileges of the country, we should enquire into the matter and make such persons answer for the same both as a house (family) and as individuals, personally (வீட்டோடும் கூட்டோடும்). While thus managing our affairs, if the country, or any *pidagai* (பிடாகை), or village, or any house, becomes subject to troubles, we should, as a body, make ourselves strong by making a united stand, and migrating (if necessary). Signed Arumuka Perumal on behalf of the northern and southern divisions of Nanjanad."

There are clear references in this edict to two invasions by the Vadukar army under Srinivasa Rao and Anantoji Nayakkar, two officers or agents of the nominal suzerain at Vijayanagar.

The following are the proceedings of the fourth meeting held on the 16th of Kartikai 898 M. E. (1722 A. D.) at Kadukkara by the ryots of Nanjanad, North and South, lying between Mangalam and Manakudi:—

"1. On account of the heavy taxes imposed on us and the cruel treatment which we were subjected to till the Kumbham harvest of 895 M. E. (1720 A. D.), we were forced to leave our fields uncultivated during the whole of the year 896 M. E. (1721 A. D.) and retreat to the east of the mountains. The sovereign, together with the Pottimars, Pandalas, and the members of the Swarupam, encamped at Bhutapandi and summoning the people of both the divisions of Nanjanad before him, redressed all their grievances till the Kumbham crop of 896 M. E. (1721 A. D.). A royal writ was also executed to that effect and as a mark of special favour we were presented with a brass drum, a horn and a *ponthi* made of silver. Another writ was also issued cancelling all heavy taxes, prohibiting tyranny in the land and reorganising only the original imposts. It was further agreed that the assembly at Nanjanad might continue to enjoy the powers and prerogatives originally vested in them. But when the assembly exercised those privileges by instituting a regular enquiry against those that infringed its laws, the sovereign came down upon the association and demolished the houses of two chiefs in each division (*pidagai*).

"2. Sivasaila Mudaliar, with the members of the Swarupam and their troops pressed us hard for the payment of the unjust taxes levied on the Kanni crop of 897 M. E.

"3. The sovereign himself insisted on demanding thirty fanams per *mathal* on all lands including *Devadanam*, *Brahmadanam*, *Kanduzhavu* and even on waste lands.

"4. Government exacted 125 fanams per *kottah* from the poor ryots who were not able to realise anything from the Kanni crop of 898, since it was a complete failure and thus doubled the amount, when they actually deserved a proper reduction in their payment.

"5. A similar exaction was made in Nallur and Villipattu from uncultivated lands.

"6. The officials were ordered to farm out all the unjust taxes from the villages of Anumaketananallur and Viravanallur, even when the sums had already been remitted by government.

"7. The Dalawa demanded the immediate payment of *mathalpanam*, *kottapanam* and other imposts which were declared by the sovereign's writ, as having been prohibited in the kingdom.

"8. The government appropriated to itself those lands which were lying barren and now cultivated by the ryots.

"9. The ryots were ordered to pay for the dry lands the taxes levied on the wet ones, after having paid their regular dues.

"10. One-fourth of the Kanni crop of 98 was forcibly wrested from their hands.

"11. The whole tax levied on the wet lands was levied on the seed-bed lands too for the non-payment of which the grains stored in houses, the brass vessels and the silver utensils of these ryots were all confiscated to the government.

"12. When the seven village watchmen were deputed to lay before the sovereign at Kalkulam their insufferable grievances and even after their representing the deplorable state of affairs before the Pottimars, Pandalas and the members of the Swarupam, no measures were taken to redress them in any way, but on the contrary Muthu Pillai with his troops besieged Darisanamkoppu and blockading all entrance into it, suffered the cows and other helpless creatures to starve there for three days and committed other atrocities within it, such as, breaking the pots of the poor women who were carrying water and confiscating paddy and other grains stored in their houses.

"13. And lastly when the inhabitants in a body emigrated to Kadukkara, Muthu Pillai and Chittambalam Pandaram followed by hundreds of their servants surrounded us there, and when they demanded the payment of our dues on the spot, we had to scale up the hills and settle on the other side; then they plundered the whole of Kadukkara.

"We therefore pass the following resolutions from the Chempakaraman Puthukal-matam, east of Alagiapandyapuram:—

"1. That the taxes on the seed-bed lands and *kottappanam* cannot be paid.

"2. That we will bind ourselves to pay only the *anjali* and the other taxes originally existing on all our lands and cannot pay the *mathalpanam* imposed on *Devadanam*, *Brahmadanam* &c.

"3. That we will be prepared to make a bold stand and resist by force, if any measures be taken to enforce the unjust imposts, and even be willing to migrate into another country, leaving our Kumbham crop behind.

"4. That if anybody—be he *pidagakar*, *oorkar*, or *ambalakar*—were to betray the proceedings of this assembly, being bribed by the government officers, or consent to pay the unjust taxes, he shall be liable to pay with his person and property, the penalty for such gross treachery.

"5. That when we have migrated to any new country we will demand fit retribution for the high-handed murder of the *ambalakars*.

"6. That no *ambalakar* from our country be allowed to be employed as revenue farmers.

"7. That if the government exact such new taxes from a person, village, or whole division, by confiscating the properties attached to them, the loss sustained by the individuals or community be made good from our common fund.

"8. That if in the period of our secession, any body be found lurking in the village and be caught by the officials he shall not only have to pay the dues himself but also be liable to pay the penalty for his treason against the commonwealth.

"9. That we will demand reparation for the destruction of the two houses in each division, which was sanctioned by the sovereign because the assembly used its legitimate powers.

"10. That if the government does not make good their loss in this direction, we will take the money from our common funds.

"11. That if any person from Nanjanad, North and South, serve as an accountant under the government or betray our affairs, he shall pay the penalty by forefeiting his property.

"12. That, while the government has made its former promise of allowing our assembly to enjoy its former prerogatives null and void, if anybody take up arms on their side, he shall pay a similar penalty.

"13. That a similar penalty be inflicted on those who infringe the laws and customs of his class.

"14. That, if the forces of the sovereign be encamped in our country, measures be taken to represent the matter before the Maharajah and the Swarupakars, or we ourselves be prepared to emigrate somewhere.

"15. That these shall be the standing rules of our assembly and if any person attempt to dissolve our union, he shall incur the accursed sin of having butchered a cow on the banks of the Ganges; on the other hand the person who tries to consolidate our union shall reap the supreme benefit of having given a cow to a Brahmin on the banks of the same river.

"We swear on Thanumalayaperumal and Bhutalingam to preserve the rights of our assembly. These are the resolutions arrived at by the inhabitants of Nanjanad, North and South. Signed Arumuka Perumal."

These edicts and the resolutions embodied in them speak for themselves and do not require any comments here. The Nanjanad people became desperate. They were harassed on the one side by the marauders from the Pandyan kingdom and on the other by the king's officers who, when the former disappeared after plunder, put in their appearance only to demand fresh taxes for the so-called defence of the land. The spirit of lawless defiance to the king's authority engendered by this state of affairs reached its climax when the people openly met and resolved to take the life of any man who acted against the interests of the public therein assembled. Such a person was to be treated as a common enemy and dealt with accordingly. The people also more than once abandoned their houses and took

to the neighbouring hills refusing to return to their villages unless the king promised redress to their grievances. Even service under the king was declared treason against the commonwealth of Nanjanad. To this day the people of Nanjanad are as a class distinguished from the other Travancoreans by a bold address and plain speaking to the authorities—an instinct inherited from long ages of suffering and resistance to misgovernment. One of the most favoured forms of expressing grievances adopted by the people of the southern Taluqs to the sovereign is to say "Kindly allow us to go outside the Tovala frontier". As a matter of fact, they did go several times in former ages outside the Travancore frontier when oppression by the king's officials or depredations by foreign armies became intolerable; but every time they went, they were called back to their homes by the ancient kings who always cajoled them with sweet promises of sympathy and better protection.

Unni Kerala Varma $\frac{893—899 \text{ M. E.}}{1718—1724 \text{ A. D.}}$. On the death of Ravi Varma in 893 M. E. (1718 A. D.), the elder of the adopted princes, Unni Kerala Varma, succeeded to the throne. The country "had now been broken up into an immense number of small chieftainships over which the Rajah had very limited and precarious authority". This sovereign being of a very weak disposition, the Ettuvittil Pillamars were again in the ascendant, usurping all authority from him. The main army of the State had been disbanded as the king's finances did not allow the maintaining of so large a soldiery. The small body of armed troops actually retained was divided into smaller detachments and posted at the different forts and palaces; so the army lay scattered over the land and could not be concentrated at one point. The rebel chieftains in the country now became a source of positive annoyance to the king, who removed his residence to Neyyattinkara to avoid falling a prey to their violence. In 893 M. E. (1718 A. D.), a princess was adopted from the Kolathunad family who in 899 M. E. (1724 A. D.) gave birth to the renowned king Rama Varma or Kilavan Rajah of Travancore.

Murder of the English factors. In April 1721 A. D., while the Ettuvittil Pillamars were still supreme in the land, the usual annual presents due from the factory at Anjengo were demanded in the name of the Queen of Attungal. "Those who demanded it assured the chief of the factory that they came to demand it by the Queen's order and offered their receipt of it in her name." The chief (Mr. Gyfford) appears to have suspected the message and feared that the presents would be seized by the Pillamars and would not reach the Queen. He therefore

refused to pay the money into any other's hand than that of the Queen, upon which the Rani invited him to Attungal to deliver the present personally. "And he, to appear great there, carried two of his council and some others of the factory with the most part of the military belonging to the garrison, and by stratagem they were all out off, except a few black servants whose heels and language saved them from the massacre, and they brought the sad news of the tragedy".* This occurred on the 15th of April 1721. After this the murderers made for the fort of Anjengo which was most valiantly defended by Gunner Ince who repulsed every attempt of the besiegers to scale the walls. He kept the besiegers at bay till succour came from Mr. Adams, the Chief of Tellicherry. The English factors were at the time powerless to take vengeance on the "great lords".

On the 25th April 1723 A. D., the English Company under their local Chief, Dr. Alexander Orme, the father of the historian Robert Orme, entered into a covenant with the Prince of Neyyattinkara by order of the king of Travancore, which contained the following articles:—

"1. The King of Travancore by the end of June of the current year, is bound to order the erection of a fort in his country at Collache, and give the die with people to coin fanams on account of the Honourable company.

"2. If, within the time specified, a fort is not built at Collache, the Honourable Company may bring the die to Anjengo and the Government will be obliged to send men to Anjengo to coin the fanams.

"3. The fortress which is to be built shall be at the cost of Government, as well as the pay of the people placed in it.

"4. The artillery and munitions of war for the fort, the Honourable Company is obliged to supply.

"5. After the erection of the fort at Collache, the die can be taken hither and the coinage of fanams carried on.

"6. The Government will be in league and united in good friendship with the Honourable Company.

"7. Thus by order of the King of Travancore, was this treaty adjusted between myself, Prince of Neyyattinkaray, and Commander Alexander Orme on the part of the Honourable Company and I have affixed to this writing my signature and sent it by Ramen Ramen who drew it up."‡

The English Company had made up their minds to take vengeance on the "lords of the land" and subject the country to the king. In connection with the massacre above referred to, the resolution taken by the Honourable Company is thus expressed in an *ola* (cadjan letter) written by the Travancore Rajah to Dr. Orme on the 15th of August 1723 A. D.

* Hamilton's New Account of the East Indies, Vol. I. Page 336.

‡ The Malabar Manual, Vol. III. Page 9.

"Owing to the loss sustained by the Honourable Company in the capture of Atinga, and the money and artillery which the enemies robbed in our country, the Honourable Company have resolved, in spite of money expenses, to put down the enemies and subject the country to the King, we are ready to do anything, which the Honourable Company may require, and shall personally come there and punish the enemies there in the best manner you may desire, regarding which we affirm to do without fail and wish to know when we must come there with our army."

The following are the conditions which the Rajah of Travancore pledged to observe:—

"1. Owing to the fault committed by Sendu Comodu against the Honourable Company, I will oblige him to give a writing, in public, begging pardon for the fault he has been guilty of against the Honourable Company.

"2. The arms which he seized from the dead soldier I will oblige him to return and pay a penalty for the fault.

"3. For the parents of the dead soldier I will oblige him to pay them 1,001 fanams by way of fine.

"4. The vessels which pass by without paying the dues, excepting the ships of Europeans, the Honourable Company may send a watch Barge to seize all such vessels at Collache and direct them to pay the customs the expenses of which I shall bind to pay 4,000 fanams yearly to the Honourable Company.

'5. To all the ships on my borders and of my vassals, which should pay customs, I will give my writing.

"6. In future times, any of my vassals, acting in such a manner against the Honourable Company, both jointly should punish them and for which I shall give my writing to the Honourable Company.

"7. In lieu of the dead soldier, I will be obliged to send another to the Honourable Company.

"8. As Collache has been made over to the government of Landatu Curipa (Holland—Dutch Company), at least on the half of the place which properly belongs to me, I shall soon direct a *banksaul* to be made and a post for the banner to be planted.

"9. All the piece-goods and other things which the Honourable Company require, I shall order the merchants to supply.

"10. I shall soon confirm, by writing, that I shall not give to any other European nation any goods, which are necessary to the Honourable English Company.

"11. The customs on exports and imports of the goods, the Honourable Company may receive from merchants, but the rate of exchange should be adjusted.

"12. Every year in various kinds, which the Honourable Company require, I will order to supply up to 100,000 piece goods.

"13. In order to adjust the dues leviable from merchants, the Honourable Company will be obliged to give in gold or other articles on account, to the extent of 6,000 fanams yearly. All these things referred to above I did grant since the Honourable Company asked me." *

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. III. Page 12.

But the real amends for the murder of the factors at Anjengo and the loss incurred thereby were made only in 1731 A. D., when the Rajah of Travancore and the Queen of Attungal granted the gardens of Palatadi and Kottadalli to the Honourable Company in satisfaction for the outrage. The grant ran thus :—

"Towards Cherreungue are the gardens of Palatady and Cottudali which were formerly bought by the Commander of Anjengo, but, when on 15th April 1721, he and ten other persons went to Atenga to make presents to the Queen, they were killed by the treachery of Pullays and Kariakars. who seizd the money of the Honourable Company. Seeing the loss and damage thus done to the Honourable Company, we have ceded the same gard ens to them, giving up their revenues and the right of cutting trees and all other privileges, which the Company may take and they and heirs may enjoy these gardens without any obstacle or having any obstruction; but we are obliged to ask for a free passage and protection on the part of the Honourable Company. Thus, in truth, we confirm (the grants) with our signatures to the Commander on the 10th January 1731." *

Unni Kerala Varma died in 899 M. E. (1724 A. D.). During this reign, Nanjanad was divided into three portions viz, Bhutapandi, Cholapuram and Cheramangalam. It appears that one Kunda Pillay of Tinnevelly was made revenue officer of these divisions on condition of his paying two thousand fanams for each division exclusive of the expenses of maintaining *Devalayams* and *Brahmalayams* found in those divisions. In 898 M. E., this arrangement was interrupted by the rebel chiefs who collected the revenues for themselves and paid no part of it to the State.

Rama Varma 899—903 M. E. 1724—1728 A. D. Unni Kerala Varma was succeeded by his brother RAMA VARMA, who was adopted with him. In 1726 A. D., King Rama Varma in consultation with, and on the advice of, Prince Martanda Varma, his nephew now barely twenty years of age, determined once and for ever to completely break the confederacy of the Yogakkars and the Ettuvittil Pillamars. With this object the king went to Trichinopoly and entered into a treaty with the Madura Nayaks, by which he acknowledged the Madura suzerainty and agreed to pay a sum of three thousant rupees annually as tribute to Madura for supplying a suitable force to punish the Madampimars and other rebels. A large force consisting of one thousand cavalry under the command of Venkatapati Nayak, and two thousand Carnatic sepoys headed by Tirupati Nayak and others in charge of fifty Sirdars, was brought from Madura. The refractory chiefs on seeing such a large force march against them fled for their lives. But the Yogakkars and the Pillamars

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. III. Page 10.

fully knowing that harsh measures would not be taken against them as they were attached to *Devaswams*, still continued their arrogant conduct. Afraid of their evil machinations Prince Martanda Varma was obliged to reside at Attungal with the Senior Rani and her son Prince Rama Varma.

On the 19th March 1726 A. D., the Queen of Attungal granted to the Anjengo factors the factory of Edawa. The following is a copy of the grant:—

All that, which the Commander has spoken to Gristnava (the bearer of the usual presents to the Queen) he has related to me; the place which is now granted in Eddawa for a factory, is not for any interest of government, but that of obtaining the favour and help of the Honourable Company during all the time which this Government and the Honourable Company should last, as well as that of augmenting the custom duties of this Government. No Commanders, who came in these days here, have obtained such a place as this Commander, so that he may acquire greater fame in the service of the Honourable Company it is that I have granted this place. The presents sent by the Commander through Gristnava to me and Pulamars have been received." *

From a letter from the Chief and factors at Anjengo to the President and Council, Fort St. George, referred to in the Press-lists of Madras Government records, we learn that there was an alliance in 1527 A. D., between the kings of Chinganad (Jayasimhanad or Quilon) and Peritalli and Vanganad to crush the king of Travancore. It is quite probable that this alliance was brought about by the Pillamars themselves. The special mention made of them in the *ola* referred to above clearly indicates their importance.

In 1728 A. D., the Senior Rani and her little son Rama Varma were waylaid on their way from Trivandrum to Attungal by a party of men sent by the Ettuvittil Pillamars for the purpose of assassinating the Rani and the young prince. Kerala Varma Koil Tampuran, the Rani's Consort, who was at the head of the Queen's escort contrived the escape of the Queen and the Prince to a neighbouring village, and to keep them out of harm's way got into the Rani's palanquin and proceeded with the journey. When stopped by the insurgents, the brave Koil Tampuran rushed on them sword in hand and cut down many of them, but unfortunately lost his life in the conflict. He belonged to one of the few noble families from among whom consorts are chosen for the Ranis of Travancore viz., the Kilimanur house which has existed in Travancore for above two centuries. The Kilimanur estate belonging to them is a freehold granted to the family by the sovereign for their maintenance

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. III. Page 14.

in affluence and dignity in recognition of the heroic services of this Koil Tampuran.

KILIMANUR literally means "the land of the parrot and the deer". So wild was the country when the estate was granted. It is situated nearly seven miles to the north-east of Attungal, the seat of the Ranis and twenty-seven miles to the north of Trivandrum. It has an area of seventeen square miles with a population of eight thousand souls. According to tradition, the village was owned by the 'Kunnumel Rajah,' a turbulent chief of the Pandala caste. The fort of Kilimanur and the temples of Devesvaram and Mahadevesvaram are said to have been built by that Rajah. During the anarchic days of the Ettuvittil Pillamars, this Rajah plotted against the Travancore king and consequently was dispossessed of his estate and Kilimanur became a portion of Travancore.

The Kilimanur Koil Tampurans are the natives of Parappanad in Malabar. Their northern home is known as "Tattari-kovilakam". The great Martanda Varma Maharajah, the founder of Travancore, and his illustrious nephew Rama Varma, were the issue of the alliance with Kilimanur—a circumstance of which the members of that family always speak with just pride, as the writer himself heard from the lips of one of its senior members, a venerable old gentleman of eighty summers. The Koil Tampurans of Kilimanur were the first of their class to come and settle in Travancore and all the sovereigns of the State from Unni Kerala Varma to Her Highness Parvathi Bayi, sometime Queen-regent, were the issue of the Koil Tampurans of Kilimanur. Thus it will be seen that the Kilimanur house has been loyally and honourably connected with the Travancore Royal family for more than two centuries.

King Rama Varma died in the year 1728 A. D., after a brief reign of four years and with this reign the Early History of Travancore may be said to close. A brief survey of the Government and the people, the power and influence of the neighbouring kingdoms and the relations with foreign merchants and settlers at this epoch may be of interest to the general reader.

Form of Government. The administration was in the main what it is now. The head of the administration under the direct orders of the king was known as the *Valia Sarvadhikariakar* corresponding to the Dewan of our days. Under him were the *Neetezhuthu Pillay* or Secretary, *Rayasom Pillay* (the assistant or Under-secretary), several

Rayasoms or clerks and *Kanakku Pillamars* or accountants. Inferior in rank to the *Valia Sarvadhikariakar* or Dewan, were officers known as *Sarvadhikaris* who had jurisdiction over districts. Political correspondence with neighbouring States or Europeans was carried on by the *Valia Sarvadhi*; for he signed treaties and agreements. The office of the Dewan was held in the palace in the immediate presence of the king. All important questions were finally decided by the king himself.

State of the country and chief events. Travancore at this period extended from Attungal to Nagercoil. The dynasty of Jayasimha still continued to rule the country between Azhikkal (Karunagapalli Taluq) in the north and Paravur in the south, and, as noted above, there was an alliance in 1727 A. D., between the chiefs of Chinganad and other States to crush the power of Travancore. Nanjanad which once formed part of Travancore was at this time occupied by the Pandyans. The district between Chinganad and Nanjanad was the true Travancore and even in this small territory, the king's authority was nominal. The Ettuvittil Pillamars and the Madampimars usurped all power and the king was constantly in fear for his own life. King Aditya Varma and the five sons of his niece Umayamma Rani were cruelly murdered by the Ettuvittil Pillamars and the Rani herself fled for her life. Kerala Varma, the prince who was invited from Kottayam regained for the Rani and her son the lost kingdom. Martanda Varma, whose career we shall notice hereafter, tried his best to keep the confederates in check during the last two reigns of the period but was not successful. At the close of the epoch we find that King Rama Varma himself went to Trichinopoly to solicit aid to put down the rebels and restore order in his own dominions. Later on, the Queen and her son were waylaid and an attempt was made to murder them. Besides the Pillamars, the Yogakkars and the Madampimars, there appeared to have been other petty chieftains whose tributes contributed to the revenues of the State. These also grew refractory and the result was that the king was left literally without men or money. As a natural consequence anarchy and confusion in their worst forms stalked the land. The neighbouring chiefs came with armed marauders and committed dacoities from time to time plundering the people wholesale, not sparing even the *tali* * on their necks and the jewels on the ears of women. The headman of each village in his turn similarly treated his inferiors. The people of Nanjanad in a body fled to the adjoining hills on more than two

* The Tali is the most important ornament of Hindu women being the badge of the married life.

occasions, complaining bitterly to the king of his effeteness and their own helplessness.

The Neighbouring Kingdoms. The once prosperous Pandyan kingdom (Madura) now under the effeminate sway of Tirumala Nayak's successors was in the last stage of decrepitude. On the death of Vijaya-ranganatha Chokanathan, there arose several claimants for the throne and civil war ensued. The contending parties sought the aid of Mahomedans and Mahrattas and thus paved the way for their own final ruin. Tinnevelly was now under several Poligars who were once subject to the Madura Nayaks. They were practically independent and found congenial occupation in little wars among themselves. North of Venad lay several principalities, chief among them being Quilon, known as Jayasimhanad, Kottarakara or Elayadathu Swarupam including Pattanapuram, Shencottah and Calacaud, Kayangulam (including Karunagapalli), Pantalam, Ampalapuzha or Poracad, Tekkumkur embracing Tiruvalla, Changanachery and Kottayam, Vadakkumkur, Punjar, Alangad, Parur and Edapally. These were all independent but were too weak to give any trouble to Travancore. Further northward lay Cochin, which had now become very much weakened by incessant wars with Calicut and other petty chiefs. The Nawab of the Carnatic was under the Nizam of Hyderabad who had already made himself independent of his nominal suzerain, the Mogul Emperor of Delhi. But the Nawab confined himself to the territories north of Trichinopoly.

The Foreign Powers. The Portuguese though the first European power to establish factories in India were now displaced and their possessions taken by the later adventurers, the Dutch. These latter did not much care to acquire territory in India. But they had commercial settlements in Quilon, Kayangulam, Poracad and Kodungalur; and they occasionally interfered in the affairs of native Rajahs.

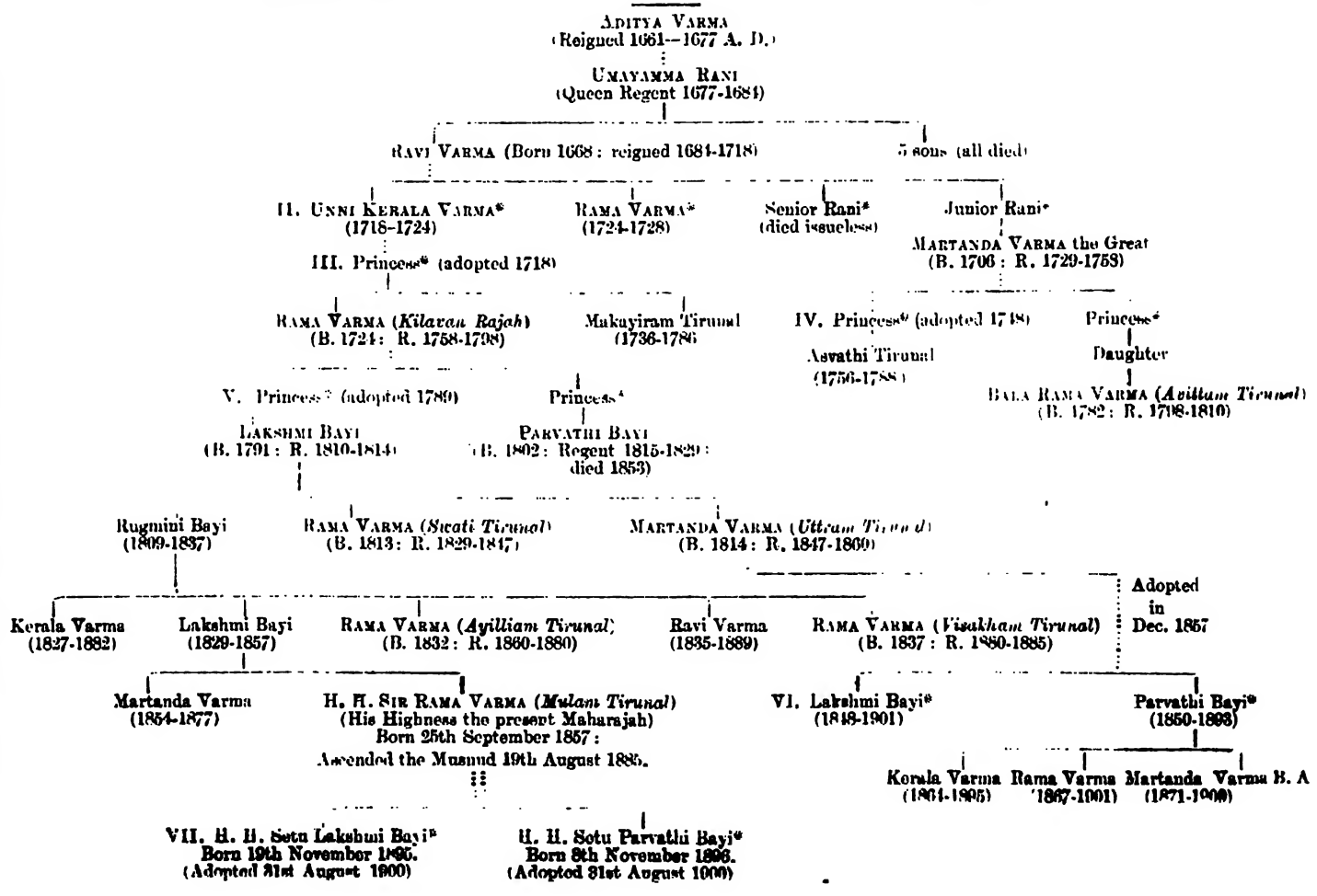
By the end of the sixteenth century, England had risen to be a great naval power and was desirous, like the other European nations, to establish herself as a mercantile power in the East. To quote Sir Alfred Lyall,

"Continual expansion seems to have become part of our national habits and modes of growth. For good or for ill, England had become what she is in the world by the result of adventurous pioneering, by seeking her fortunes in the outlying regions of the Earth, by taking a vigorous part in the unending struggle out of which the settlement of the political world is evolved."*

* Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India. Page 346.

The charter of Queen Elizabeth in 1600 A. D., authorising "the Governor and Company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies" to carry on trade with all parts of Asia, Africa and America, the establishment of factories by them at Surat and other places, the starting of rival companies and the consequent quarrels and difficulties, the competition with other European powers, and the ultimate coalescing of the different conflicting interests into a united association of merchants known as the "United East India Company", are all facts too well known in Indian history to require special mention here. It is sufficient for our purpose here to state that the Company obtained permission from the Queen of Attungal to build a factory in her territory. The treaty with the Travancore king was entered into in 988 M. E., as has been already noticed. They had already established themselves at Edawa, Ruttera (Covalam) and Brinjolm (Vizhinjam) besides Anjengo.

Genealogical Tree of the Travancore Royal House.



N. B. The star mark denotes *adoptions* into the Royal House; the Roman numerals indicate the order of adoptions; vertical single-dotted lines show *nieces*, and double-dotted lines, *grandnieces*.

Section C—Modern History.

"Histories make men wise". *Bacon.*

"The world knows nothing of its greatest men". *Taylor.*

Martanda Varma 904—933 M. E. / 1729—1758 A. D.

Martanda Varma, the founder of modern Travancore, succeeded his uncle at the early age of twenty-three. He ascended the musnud in 904 M. E. (1729 A. D.). At the time of his accession the state of the country was far from happy. There were no organised departments for the transaction of State business. The finances were in an extremely unsatisfactory condition. The country was honeycombed with petty chieftains, who collecting around themselves bands of brigands, subsisted on pillage and plunder and harassed the Rajah and his people by turns, frustrating all attempts to establish order or any settled form of government. The Rajah's following was small and his authority so nominal that the Ettuvittil Pillamars and the Madampimars were more or less independent rulers of their own estates. Anarchy prevailed in South Travancore to a sad extent which was further intensified by the regicidal proclivities of these petty chieftains and the Yogakkars—a body of managers of the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy owning enormous landed wealth and commanding the influence and power which go with it. The young Rajah had a very hard task before him. Even as First Prince * and Elaya Rajah † of tender years, he set himself to put down with a strong hand the lawlessness of these disloyal chiefs. In consequence, he had earned their undying hatred and his life was more than once attempted. He sought the aid of the English and the Dutch and would have completely quelled the rebels but for the timidity and weakness of his uncle the King who compelled him to desist. He had fled from place to place and on several occasions slept on the tops of trees in far off jungles.

Now that he was the acknowledged sovereign of the land he, with the instincts of a true soldier, set to work to establish his sway and consolidate the State, and before the close of his reign in 1758 A. D., he had

* Heir-presumptive.

† Heir-apparent.

regained all the lost tracts, strengthened his rule, established order and improved his resources thus wiping out the ignominy and humiliation to which his ancestors had been subjected for two centuries. Men of real worth were selected to fill offices of trust and responsibility. Arumukam Pillai, the acting Dalawa and an officer of high merit, was confirmed and Kumaraswamy Pillai, a brave and veteran soldier, was made the Commander-in-chief, with Thanu Pillai, the Dalawa's brother, as his assistant. In the Palace establishment, Rama Iyen, an intelligent and honest Brahmin youth of the State itself, was appointed Rayasom (Under-secretary), an office of great trust and difficulty in those times.

Martanda Varma reorganised the financial department, enforced economy in every branch of the State expenditure and improved the army. The regiments were increased in number, better discipline was enforced, superior arms were supplied and a better sense of loyalty and obedience was infused among the rank and file. With a strong and well-disciplined army at his disposal, the young Maharajah thought the maintenance of the Trichinopoly forces an unnecessary drain on his treasury and thereupon disbanded it, and in its place he soon raised an army of Maravas.

The Tampi Insurrection. 905 M. E. (1730 A. D.). The late Maharajah had left two sons known as "Kunju Tampis" *alias* Pappu Tampi and Raman Tampi. Taking advantage of the disorganised state of the country and at the instigation of the wicked insurgents, the Ettuvittil Pillamars or heads of eight houses, the Madampimars (petty chiefs) and the Yogakkars already referred to, the Tampis secretly repaired to Trichinopoly in 1729 A. D., with a view to secure the help of the Pandyan Governor there in order to defy the authority of the young Rajah. On their arrival at Trichinopoly, they were welcomed by the Governor with all honours due to the sons of the Maharajah. They told him that the young King of Travancore was a usurper, that he had no respect for the Pandyan Chief and that the dismissal of the contingent and non-payment of the tribute were only preliminaries to an invasion of the Pandyan Kingdom itself. They further told him that, as sons of the late Maharajah, they were according to the principles of natural justice the proper heirs to their father's throne, and that the new tyrant besides dispossessing them of this right had even denied them the bare means of a decent living.

The Governor who was already exasperated against the Maharajah for his having disbanded the Trichinopoly contingent, espoused their cause with avidity and deputed one of his officers, Alagappa Mudaliar by name,

with a small force to enquire into the claims of the rival parties and to install Pappu Tampi the elder son on his father's throne. Pappu Tampi was much gratified and in return promised to bear all the expenses of the undertaking and to pay a large tribute when he was placed on the throne. For a time, everything seemed bright and prosperous to the Tampi's dream. The army arrived at Udayagiri and encamped at Puliakurichi. The Mudaliar called upon the Maharajah to explain his conduct. Palace Rayasom Rama Iyen and Narayana Iyen were thereupon deputed to negotiate with the Mudaliar and acquaint him with the law of inheritance obtaining on this coast. They discussed the question as instructed and convinced the Mudaliar that in the Royal family of Travancore succession was in the female line, that the nephews inherit the uncles' property, that the kings marry from families inferior to themselves in point of caste, that the sons begotten of such union have therefore no title of succession to the throne and that a liberal provision is always made from the State funds for their maintenance in comfort and dignity. The Mudaliar having heard them and satisfied himself from independent enquiries, dismissed the claims of the Tampis as utterly false, reprimanded them severely for their conduct and advised them to be loyal and faithful to their father's nephew and their own rightful sovereign. The Maharajah sent suitable presents to the Mudaliar who at once left the country quite pleased, leaving behind him half of his force to help the Maharajah against his refractory subjects. The Maharajah, however, still apprehended fresh outbreaks from the disloyal Tampis and their wicked confederates and therefore organised several new regiments of Maravas equipped with fire-arms and constructed forts at all important strategic points. The just decision of the Mudaliar, the retention of a portion of the Trichinopoly force, the new fortifications, the raising of the additional regiments and the mobilisation of the forces throughout the country struck awe into the hearts of the rebellious Tampis and the confederate chieftains, and secured peace to the Maharajah and his subjects. For a long time thereafter, the insurgents did not make any attempts to recover their lost ground.

The King then ordered the building anew of the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy, his family deity, himself personally supervising the work. The image of the God was remade and 12,000 *Saligramams* were put into the idol itself. The front *mantapam* of the inner shrine known as *Ottakkal mantapam* was built in 1730 A. D., with one huge slab of stone, 20 feet square and 2½ feet thick, brought from the Tirumala hill three miles from the capital (Trivandrum). The next thing

that engaged the attention of the Maharajah was the improvement of the irrigation system of Nanjanad and two important dams of irrigation work, viz., the "Ponmana dam" and the "Puthenar dam" were constructed. The construction of the dams was personally superintended by His Highness himself and the people still fondly point to the hole made in the rock on which the Maharajah sat as the one in which a huge cadjan umbrella was fixed, thus saving to the Dam Works the labour of one servant who was to hold on His Highness the umbrella. The present writer has himself seen the hole in the rock at Puthen Anai in which the Maharajah's umbrella is said to have been fixed. The Puthenar dam besides supplying water for irrigation purposes, supplied also good drinking water to the inhabitants of Padmanabhapuram, the Maharajah's capital. Many public roads were opened and markets and thoroughfares were established. The rules of revenue procedure were improved; the power of the Yogakkars was broken and the supreme authority over the Sri Padmanabhaswamy temple virtually passed into the hands of the Maharajah. Thus within two years, various reforms were introduced in all the departments of the State.

The Ettuvittil Pillamars. The discomfiture of the Tampis only quieted the Ettuvittil Pillamars for a time. Their rebellious spirit was scotched, not extinguished. The new reforms and the popularity of the Maharajah roused their hate against him more than ever and they therefore resolved to put an end to the sovereignty of Martanda Varma once for all. A conference was held by them in the *mantapam* of the Venganur Ambalam, an inn about seven miles south of Trivandrum. They there unanimously resolved to assassinate the King during his procession to the sea-beach on the next *Aurat* day. This resolution was committed to writing in cadjan *olas* and secretly circulated amongst their friends and adherents,—the ola-chits themselves being carried in the slippers of the messengers.

The Maharajah duly came to know of these proceedings. An old and faithful Pandaram—the keeper of the well attached to the inn (Ambalam)—having overheard the resolutions of the conspirators at the Venganur meeting brought accurate news of the conspiracy to Rama Iyen who acquainted the Maharajah of the same. Detectives were employed to intercept the cadjan letters carried by the messengers to the conspirators. Two such messengers were seized with the *olas* containing copies of the resolution in their slippers. They were closely imprisoned in the palace and the news was kept very secret. The intercepting of the conspiracy letters was not known to the rebels. They were anxiously

looking forward to the *Aurat* day of the Panguni *Ootsavam* (festival) for the execution of their plans.

With the approach of the festival in the Padmanabhaswamy temple, the rebel chieftains and their retinues flocked in large numbers to Trivandrum. When the procession itself started from the temple, the King walked boldly in front of Padmanabha's image with the State sword in hand. He was escorted by an unusually strong body of troops whose disposition told the rebels clearly what the Maharajah meant. Thus outwitted and cowed down, the rebel chiefs meekly escorted the idol to the sea-beach and back again to the temple trying their best not to look foolish in the discovery of their plot and their own ignominious discomfiture.

A few months later the Maharajah toured down to Nagercoil and there in consultation with his minister determined upon the extirpation of the refractory Pillamars of the eight houses. Secret orders were issued to the military to simultaneously arrest all the rebel chieftains at a given signal. Horsemen were posted between Nagercoil and Trivandrum for carrying out the order. During these preparations Pappu Tampi came one morning to the palace to pay his respects to the Maharajah. The guards on duty had been specially instructed not to let him in but to resist him by force if he should attempt a forcible entry. The sons of kings had the privilege of paying respects to their father's heir and successor without the formality of a previous announcement, and in accordance with that privilege, Pappu Tampi that morning walked straight up the stairs. But the sentries on guard stopped him which incensed him and he, in order to avenge the insult offered, drew his sword; but before he could strike, he was mortally wounded by another sentry from behind. The younger Tampi who was witnessing the whole scene from behind immediately rushed upstairs to revenge himself upon the King seated on his swinging cot and struck him; but the blow missed its aim, the sword hitting against the low beam of the roof which gave the King time to recover himself from the shock, and being a clever swordsman and a well-built soldier he disarmed the Tampi, threw him down and sitting on his chest, plunged his Persian dagger into his heart and lifting the dead body, threw it over the window amidst the assembled crowd below. The few followers of the Tampi who stood outside the palace took to their heels as soon as they saw the fate of their master. Orders were immediately issued for the arrest of all the rebels, troops were speedily sent to Trivandrum and in a few hours the Pillamars were seized and bound in chains. They were duly brought to

Nagercoil and ushered into the Kings' presence. The two messengers who had been closely imprisoned in the palace were then produced. The *olas* were read to them. The rebels admitted their crime, the weaker among them craved for mercy. The King was too noble to be blinded by any spirit of vindictiveness but ordered a judicial enquiry into the conspiracy after which judgment was duly pronounced with the following result. The four Pottis among the conspirators were to be banished the land, the other rebels were to suffer immediate death, and their properties were to be confiscated to the State. Their women and children were to be sold to the fishermen of the coast as slaves. The Edathura Potti and the Pandarams (Elampallur Pandaram and Edathura Pandaram) were driven out of the country. The execution of the rebels took place at the *Mukhamantapam* (Cutchery) at Padmanabhapuram. The houses of the Ettuvittil Pillamars were forthwith razed to the ground and with the materials thereof the magnificient pile of buildings known as *Ramanamatam* and the *Tevarathukoikal* at Trivandrum were constructed. Thus ended the long tale of crime and bloodshed committed by the lawless band of Ettuvittil Pillamars and Madampimars who molested the land for a period of two centuries and more.

Ministerial changes. Arumukam Pillai the minister died in 911 M. E. (1736 A. D.). His brother who succeeded him died within a year after. In 912 M. E., Rama Iyen was appointed Dalawa. The King was now at the head of a prosperous kingdom and a powerful army. With so capable a counsellor as Rama Iyen at his back, he set his heart upon extending his dominion northwards.

Amalgamation of Travancore with Attungal. After the suppression of the internal revolt, the consolidation and extension of his dominion engaged Martanda Varma's attention.

"The Tamburetties of Attingara possessed the sovereignty of Travancore from remote antiquity, until Raja Martanden Wurmah... .....persuaded the Tamburetty to resign the sovereign authoraity to the Rajas, both for herself and for all succeeding Tamburetties. To perpetuate these conditions, a regular treaty was executed between the Raja and the Tamburetty, which was inscribed on a silver plate, and ratified by the most solemn imprecations, limiting the successions to the offsprings of the Attinga Tamburetties. Having concluded this arrangement Raja Martanden Wurmah directed his arms against the neighbouring states."*

Extension of Territory—First conquest of Quilon. In 906 M. E. (1731 A. D.), the Rajah of Desinganad (modern Quilon) who

* Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, Vol. II, Page 315.

was a cousin of the Travancore Maharajah adopted a Princess from the Royal family of Kayangulam. The Travancore Maharajah was not consulted. He therefore suspected that the alliance meant a combination between his cousin and the Kayangulam Rajah for offensive and defensive purposes against himself (Travancore). Incensed at this action of the Quilon Rajah, the Maharajah invaded Quilon with a powerful army, took it and destroyed its forts and other defensive works. The Rajah being thus defeated entered into a treaty with the Travancore King, by which he agreed to cancel the Kayangulam adoption, to pay tribute to Travancore, to demolish his fortifications, to break off his alliance with the Rajah of Kayangulam and further agreed to the annexation by Travancore of his own territory after his death. The Quilon Rajah was then brought to Trivandrum and lodged in the palace at Valiakoikal and was kept in State Prison though treated like a noble guest and relative. A small detachment of soldiers was stationed at Quilon for its peace under the command of Dalawa Arumukam Pillai.

War with Kayangulam. The Rajah of Kayangulam viewed these proceedings with alarm and allying himself with the Rajah of Cochin, sent secret emissaries to Trivandrum to inform the captive Prince that if he could escape from imprisonment and return to Quilon he would help him to get back the lost territory. The Rajah managed to escape from Trivandrum and joined the Kayangulam Chief. On his return, new forts were built, additional troops were raised and Quilon was strengthened with a view to withstand attacks from Travancore. The Maharajah on learning of the Quilon Rajah's escape sent Rama Iyen with a large army to recapture him. But Rama Iyen's forces could not make any impression on the strong fortifications of Quilon and he therefore retreated. Elated with this success, the Rajah of Quilon with the help of the Kayangulam Chief invaded the territories of Travancore at Kallada and Mavelikara.

Enraged at the intrusion of the Kayangulam Rajah in the affairs of himself and his relative (the Quilon Rajah) which they had already settled amongst themselves, the Maharajah made preparations for a simultaneous attack on Quilon and Kayangulam. Large additions were made to the infantry and fire-arms were obtained from English merchants trading at Angengo and Edawa. Thus strongly equipped, he sent out two large regiments to attack Quilon and Kayangulam simultaneously. This was in 909 M. E. (1734 A. D.). Several battles were fought against the Kayangulam Rajah but without any decisive result. At last in a sanguinary fight in which the Rajah of Kayangulam personally commanded his army,

he was mortally wounded by a Travancore sepoy. On the death of their Chief the whole army fled in confusion, but Kayangulam was not conquered. The Rajah's brother succeeded to the throne and the war was continued with greater vigour by him. The Maharajah reinforced his army by obtaining the services of a thousand mounted troops from the Poligar of Tinnevelly and a few regiments of Maravas commanded by Ponnan Pandya Tevan, and put the Dalawa Arumukam Pillai at the head of the combined forces. The army marched into the Kayangulam territory and several important places were captured. Although the Kayangulam Chief had his old fort strengthened and new ones built, and though his huge army was reinforced by contingents from the Kottayam and Changanachery Rajahs, he understood his perilous situation and seeing no help forthcoming from Cochin or the Dutch sued for peace and a truce was effected. The war was thus brought to a close and hostilities were suspended for a time.

Elayadathu Swarupam. In 909 M. E. (1734 A. D.), Vira Kerala Varma, Rajah of Elayadathu Swarupam, comprising the modern Taluqs of Shencottah, Valliyur (British territory), Kottarakara, Pattanapurom and Nedumangad, died and was succeeded by a young Princess whose territories were administered by an unprincipled officer known as Saravadhikariakar. The Maharajah unwilling to permit the notorious regent to commit aggressions into his own territories interfered, banished the Saravadhikariakar and took the Government into his own hands, permitting the Princess to live either at Kottarakara or at Trivandrum as she pleased on a liberal pension. But the territory was actually annexed only in 916 M. E., under the peculiar circumstances detailed later on.

Kayangulam war continued—Dutch Interference. In the same year the Rajah of Quilon died the Rajah of Kayangulam usurped the throne basing his claim on the adoption of 906 M. E., though that adoption had already been declared null and void by the peace of Quilon. The Maharajah remonstrated but to no purpose. The Rajah was strongly supported by the Cochin Rajah and the Dutch.

The subsequent events became specially interesting as the Dutch, at least the then Dutch Governor at Cochin, M. A. Maten, directly interfered in the war and took the field against Travancore. He sent a message to Maharajah Martanda Varma asking him to stop further aggressions on Kayangulam and Quilon. The Maharajah politely replied that he (the Governor) need not trouble himself about affairs which did not concern him.

A little later in 1739 A. D., M. Van Imhoff, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon, came to Cochin to examine into and report on the Cochin accounts. In his report to the Supreme Government at Batavia, dated 6th July 1739, he says "that the king of Travancore having been successful in the wars which he had undertaken, had rendered himself so much respected among the chief kings of the Malabar coast, that he was looked upon by every one with eyes of jealousy and apprehension". He was therefore of opinion, "that if it were requisite for the Company to maintain a balance of power amongst the chiefs of the Malabar coast, it could never be made to preponderate more to the prejudice or danger of the Company than in favour of that prince, who was almost wholly attached to their competitors, and whose increase of power could not but be pregnant with the most alarming consequences to their interests, whilst he at the same time merited some chastisement for his insolence towards them, independent of the primary consideration of maintaining a due balance among the native powers of Malabar."* So having the curtailment of the rising power of Travancore as his chief object, he took up the cause of the Princess of the Elayadathu Swarupam and sent a protest to the King of Travancore in 1740 espousing her cause. But seeing that his messages did not take effect, he sought a personal interview during which he tried persuasion, but finding it of no avail threatened an immediate invasion of his territories. The Maharajah jestingly said that, if the "superior power" should go that length, "there are forests in Travancore into which I and my people can retire in safety". Imhoff retorted, "where the Travancoreans could go the Dutch could follow". And the interview is said to have abruptly closed with a scornful remark from His Highness that "he had himself been thinking of some day invading Europe with his *munchies* (canoes) and fishermen". Unfortunately for the Dutch Governor Imhoff, his threat could not be immediately put into action as the strength of the military forces under his command was not adequate to cope with the well-disciplined forces of Travancore. He wrote to Ceylon for a detachment of infantry and artillery, while he collected a force at Quilon and trained the men in warfare for sudden emergencies.

Annexation of Elayadathu Swarupam. In 1741 A. D., Van Imhoff installed the Princess of Elayadathu Swarupam on her throne in defiance of the Maharajah. In return he got some lands and some privileges from her viz., "a large farm at Airoor, about three Dutch miles from Quilon, and also Bichoor in the Berkencoor country, where they erected a strong redoubt," which were all abandoned at the peace of 1742. When these

* Stavorinus' Voyages to the East Indies, Vol. III. Page 240.

proceedings came to the knowledge of the Maharajah, he collected his forces and attacked the Dutch and the Elayadathu Princess. The Dutch were completely defeated and not one soldier of the Dutch regiments remained to tell the tale of the triumphal annexation of Elayadathu Swarupam to Travancore. The Princess fled to Cochin and placed herself under the protection of Van Imhoff and, it is said, "the Dutch pensioned her at two rupees five annas (daily it is to be hoped)". The Maharajah's army then attacked the Dutch forts in Travancore and captured all of them. The Dutch retired to Cochin. At the same time the Danes were deprived of their factory at Colachel.

The Dutch war. BATTLE OF COLACHEL. After thus defeating the Dutch, the Maharajah turned his attention to Kayangulam. When the greater portion of the Travancore forces was concentrated on Kayangulam, fresh reinforcements arrived from Ceylon with which the Dutch invaded the Travancore territory. They landed at Tengapatnam, Cadiapatnam, Midalam and other places in South Travancore and began harassing the inhabitants. As the whole Travancore force was concentrated in the north and as the attack of the Dutch in the south was unexpected, several villages fell into their hands and they marched to Eraniel unimpeded committing atrocities all along the way. When the Maharajah heard of this, he marched to the south abandoning the northern expedition and ordered Rama Iyen Dalawa to join him at Padmanabhapuram. But before the arrival of the Travancore forces the whole country between Colachel and Kottar surrendered to the Dutch, who meeting with no opposition made preparations to take Padmanabhapuram. The Maharajah, however, arrived at Padmanabhapuram just in time to avert the impending capture of his capital. He raised a fresh regiment of Nayars and incorporated them with the regular infantry stationed there. Soon after, Rama Iyen arrived with his whole force from the north. The Dutch lost heart on seeing the Travancore army so soon before them. The famous battle of Colachel was fought on the 15th Karkadagam 916 M. E. (31st July 1741 A. D.), and the Dutch were completely defeated. They retreated to their ships deserting their fortifications at Colachel and leaving their dead comrades on the battle-field. The Travancore army took 24 prisoners, besides 389 muskets, a few pieces of cannon and a large number of swords. In the meantime the Dutch fleet hastened back to Cochin.

It was just before this battle that the Maharajah had sent ambassadors to the French at Pondicherry to conclude a treaty of friendship and mutual help. He promised the French the grant of lands at Colachel

and other places for constructing factories. But as the Dutch were completely defeated and that without much effort, the negotiations were dropped. Though the battle of Colachel was fought in 1741, peace with the Dutch was finally concluded and ratified by the Batavian Government only on the 18th October 1748.

The Dutch prisoners were very kindly treated and they decided to stay and take service under the Maharajah. It is said that some of the descendants of these Dutch soldiers are still found in Travancore. Among the prisoners were two men of note, Eustachius De Lannoy and Donadi who specially attracted the Maharajah's notice and whom he appointed to high military offices in the State. These two Dutchmen played a very conspicuous part in the subsequent history of Travancore and their military genius and fidelity to the Maharajah were of the utmost value to him in his subsequent expeditions and expansion of territory. The first, De Lannoy, commonly known in Travancore as the *Valia Kappithan* (Great Captain) was in the manner of an experiment entrusted with the organisation and drilling of a special regiment of sepoys; this he did very successfully and to the satisfaction of the Maharajah. Several heroic stories are extant of the achievements of this particular regiment. De Lannoy was next made a Captain and entrusted with the construction of forts and the organisation of magazines and arsenals. He reorganised the whole army and disciplined it on European models, gave it a smart appearance and raised its efficiency to a very high order.

About this time Nagercoil, Suchindram and Kottar were invaded by Chanda Sahib and Baba Sahib, two relatives of the Nawab of Arcot, Dost Ali Khan. Their object was the acquisition of some territory for the Nawab's son. The Dalawa tried to fight them out; but failing in this, he gave them large presents and bought them off. The two chiefs immediately retraced their steps and Nanjanad was free again.

Battle of Quilon. Soon after the expulsion of the Dutch and the retirement of the Moslem chiefs from South Travancore, the Dalawa with Captain De Lannoy, who was now made his chief assistant, directed his armies to Quilon whence they had been so suddenly called away to the south. Several battles were fought against the combined forces of the Kayangulam Rajah and the Dutch whose alliance gave the former fresh hopes. Much perseverance, stubbornness and heroism were displayed on both sides. Six thousand men of the Travancore army attacked the Dutch fort at Quilon which was gallantly defended by the Nayars commanded by one Achyuta Variyar, a Kariyakar of the Kayangulam Rajah. The Travancore force was defeated and was obliged to retreat. This was in 918 M. E.

(1742 A. D.). The Travancore army was soon reinforced by five thousand Nayars and a corps of Sappers and Miners. Large stores of arms and ammunition were purchased from the English and the French. The big guns mounted on the ramparts of Udayagiri, Padmanabhapuram and Trivandrum were removed for service in the north and everything was made complete for taking the fort at a given signal.

Emboldened by his temporary victory, the Kayangulam Rajah aided by the Dutch forces invaded Travancore and laid seige to Kilimanur twenty miles south of Quilon. The Maharajah who was at that time in Suchindram (South Travancore) hastened to Kilimanur and repulsed the Kayangulam forces conducting the operations in person with the help of the heir-apparent Prince Rama Varma, the Dalawa and Captain De Lannoy. The Kayangulam forces held out for sixty-eight days, at the end of which they surrendered and the fort was retaken. The remaining part of the Dutch and Kayangulam forces retreated to Quilon with a heavy loss.

Treaty of Mannar. The Maharajah then advanced upon Kayangulam and the Rajah surrendered. A treaty was concluded between the two parties in 917 M. E. (September 1742 A. D.). The conditions of the treaty were:—

1. That the Kayangulam Rajah should be a vassal of the Travancore King,
2. that the enemies of Travancore should be considered as his own enemies and treated accordingly,
3. that he should pay annually Rs. 1,000 and an elephant to Travancore, and
4. that he should cede a large portion of his territory to Travancore.

Annexation of Quilon. After the fall of Kayangulam, the Quilon Rajah allying himself with the Dutch, again challenged the Maharajah, but after several engagements in which the Rajah sustained thorough defeat, Quilon was finally annexed to Travancore in 917 M. E. (1742 A. D.).

Annexation of Kayangulam. The fallen Rajah of Kayangulam again intrigued. He did not pay the tribute since the ratification of the treaty of Mannar. In 921 M. E. (1746 A. D.), Rama Iyen proceeded to Mavelikara and demanded the payment of arrears of tribute due to the Maharajah. Unwilling to pay the tribute he disposed of his properties and fled abandoning his territories. The State was then annexed to Travancore after a sanguinary war with the Rajah's skilful officers which lasted for

about three years. The Kayangulam Rajah had anticipated the fate of his army. He knew that his ill-trained Nayars were no match to the Travancore forces which had the advantage of European discipline and superior arms. When the victorious army entered the palace in search of the Royal family and the Rajah's treasure, they were surprised to find that there was not a soul within and that the rooms were emptied of even their ordinary furniture. The Rajah had taken away with him most of his valuables and what he could not conveniently carry, he threw into the Ashtamudi lake. But they made one important discovery. The arms and military stores found in the palace of the Kayangulam Rajah bore the name of "Devan Narayanan", which was the emblem of the Ampalapuzha Brahmin Chief. Evidently the Kayangulam Rajah was aided in his wars by the neighbouring chief of Ampalapuzha against whom the Maharajah therefore next turned his attention.

Conquest of Ampalapuzha. There was abundant evidence to show the complicity of the Ampalapuzha Chief with the Kayangulam Rajah. Ampalapuzha or Chempakachery, as it was then known, was governed by a line of Brahmin chiefs and the reigning Rajah was a sagacious and accomplished Prince. An interesting local tradition exists as to the origin of the Chempakachery Rajahs. The tract of the country known as Kuttanad was in the rule of a powerful oligarchy of Nambudiri Brahmins, their head-quarters being Ampalapuzha, where the ancient temple dedicated to Sri Krishna stands. This temple owned most of the lands there. The managing trustees of the temple property formed the oligarchy who ruled the State. The business of State used to be transacted in the Council-hall still known as *mantrasala* of the Ampalapuzha temple, where the proud Brahmins met every day for business as well as for recreation. One day while engaged in chess after business was over and rioting and revelling and chewing to their hearts' content, a ship-wrecked crew of a few hundred Europeans, probably Portuguese, arrived with their arms, related their adventures by the sea and begged of the chess-playing Brahmins to give them food and shelter. The thoughtless Nambudiris mad with the fatal game of dice and revelry told the hungry crew in a vein of cruel jest pointing to a pious old man coming from his ablutions and noon-day prayers to worship at the temple that they themselves were poor and humble and could not help the unfortunates, but "here comes the greatest man of the village who will feed and clothe you, if you seek his help". The distressed crew took it in right earnest and applied to the old man, explaining their miserable condition by signs and symbols and seeking immediate succour at his hands. That pious old Brahmin, be it remembered,

was the poorest man in the village and lived on one meal a day, spending him self wholly in prayers and religious exercises and keeping himself aloof from his noisy but opulent neighbours. When he saw the supplications of these Europeans distressed by thirst and hunger and saw also the jesting reference made to him by the proud dice-players at the *mantrasala*, he comprehended the situation in an instant, discovered that there was no escape for him and took it as a sign from the God Krishna, and thereupon handed over to the hungry crew one of his very few golden rings which formed the sum total of his earthly possessions. Even to this day Nambudiris of all grades and ranks carry in their fingers a number of gold rings, each of 1 £ sterling value, a point of special vanity with that class of people. The poor Nambudiri directed them by signs to go to the bazaar and sell that ring and buy their food and drink, which being done, they came back to his house and mounted guard there to do his bidding. Next day he gave another gold ring and that sufficed for their second day's meal. The armed aliens had now become his faithful retinue. So runs the story. The Nambudiri had now reached the depth of his pocket and was afraid he had not the wherewithal to maintain his new regiment for the third day. Necessity is the mother of invention and he hit upon a happy idea. His genius turned the situation to his advantage. He sent the armed retinue with a servant boy of his own to one of the oligarchists' houses with orders to remove the inmates without offering any violence or insult to them and bring away the whole of his goods to his own quarters. Day after day all the richest houses in the village were similarly dealt with and the spoils brought to his house maintained him and his army in great affluence. He next sent men to collect the temple dues. He took charge of the Devaswam itself and managed it on behalf of the God. He appointed officers and collected taxes. By one stroke of fortune he became king. Thus came into existence the line of the Chempakachery Rajahs at Ampalapuzha.

At the time of the Travancore invasion, the Ampalapuzha army was commanded by Mathu Panikkar, a Sudra knight of great valour. The soldiers used specially made arrows with poisoned tips invented by the Rajah himself. The Dalawa's forces attacked the Ampalapuzha lines, but the enemy kept them at bay for six days. The poisoned arrows committed great havoc. The terrible slaughter made the Travancore troops to believe that God Devan Narayanan* was himself leading the Ampalapuzha forces. A panic seized the Maharajah's troops and they shrunk back from the war against the Brahmin representative of the

* The name of the Ampalapuzha Temple God.

deity. Rama Iyen had therefore to wait for the arrival of De Lannoy with his artillery and Mussalman and Christian soldiers.

In the meantime dissensions arose among the officers of the Ampalapuzha army. Mathu Panikkar and Tekkedathu Bhattatiri, the two leading officers offered to betray their Chief and join Travancore on certain terms. These were readily agreed to by Rama Iyen. The Rajah was captured in his own palace while playing a game of chess. He immediately surrendered. He was removed first to Trivandrum and then to Kodumalur in the Ettumanur Taluq and granted a liberal allowance. The Tekkedathu Bhattatiri was rewarded with the supervision of the Ampalapuzha temple which the late Rajah managed and Mathu Panikkar was granted lands, titles and privileges. One of the privileges showing great consideration and confidence in the Panikkar is that he still accompanies the Travancore Maharajahs in their tours in North Travancore, with his own *vallams* (boats) and a large retinue of trained boatmen—he himself mounting guard in the Maharajah's cabin-boat.

The Dutch Peace Conferences. The treaty of Mannar and the annexation of Quilon had considerably upset the Dutch who, finding that any more hostilities with Travancore would seriously injure their trade which had already suffered during these wars, sued for peace. But they were informed by Rama Iyen Dalawa through the Kayangulam Chief that he was prepared to march his force against them, but that the Maharajah would have no objection to effect a peaceful settlement with them, if they would agree to reasonable conditions which His Highness might propose. This was a happy message to the Dutch who welcomed it gladly and they requested the Rajah of Cochin and Tekkumkur to effect a settlement with Travancore; but these efforts proved futile. The Dutch Governor therefore addressed the Maharajah direct for an amicable settlement. A conference was held at Mavelikara, where Rama Iyen Dalawa and Talavadi Kunju Muthathu Kariakar met Ezekil Rabbi and Silvester Mendes, representatives of the Dutch. After a long discussion a treaty was drafted in January 1743 with conditions fairly favourable to Travancore, and the affairs were so far completed that some members were about to proceed to Mavelikara to conclude the business. But the Travancore representatives proposed some further provisions restraining the interference of the Dutch with Travancore or any other Native Prince of Malabar in their wars. This revised proposal was sent to the Cochin Council and they hesitated to send a reply without permission from their Home Government. At the

same time Rabbi and Captain Mendes informed the Council of their personal impression that the Maharajah was not likely to enter into a treaty with them and consequently the negotiations were dropped. Some time later, the peace negotiations were re-opened and both parties met at Paravur (near Quilon), but as Rama Iyen Dalawa stuck to the original conditions, the conference failed, only to meet again at the same place for the third time with the same result.

Treaty of Mavelikara. With the final annexation of Kayangulam in 921 M. E. (1746 A. D.), the Dutch lost all hope and seeing that they could not get pepper from Travancore as the English had already monopolised this article, they again opened negotiations with Travancore in 922 M. E. (1747 A. D.), accepted the draft treaty as originally proposed by Rama Iyen, and forwarded the same to Batavia for sanction, which was obtained on the 18th October 1748 A. D. But as the Cochin Council made some slight modifications in it, it was not accepted until further reference was made to Batavia stating the Maharajah's objections. After a period of five years the treaty was finally ratified on the 15th August 1753 A. D. This treaty is known as the Treaty of Mavelikara, whereby the Dutch bound themselves in future to follow *a strict peace policy*, to keep clear of all disputes and never again to resort to force except in self-defence.

"The ninth article of this treaty does not appear in a light very honourable to the Company; it stipulates that the Company shall recede from all engagements which they may have entered into with the other Malabar princes whom the king of *Travancore* might choose to attack, and on no account interfere in their disputes or afford them assistance or shelter; nor in any respect raise any opposition to the enterprizes of the king.

"By the twentieth article, the Company bound themselves to provide that prince annually to the value of twelve thousand rupees, or eighteen thousand gilders, various sorts of warlike stores and ammunition, and the prices of those articles were fixed as follows: viz.

One firelock at	rupees 7.16 or *f.* 11-11	(£ 1-1-0)
One hundred gunflints, ...	... 0-13	(0-1-2)
One pound of gunpowder, ...	... 0-13	(0-1-2)
One hundred leaden musket bullets,	... 0-14	(0 1-3),

as likewise some ironwork and brass cannon.

"On the other hand the king engaged to sell to the Company all the cotton cloths, and every year three thousand *candils* of pepper, of five hundred pounds weight each, together with all the other productions which the lands he already was possessed of yielded: and the future quantity of two thousand *candils* of pepper out of those territories which he might in future conquer. For which the Company, according to articles V and VI, engaged to pay, namely, for each *candil* of good and sound pepper, properly harped and sifted, from the kingdoms of Travancore and Anjengo sixty-five rupees (*f.* 97 15) and for the pepper

produced in the countries which the king of *Travancore* might succeed in subduing, in consequence of the neutrality of the Company, fifty-five rupees (*r.* 82·15) per *candil*; and moreover an export duty of four *fanam rayeas* (1 shilling sterling) per *candil*.

"The twenty-fourth article says; That the king shall besides receive an annual douceur or present, from the Company, the value, however, of which was left to be fixed by them; this was afterwards settled by the Government of *Batavia*, at five thousand gilders (about £. 454 sterling), upon the condition that the stipulated quantity of pepper should be duly delivered.

"The twenty-fifth article states; that the Company's subjects be left unmolested in the lands, which have anciently belonged to them." *

These were the important provisions of the treaty. Some of the other provisions were:—

1. That Travancore and the Dutch should be mutual friends;

2. that Travancore should not permit any other European power to acquire a footing in its territories, but should leave undisturbed the English factories at Anjengo, Edawa, and Vizhinjam; but that the English should not be allowed greater advantages than they were entitled to under existing treaties;

3. that the Dutch should not in any way aid the enemies of Travancore or give them refuge;

4. that the two contracting Powers should apprehend and deliver up deserters to each other; and

5. that Travancore should restore to the Dutch such goods and men as belonged to them and might have been wrecked on the Travancore coast.

At the instance of the Cochin Rajah, the Dutch Commandant F. Cunes, who was present at the conference at Mavelikara, tried his best to get a clause inserted in the treaty for the protection of that Prince's interests. But the Maharajah simply gave a promise that he "would live in friendship with the Rajah of Cochin, provided he gave no cause to the contrary."

As Mr. Logan observes, this treaty gave the *coup de grace* to Dutch influence in Malabar. Day in his *Land of the Perumals* thus comments upon the treaty:—

"Thus the Dutch threw over their Native Allies and pledged themselves to leave them all to the mercy of Travancore. Had the Treaty ended here, it might have been charitably surmised that it had been wrung from them in consequence of disastrous defeat: but unfortunately the concluding portion

* Stavorinus' Voyages, Vol. III. Page 246.

shows that a pecuniary motive was also at work, as it agrees, to make a yearly present in money to Travancore, to supply its Rajah annually on payment with various kinds of warlike stores and ammunition to the value of Rs. 12,000, whilst they were to receive 1,500,000 pounds of pepper, at Rs. 13 for every 100 pounds, with any other production his state yielded; and 10,000 pounds more out of the territories *to be conquered*, at Rs. 11 for every 100 pounds. Certainly giving up their former Allies to an ancient enemy, and providing arms to subdue their former friends, for the sake of gaining 4 annas, or 6 pence on every 25 pounds of pepper, was an inglorious act."

And in a foot-note he says that the Travancore Rajah never fulfilled his obligations with regard to the supply of pepper, and concludes with the remark, "anyhow, the treaty does not appear to have brought either credit or money to the Dutch".

The French. In 1750 A. D., the French attempted to form a settlement at Colachel. It does not appear that they were successful. In the next year the Rajah of Travancore wrote to the King of Colastria "advising him not to put any confidence in the French, but to assist the English as much as he could".

The Ancient Records at Fort St. George mention a letter dated 21st June 1748 from the Chief and factors at Anjengo to the President and Governor of Fort St. David, stating that an army of Moors was encamped on this side of Tinnevelly waiting for reinforcements and fair weather to attack the King of Travancore who had made grand preparations to receive them. No information is available regarding the details of this attempted invasion. The records also refer to a peace between Travancore and Cochin brought about by the Dutch Governor at this period.

Conquest of Minor States. The petty principalities of Tekkumkur (Changanachery) and Vadakkumkur (Kottayam and Ettumanur) having sided with the enemy in the Kayangulam war, the Dalawa next directed his forces against them. The armies of the chieftains consisted of Madampis (big landlords) and Nayars who were more a rabble of the cowardly proletariat than well-disciplined fighting men. They never dreamt of the invasion of their own territories, for they thought that their participation in the Kayangulam war would not have come to the knowledge of the Maharajah. In despair, therefore, their chiefs resolved upon marshalling a large number of foreign Brahmin settlers in the vanguard of their fighting men to deter the Maharajah's forces from action, as they would naturally dislike the killing of Brahmins, *Brahmahatti* or Brahminicide being the most heinous of sins according to the Hindu Shastras. The Dalawa however ordered firing, but his men would not. Then he ordered a body of fishermen to attack the Brahmins who, at the sight of their low caste adversaries, took to flight.

When the Brahmins fled, the resisting element in the war disappeared and the Dalawa had not to wait long to capture the Kottayam Rajah. The Rajah of Changanachery fled to Calicut and the territories of both the Princes were annexed to Travancore. The Rajah of Vadakkumkur seeing the rising power of Travancore and the fate of his neighbours also fled to Calicut and his country extending up to the Muvattupuzha river was easily annexed to Travancore.

After the capture of Changanachery, the Dalawa raised fortifications along Kottayam, Chengannur and Kumarakam up to the Western Ghauts at Kondur, and having garrisoned the important stations proceeded north to demarcate the northern boundary of Travancore which now extended from Edawa, the old boundary, to Periyar as the result of fifteen years of strenuous fighting. Fra Bartolomeo writes:—

"Thus ended the dominion of the petty Malabar sovereigns and princes; thus was humanity avenged and thus were the crimes punished and licentiousness suppressed, by which the country had been distracted ever since the tenth century."*

Final overthrow of the triumvirate and the Battle of Poracad. The fugitive Rajah of Ampalapuzha who escaped from Kodumalur and the Rajahs of Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur sought the co-operation of the Cochin Rajah for recovering their lost dominions. Preparations were made on a large scale to promote the object in view. Having secured the support of the Paliyathu Menon (familiarly known as Paliyathu Achan), the most influential Cochin noble at the time, and the nobles of Kodachery Kartavu, Korati Kaimal and others, they collected a fleet of native boats and made ready to proceed by sea, carrying men, rifles, guns and ammunition. These forces received additional strength by many of the disaffected Nayars of Kayangulam, Ampalapuzha, Changanachery and Ettumanur joining them. The Maharajah privately got intelligence of these proceedings through the Dutch and he proceeded to Mavelikara with his nephew, Rama Iyen Dalawa and Captain De Lannoy at the head of a sufficient force. But as the Maharajah was slightly indisposed the Prince in conjunction with the Dalawa and De Lannoy proceeded to attack the enemy encamped at Poracad. The artillery, infantry and cavalry did fearful havoc in the engagements that followed and the enemies were completely defeated at Poracad. The greater portion of the Cochin forces were slain and the remainder fled. Paliyathu Menon and Kodachery Kartavu with several other nobles were taken prisoners and the Kayangulam Nayars who took part in the engagement were severely punished.

* Voyage to the East Indies. Page 172.

The Dalawa then took possession of the Cochin Rajah's palace at Madathinkara and marching further north he encamped at Arukutti. The approach of the army alarmed the Cochin Rajah who apologising for his past conduct sued for peace and despatched a messenger to Trivandrum with a request that the further advance of the Travancore army be stopped by the Maharajah. He promised to enter into a treaty and to be a faithful ally of the Maharajah and this application was supported by the Dutch Governor of Cochin. The Maharajah accordingly commanded Rama Iyen to desist from further operations and Arukutti was made the northern limit of Travancore, which continues even today.

Annexation of Karappuram. In 928 M. E. (1753 A. D.), the tract of land known as Karappuram in the Shertallay Taluq became the bone of contention between Travancore and Cochin. To enforce the claims of Cochin over the disputed land, Paliyathu Menon and Kodachery Kartavu who had been released after the peace collected a large force. The Dalawa hearing of this marched with his garrison from Mavelikara and drove the Cochin forces beyond Arukutti. At this the defeated party again sued for peace. But the Maharajah having commanded the Dalawa to restore the conquered tract, the situation continued to be for a time as it was. Towards the close of the year the King had to halt at Mavelikara on his way to inspect his new territories in the north. The Rajah of Cochin met him in the palace with proposals for peace and both the rulers agreed to help each other in time of need. The Cochin Rajah ceded to Travancore Karappuram extending from Ariyad to Arur.

The Northern Insurrection. In 929 M. E. (1754 A. D.), the inhabitants of the north, especially those of Ampalapuzha, Changanachery, Kottayam and Ettumanur at the instigation of the Zamorin manifested symptoms of revolt and these were fomented by several knights and nobles whose power had been broken by Travancore. This disheartened the Travancoreans very greatly and even brave Rama Iyen faltered. He requested the Maharajah to tour in the northern Taluqs and make a few days' halt there. On the arrival of the Maharajah the rebellion subsided. But the Maharajah wished to crush the spirit of rebellion altogether, and with that object sought the aid of Hyder Ali of Mysore. When this was known all rebellion collapsed and peace was restored. Hyder Ali immediately replied promising to lend his troops to be stationed in Travancore. This the Maharajah thankfully declined on the ground of the disappearance of the situation which necessitated his application. Hyder was quite offended and "Travancore" was

marked out for revenge, and the first seed of enmity between Travancore and Mysore was thus sown.

The Attack of the Zamorin. The Zamorin of Calicut compelled the several petty principalities of Malabar to recognise him as their sovereign, as he was made, he said, the over-lord of Malabar by the last Cheraman Perumal. The Cochin Rajah refused to acknowledge his suzerainty but claimed the over-lordship for himself. Disputes arose and the question having assumed an acute form, the Zamorin invaded Cochin with a large army of Nayars and Moors in 930 M. E. (1755 A. D.), when a large part of Cochin including Parur and Alangad was conquered by the Zamorin, and Cranganore, Trichur, Parur and Verapoly were made military stations. His further advance was stopped by the remonstrances of the Dutch.

Taking advantage of the Zamorin's movements, the Maharajah who had conquered Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur, finally subdued them and also Poracad and several other places which still owed nominal allegiance to Cochin. The Calicut Chief winning all the petty rulers of Malabar to his side, who were only too glad to join him now that the Dutch were no longer able to protect them against Travancore, opened negotiations with the Dutch for an alliance and promised to pay them two thousand candies of pepper annually, if they would join in a league against Travancore. They not only refrained from joining him but conveyed the project of the Zamorin to the Maharajah. In the meantime the Zamorin had invaded Cochin and was about to pass down his troops by water from Parur to Poracad when his forces were severely defeated by the Travancore army under Rama Iyen and De Lannoy. The Zamorin attempted a second invasion but was prevented from carrying it out, as the "Lion of Mysore" had already marched into his territories from the other side.

Peace of Mavelikara (1757 A. D.). The attitude of the Zamorin and the growing power of Mysore and the East India Company induced Cochin to seek the support of Travancore. The Cochin Rajah came to Mavelikara to see the Maharajah and apologised to him for his conduct at Poracad. A treaty was concluded, by which the Cochin Rajah agreed,

1. To have perpetual friendship with Travancore,

2. To cede all the places which by right of conquest belonged to Travancore,

3. To surrender all his claims over the several petty principalities except Alangad and Parur,

4. To render no help to the enemies of Travancore, and

5. To have nothing to do with the deposed rulers of Ampalapuzha, Tekkumkur and Vadakkumkur who were tributary to the Cochin Rajah. The deposed ruler of Ampalapuzha was permitted to stay at Trichur.

Disturbances in the eastern parts of Travancore (1752—1755 A. D.). While Travancore was making conquests in the northern provinces, its eastern possessions such as Calacaud and Valliyur were annexed to Madura by the Nawab of the Carnatic into whose hands the sovereignty of the Pandyan provinces of Tinnevelly, Madura and Trichinopoly finally passed. During the siege of Trichinopoly by Chanda Sahib, three Mussalman officers were appointed by the Nawab as Viceroys to govern these districts. These men in course of time shook off their allegiance and became independent. One of them was Moodemiah, the Viceroy at Trichinopoly. The Maharajah knowing the disposition of the officer who was ready to dispose of villages and territories for a sufficient consideration, deputed Rama Iyen Dalawa to negotiate with him and purchased the tract between Cape Comorin and Calacaud to the extent of thirty miles. A garrison consisting of two thousand men was also stationed at Calacaud for the protection of the country thus obtained.

The Nawab of Carnatic irritated at the defiance and independence of Moodemiah attacked him and expelled him from his place with the aid of the English East India Company. The garrison at Calacaud hearing of the southward march of the forces of the Nawab and the English under Col. Heron abandoned their posts and retired to Tovala. Maphuze Khan, the commander of the Nawab's forces, seized Calacaud and the neighbouring Travancore possessions. The Company's forces soon after returned to Trichinopoly. When Moodemiah heard of the retirement of the Company's forces to Trichinopoly, he, in alliance with the Poligar of Nellitangaville, popularly known as 'Pulitevar', proposed to the Maharajah the reconquest of Calacaud. A tripartite treaty was entered into and preparations were made to oppose Maphuze Khan, the Maharajah of Travancore contributing four thousand Nayar sepoys.

Battle of Calacaud. The two armies met near Calacaud and after a very hot engagement the army of Maphuze Khan was put to flight. But the Travancore army, however, retired home to avoid causing offence to the English Company. Subsequently learning that the English were indifferent, a force was sent under De Lannoy, which defeated Maphuze Khan and recovered Calacaud. The kingdom of Travancore now extended

from Periyar in the north to Calacaud in the south, a length of about two hundred miles.

The interference of the English. The English Company had by this time established themselves as a quasi-political power in the Madras Presidency. The siege of Arcot by Clive took place in 1751 A. D. and Anwaruddin, the Nawab of the Carnatic, owed his position to the help of the English. The Nawab was highly enraged at the conduct of the Maharajah of Travancore and wrote to the Governor of Madras, Lord Pigot, in 1755 explaining the position of His Highness as that of one of his own Poligars and as such he should pay Peishkush to the Sirkar, that the boundary between his territory and the Sirkar was well marked by a wall and that the few districts taken possession of by him in the Tinnevelly District by unlawful means should be restored to the Sirkar. In 1755 the Governor of Madras wrote to the Rajah of Travancore asking him why he sent an army to Tinnevelly to assist the rebels against the Nawab. The Rajah in reply said that he had no intention of offending either the Nawab or the Company but that he was only anxious to secure what by right belonged to him, and that he was willing to settle his disputes with the Nawab amicably.

The following is a true extract from the Rajah's letter to the Governor of Madras read at the meeting of the Select Committee held on 20th October 1757 :—

"It is much to my satisfaction that these lands in dispute under the jurisdiction of Tinnevelly are now entirely in the hands of the Hon'ble Company who are my old and faithful friends, and from whom I am continually receiving great favours. From this consideration it was, that on March of the year 1755, as soon as I received a Letter of Advice, from the Colonel, the Commander-in-chief of those Forces of the Hon'ble Company which were at Tinnevelly, I directly sent orders to my Forces which were then chiefly about Calacuda, to retreat to Towal (N. B. the Pass of the Mountains into the Travencore Country) reflecting that it would be doing a great injury to lift up my Arms against so firm a friend of mine. From this I proceed to declare impartially and without any sinister view, that from ancient times the Districts and Lands belonging to the Kingdom of Travencore are as follows — First, Calacuda, Nangachier, Vigiapadi, Darapurao, Panacudi, Vallier, Tirucunamcudi, Vigianarainam, and some other small Aldeas which are under the said Districts, which I desire you'll please to release, because in justice it ought to be. If in this any difficulties should arise which you should not be able to adjust there with this my Minister (for as you desired me in yours to send one of my Ministers fully instructed in regard to those concerns, I have pitched on the Bearer who is the most faithful and esteemed by me amongst my Ministers, by name Ganua Sastrigaley having given him full authority and power to adjust this affair) but should difficulties arise and prevent it he may be sent to Anjengo, both parties accepting the mediation of the Chief Mr. John Spencer and abide by what he shall determine. And thus the Tribute which was accustomed to be paid by me to those of Aramane* will be received, or in any other way

* Aramanai is a Tamil word for 'Palace.' Here it refers to the Nawab's Sirkar.

the General of Madras shall direct me; besides this there is a District given us by the Aramane to open us a way thro' the Hills to pass all sorts of Merchandise named Chingotta with some Aldeas belonging thereto, which you will be pleased to grant me.

"Things being thus, I believe everything will be adjusted in a friendly manner, that the Hon'ble Company on their part may be entirely satisfied with the conveniences and advantages which they will reap from this kingdom; and in like manner that I myself may remain at rest, free from any other thought, but of the favours I do continually hope for, and actually receive from the Hon'ble Company; and the Hon'ble Company on their part shall experience an increase of their Commerce on such terms as shall keep us united for ever.

"At sight of your Letter I directly sent an Order to my Forces that they should let everything remain on the present footing till these matters are adjusted." †

The following extract from a letter from John Spencer, Chief of Anjengo, to the Hon'ble George Pigot Esq., and others of the Select Committee, Madras, dated 8th September 1757, explains fully the situation of the Honourable English Company:—

"I then mentioned the King of Travancore's having acceded to the proposal made by Mr. Pigot of sending a Messenger to Madras to adjust the disputes relative to the district about Tinnevelly. For this purpose came down here the 5th instant a Bramin much esteemed by the King, to whom I have given a letter to introduce him, and have noticed that any courtesy to him will be extremely well taken by the King. He set out from hence the same day, but as he was to wait some days at a place not far distant, for what they esteemed a lucky day to commence his journey, and as he will not, I believe, be very expeditious on his way, I send this by the return of the Pattamar, together with a Translation of the King's letter to Mr. Pigot by the same Ambassador, that your Honour, &c., may have time to consider what the King desires, previous to his Ambassador's arrival with you.

"The King in his letter is desirous that if any doubt arises that cannot well be adjusted with his Messenger, a reference should be had to me to settle it with him, but for many reasons such a reference should be avoided if possible, more especially as I am entirely unacquainted with the dispute; but I hope your Honour, &c., will be able to settle matters in an amicable manner, and if you do, I shall also hope it will be productive of many good consequences to the Company in these parts. I am obliged by your Honours' promise of using your endeavours to obtain whatever shall be recommended for the Hon'ble Company's interest. For this purpose I now enclose your Honour, &c., copies of the most material of our Priviledges which we obtained from the Queen of Attinga, in whose Territories the Fort is situated. Her country is now in the absolute power of the King of Travancore, and he holds the Heiress of the Family under restraint in the Palace of Attinga, but being of the same Family himself, does not otherwise treat her ill; yet she has not the least shadow of Authority left, nor is there any appearance of that Branch of the Family ever recovering their Authority again. By those grants we are entitled to the produce of the Pepper of the Queen of Attinga's Country, and to purchase it of the Merchants on the best terms we can, but for above ten years past the King has taken the entire

† Ancient Records of Fort St. George.

produce of Pepper into his own hands and it's death to his subjects to be found out in selling and exporting a grain without his License. To his own Territories he has added those of several other Kings to the Northward so that he has possession of the Country as far as Cochin, and of the produce of Pepper in it. A very considerable part of this Pepper he sells at very high rates to Merchants who carry it by oxen to the inland parts on your side, and a large quantity is parted with to the people of the Munchuas, or Boats, who go between the Island of Ceylon and the Main to your Coast by virtue of Dutch Passports, without which he could not manage it, and in consideration of these Passports, and the large price they also give him for Pepper, and by indulging him in Warlike Stores they come in annually for a large share of Pepper also. It is not above ten years since that the King thus became the sole Pepper Merchant of his Country: and he has now so much to his own benefit experienced the advantages of it, as it is much to be feared that it is a thing he will never depart from. It's to be remarked that by the help of the Hon'ble Company he was first enabled to acquire an influence in the country, and which he is continually acknowledging tho' he makes them such indifferent returns for it. When he thus became the Pepper Merchant himself he immediately insisted on Arms and Warlike Stores in lieu of Pepper, tho' at the same time he enhanced the price of that Commodity greatly, the gentlemen then here and likewise the Governor and Council did all they prudently could to withstand an innovation so prejudicial to the Hon'ble Company's Priviledges and the safety of the Europeans in general on the Coast, and for a time actually held their hands, but as the Dutch on one side supplied him with Arms, &c., and the Danes and other Europeans at times did the same at Coletchy, for which they got Pepper, he withheld Pepper from us under pretence that we showed ourselves less friendly to him than others. Therefore, tho' reluctantly the Hon'ble Company were necessitated to submit to the said evil other Europeans had indulged him in; but not doing it in so great a degree as he has been desirous, the annual quantity of Pepper we have received has been but small, on a medium not above 600 Candies per annum. By our Priviledges we have a right to impede the Export of Pepper, but for want of a proper Force it has been judged, and indeed would be imprudent to enforce it, and it is to be observed that hitherto, any renewal of Priviledges with him has been avoided, lest he should think we ourselves imagine that those we have from the Attinga Family of no validity, and indeed he himself seems to think they are not of much, that at most we are by them only entitled to the Pepper of the Produce of the Attinga Country which is very inconsiderable, I am assured not above three hundred Candies annually. I have not yet had a meeting with the King, having waived it till he completes a Contract made so long ago as March 1755 for 1,500 Candies with a condition to complete it by the end of July the same year but even so late as July the 31st last, there were about 400 Candies of this very Contract outstanding. However by declining the meeting he was desirous of and giving him to understand nothing further was to be expected till that Contract was fully complied with, it had such effect that he has taken all opportunitys the weather would permit of to send Pepper in, and in very little while the Contract will I hope now be completed. The Hon'ble Company as above have consented (tho' its a thing they with reason are averse to, and should avoid if other Europeans would do the same) to supply him with Arms and most of the necessaries he requires excepting Iron Keutlage or Broken guns which he runs into Shott, of which he wants an annual large supply at so low a rate as Rs. 20 per Candy of 560. The impossibility of complying with this must appear at first sight from the Hon'ble Company being so much straitened as they are in point of Tonnage outwards to Bombay, even was the price he offered anything advantageous, but this I am not without hopes of prevailing on him to relinquish, when I have a conference with him, and if his Messenger should request anything

of this nature of your Honour, &c., please to set forth the impracticability of it in the strongest terms you can, as I have done to those of his Ministers that I have yet met with. From this your Honour, &c., will be enabled to form some idea of our situation with respect to this Government. Certain it is that at present the Hon'ble Company's annual investment here does not much exceed the amount of their annual charge, but I shall hope thro' your means to improve their Commerce greatly. I have wrote the King particularly in regard to the little advantage the Hon'ble Company can possibly reap by a settlement so circumstanced, but cannot be at any certainty till I have a Meeting with him and even then he pays so little regard to his promises that little dependence can be had on them. As before remarked I imagine he will never relinquish the Pepper Trade; therefore the next best for the Hon'ble Company would be to be assured here of an annual certain quantity at a reasonable rate. He has at times given hopes of 2,000 Candies which is what should be insisted on, and I shall do what I can at my Meeting to obtain it, but this is I am afraid rather a thing to be wished for, than expected from him, tho' I doubt not he will heartily promise it to us." *

Consolidation and Reform. After the cessation of hostilities and the extension of the territory to the limits of Cochin, the Maharajah directed his attention to the internal reforms of his Kingdom. With this view he commissioned General De Lannoy to improve the military department and Rama Iyen the revenue department.

MILITARY. Captain De Lannoy was appointed Commander-in-chief of the Travancore forces and was raised to the rank of a General. He is familiarly known to the Travancoreans as the *Valia Kappithan*, as stated already, and is remembered to this day even by the common people. The Maharajah's palace at Padmanabhapuram was protected by a fort of granite walls with strong ramparts, and a bigger wall of the same material with parapets and embrasures was constructed around the hill at Udayagiri. The mud walls erected at the gaps of the mountain range from Cape Comorin to Aramboly were replaced by a long line of stone walls. An arsenal was established at Udayagiri where cannon, mortars, weapons, powder and shot were manufactured. The batteries were all supplied with the necessary artillery. Batteries were erected on the sea-coast at different places between Cape Comorin and Poracad. De Lannoy then proceeded to the north and repaired and strengthened the forts of Quilon, Mavelikara, Changanachery, Kottayam, Ettumanur, Muvattupuzha, Todupuzha and Minachil and constructed new batteries and forts with laterite stones. Remnants of these structures still exist at Karimannur in Todupuzha, Kumarakam in Ettumanur, Lalam in Minachil and Piravam in Muvattupuzha, mostly in ruins and overgrown with scrub jungle. The army next engaged his attention. He raised its strength to 50,000 troops consisting of cavalry,

* Ancient Records of Fort St. George.

infantry, artillery and irregulars and disciplined them after the latest European model. The greater part of the army was equipped with weapons manufactured in Europe, and Europeans, Eurasians, Nayars and Pathans were appointed to command the several regiments. All the forts from Aramboly in the south to Todupuzha in the north were strongly garrisoned, and Padmanabhapuram, Trivandrum and Quilon were made the central reserves to supply men and ammunition to the minor forts. The whole force was composed of Nayars, Sikhs, and Pathans under the supreme command of De Lannoy.

REVENUE ADMINISTRATION. Under the direction of the Maharajah, Rama Iyen Dalawa organised a commercial department and established *pandakasalas* or store-houses and depots at Padmanabhapuram, Trivandrum, Quilon, Mavelikara and Arakkuzha in Muvattupuzha. These were called *torams* and were guarded by the military. They stored pepper, tobacco, cassia, arecanut &c., purchased at rates fixed by the Sirkar. These depots were placed under the supervision of officers called *Vicharippukars* or *Torakars*. The Sirkar monopolised the trade in these articles and rules were promulgated compelling the people to purchase them from the Sirkar only prohibiting their sale in large quantities to any person other than the Sirkar. A set of large and spacious buildings were constructed at Mavelikara which was made the centre of the commercial department and the head-quarters of the Dalawa.

Next, custom houses known as 'Chowkeys' were established at the frontiers and duties on articles exported and imported were imposed and collected.

The manufacture of salt was encouraged and an improved system of manufacture was adopted and depots were established for its storage and sale. "All these systems," says Mr. Shungoonny Menon, "were peaceably and permanently established without any great discontent among the populace", and Rama Iyen Dalawa constantly moved from place to place to see the successful carrying out of these measures.

The lands that were conquered in the recent wars were assessed and their administration on a sound financial basis was established, which gave a fresh impetus to the ryots to turn their lands to the best account possible. A survey of lands of the whole State was begun in 926 M. E. (1750—1751 A. D.), and the principle of a periodic assessment was adopted instead of a yearly fixing of rates. This difficult work was completed in three years of strenuous work and a Pattah specifying the tax levied on each property was given to every landholder. The first *Ayacut* account in Travancore was based on this settlement.

STATE EXPENDITURE. Having increased and strengthened the sources of revenue, the Dalawa turned his attention to the items of State expenditure. He framed a system of budget called *Pathivu-kanakku* (fixed budget), fixing allotments for the expenditure on Devaswams, Oottupurahs, Palaces, Revenue and Military establishments, Pensions, Purchase of goods and Miscellaneous charges. This *Pathivu* was so carefully made that the Huzur Account Department till very recently retained it in their annual budgets.

PUBLIC WORKS. Besides the several public works carried out in Trivandrum, palaces were constructed for the Maharajah and the other members of the Royal family. A granite wall for the Trivandrum fort was substituted in the place of the old mud wall; but as the Dalawa died before it was completed, the work was abandoned and to this day it remains in an unfinished state—partly granite, partly mud.

The magnificent stone corridor of the temple of Sri Padmanabhaswamy known as the *Sivelipurai*, measuring 420 feet from east to west and 226½ feet north to south, was built by the Maharajah. This was the biggest work carried out in His Highness' reign. This corridor is 20 feet broad and 23 feet high and is supported by 368 granite sculptured pillars 13 feet in height and 2½ feet in diameter. The roof of the corridor is a terrace paved with granite slabs 25 feet long, 2½ feet broad and 1¾ feet thick. This gigantic work was completed in six months with the aid of 4,000 masons brought from Tinnevelly, Madura, Trichinopoly and other places working daily at it, assisted by 6,000 coolies and 100 elephants.

The great tower or the eastern *Gopuram* of the pagoda the foundation of which was laid so early as 741 M. E. (1566 A. D.), but whose construction was unaccountably delayed so long, was undertaken and executed up to the fifth storey in a short time. The next two storeys were completed in the next reign.

A tremendous log of teak covered with gold, silver or copper plate is planted in front of every important Hindu temple. This is called the God's *Dwajam* or flagstaff and the planting of it is an important ceremony attended with much pomp and expense in every temple. The one in front of Padmanabhaswamy's temple is a golden *Dwajam* for which the teak log was obtained from the Kakkachal forest some thirty miles east of Trivandrum. The log is said to have been brought by men and elephants without touching the ground, it being essential according to the rules of *Silpa-sastram* for temple-building that such a log should not be dragged along the ground.

The palaces at Padmanabhapuram and Krishnapuram and several Oottupurahs and other useful buildings were constructed. Broad roads were made throughout the land affording convenience for traffic and passengers. Several canals connecting the lagoons of North Travancore were cut so that from Edawa near Varkala to the Cochin frontier the travelling was made easy and comfortable being one continuous smooth-water sailing. On this side of Varkala water communication was interrupted by the barrier which was subsequently overcome by tunnelling through the cliffs—a feat of engineering which could not have been dreamt of in Martanda Varma Maharajah's days.

State Ceremonies. In expiation of the sin incurred by war and annexation of several petty States, the Maharajah convened a meeting of all the learned Brahmins of Malabar, Tinnevelly and Madura and under their advice inaugurated the *Bhadradipam* and *Murajapam* ceremonies in the Trivandrum temple, the prayers adopted for them being those prescribed in the Vedas as followed by Kartaviryarjuna, a powerful Kshatriya king. The first *Murajapam* was celebrated in 926 M. E. (1751 A. D.) on a grand scale costing two lacs of Rupees. The coronation ceremony (*Hiranyagarbham*) was also preformed, the *Tulapurushadanam* or weighing against gold having been already celebrated in 924 M. E. (1749 A. D.). The remaining fourteen *Danams* which go to make up the shastraic sixteen or *Shodasadanams* of the true Hindu, were also duly performed in 928 M. E. (1753 A. D.), at a cost of about 1¼ lacs of Rupees. It has to be borne in mind that a *Murajapam* costing two lacs of Rupees in Travancore one hundred and fifty-four years ago, must be a very magnificent one compared to the *Murajapam* of 1899 which cost about Rs. 3,17,000, for what a rupee secured in those semi-civilised days could not be promptly got for a rupee and a half now. No wonder then that while the Nambudiris thank and bless H. H. the Maharajah for keeping up the ancient hospitality to their community, they know from the traditions in their families that it lacks the magnificence and personal attention which His Highness' ancestors could under a less complex State machinery bestow.

A local Knighthood—*Chempakaraman.* To reward public servants who distinguished themselves in the service of the State, the Maharajah instituted an order of knigthood known as *Chempakaraman.* Shungoonny Menon thus describes the ceremony of conferring the title in his *History of Travancore.*

"The recipient of this distinguished honour when selected is presented before the Maharajah on a propitious day fixed for the ceremonial. His Highness

then, delivering a short speech in the presence of all the officers of State, expressive of the satisfaction afforded by the knight-elect to justify His Highness' bestowing such an exalted title on him, gives him some special presents and names him by the title Chempakaraman after his name. The knight then proceeds to the gates of the palace followed by the prime minister and the other officials. At the gate in a hall attached to it, takes place the subsequent ceremony which consists in the presentation of a new piece of peculiar kind of silk, eight yards long, called Veeravaly Pattu and the wearing of a suit of new clothes. The knight being dressed properly after the Travancore fashion, one end of the silk is tied round his head, leaving the other end to the extent of two and a half or three yards loose like the train of a long robe. He is then placed on an elephant and behind him three nobles or other persons invested with similar titles, seat themselves bearing the train of the knight's turban. The knight is then carried in procession, accompanied by a native band, a small detachment of military together with all the State peons, karikarahs and other servants. The procession moves round the four streets inside the fort and returns to the gate, where the knight dismounts from the elephant and proceeds with the prime minister who is waiting for him to the latter's seat, where the knight then enjoys the privilege of being seated with the minister. The new knight is now presented with a quantity of betel leaves and arecanuts together with a few ripe limes in a silver plate, called thattom or thampalam, and thus ends the ceremony. From this day the title Chempakaraman Pillay is always added to his name. This is a highly prized distinction among the natives of Travancore and is conferred only in rare cases as a special token of Royal favour."

Dedication of Travancore to Sri Padmanabhaswamy. For the better safety of his ancient house and the consolidation of his acquired dominions so as to make internal disturbances in the country impossible and make his own position secure, the thoughtful Maharajah determined upon the bold step of dedicating his kingdom to Sri Padmanabhaswamy, the tutelary deity of the Royal house of Travancore. Accordingly on the morning of the 5th Makaram 925 M. E. (January 1750 A. D.), accompanied by the heir-apparent and all the other male and female members of the Royal family, the Maharajah with his Prime Minister proceeded to Sri Padmanabha's temple where all the priests and Yogakkars had also been summoned. His Highness laid his State sword before the God on the *Ottakkal mantapam* and made over the whole territory to the Devaswam and assumed its management as the vassal of that deity. From this day forward he styled himself *Sri Padmanabha Dasa*, meaning "the servant of Sri Padmanabhaswamy." This stroke of policy had the desired effect and the people of Travancore have ever after regarded the country as the possession of the God and the person of the sovereign as His representative to them on earth. None of them would dare to do or speak ill of their sovereign for by so doing they would be guilty of *Swamidroham* or blaspheming the deity. Thus the kingdom of Travancore became *Sri Pandaravagai*; and the State servants *Sri Pandara Kariyam Chaivargal* and the

denomination of the Taluqs was changed into *Mantapathumvathukkal*, literally the door way of the God's *mantapam*, for the first revenue Cutchery was held in front of Sri Padmanabhaswamy's *mantapam*.

Adoption. In 923 M. E. (1748 A. D.), two Princesses were adopted into the Travancore dynasty from the Kolathunad family (Chirakkal house). They belonged to 'Pallikovilakam' of that house. They were first taken to Mannar and entertained there for some months and finally brought to Trivandrum at the auspicious hour for adoption. The marriage ceremony of one of these Princesses was performed in the same year at Attungal. The two Ranis were married to Kochu Kovil Tampurans of Tattara Kovil and Edathura Matam respectively. The Senior Rani gave birth to two sons, one born in 931 M. E., under the star of Asvathi—the famous Asvathi Tirunal, and the other in the following year. The Junior Rani also gave birth to two children, one male born in 932 M. E., and the other female born in 934 M. E.

Death of Rama Iyen Dalawa. In 931 M. E. (1756 A. D.), the Dalawa Rama Iyen fell ill at his official residence at Mavelikara and the Maharajah sent the heir-apparent Rama Varma at once to visit him and to enquire after his health. He was also asked to ascertain from the Dalawa his wishes as to the manner in which his name should be perpetuated. When the Prince reached Mavelikara, he found the Dalawa sinking and on being informed of the Maharajah's wishes to perpetuate his name, Rama Iyen said with his characteristic modesty: "I disclaim any personal right to the proposed honour. I was merely the instrument in my Royal master's hands. Although I have accomplished all my aims I am only sorry that I was not permitted to conquer and annex Cochin."

In spite of the best medical help, this remarkable Dalawa expired soon after the Elaya Rajah returned to Trivandrum. The strong-minded Maharajah was deeply moved by the news of his faithful minister's death and gave way to melancholy thoughts which soon brought on his own end. Rama Iyen was unselfish and honest and so poor that no private property of any value was found in his residence when he died, though he had served the State for eighteen years in various capacities and had held high and lucrative offices. No successor was appointed to his place as Dalawa but the work was carried on by the Sarvadhikariakar Aiyappan Martanda Pillai. In recogniton of the meritorious services rendered by Rama Iyen the Maharajah was pleased to bestow the title of Dalawa on his brothers.

Very little is known of Rama Iyen's life and career. He has left no direct lineal descendants, but his *Dayadis* (agnatic descendants) are still

alive, one of whom is known to perform the *Sradha* or anniversary ceremony to the Dalawa even to this day, for which he gets from Government a small annual allowance of paddy (*Melvaram*). The same family also performs a *Sumangali Prarthana*, a propitiatory ceremony in honour of the Dalawa's wife who died of childbirth. Rama Iyen was born in Yervadi, a village in the District of Tinnevelly, to which his family originally belonged. When he was six years old, his poor father gave up his native village and came to Travancore and settled in the insignificant hamlet of Aruvikkara near Tiruvattar in Kalkulam Taluq, about thirty-five miles south-east of Trivandrum. When twenty years old, Rama Iyen lost his father and soon after, his mother also. Rama Iyen had three brothers and one sister. After the death of his parents, Rama Iyen frequently visited Trivandrum, attracted to it chiefly no doubt by the perennial round of ceremonies and festivities there, which even now draw large crowds of the Brahmin population from the surrounding villages, but more so by the opportunities for distinction which it gave to a young man of his intelligence and ardent nature. On one such occasion he made up his mind to stay and take service as a 'Kutti-pattar' (boy-servant) under one Attiyara Potti of Vanchiyur, a Brahmin *jenmi* of great opulence and one of the Yogakkars or Committee of management of Padmanabha's temple. In those early days, Maharajah Martanda Varma visited his intimate friends in their houses and, when specially requested, used to dine there. One evening when the illustrious Maharajah was dining at the Attiyara Pottimatam, * the boy Rama Iyen waited on his master's Royal guest at dinner. Observing that the lamplight was dim, the Potti ordered Rama Iyen to trim the wick and brighten the light. When the boy went to it, he found there was no wick-trimmer in the brass lamp (generally a piece of brass four inches long used for trimming the oil-lights of the Hindu households) and according to the Hindu Shastras it is a sin to trim the wick with one's own finger (though now universally done through ignorance by the women and servants), which however the young Rama Iyen knew, and with his ready genius he pulled out the gold ring from his finger and trimmed the wick, after which he washed the gold ring with water and put it on as before. The Maharajah who noticed the boy's whole proceeding was quite pleased with him and after enquiries about his antecedents took him into his own service. It was this petty incident at the Potti's house that led to Maharajah Martanda Varma's coming to know of Rama Iyen, which casual acquaintance soon developed into a strong tie of attachment and devotion on the one side and of great confidence and appreciation on the

* 'Matam' means the house of a Brahmin.

other, with such signal benefit in later years to both of them and to the State itself. *

Another domestic incident also helped to estrange Rama Iyen's feelings from home and kith and centre them all on his Royal master and his affairs. Rama Iyen seldom visited Aruvikkara, where his wife and brothers were living, except in connection with his parents' anniversaries, and his wife rarely accompanied him to Trivandrum to live with him there owing to his heavy pressure of official work in the palace where his presence was constantly required. He had no son. His brother Gopala Iyen had sons, one of whom Rama Iyen wanted to adopt, but was not permitted to do so. This conduct of his brother offended Rama Iyen deeply and led to his leaving home in disgust. Rama Iyen had thus no family concerns to attend to and therefore devoted himself heart and soul to his Royal master's service. He was soon appointed Palace Rayasom and then Dalawa when Thanu Pillai died in 912 M. E. Of this remarkable Rama Iyen and his Royal master, the late illustrious Maharajah (*Visakham Tirunal*) thus records his tribute of admiration :—

"The present territorial configuration of the Native State of Travancore developed itself in the eighteenth century and almost contemporaneously with, and under circumstances not dissimilar to those of, the growth of the British power in India. Rajah Martanda Varma succeeded to a heritage as thorny as it was poor. The feeble rule of a series of his predecessors had fostered the greed of the surrounding chieftains and the turbulence of internal malcontents to such an extent that their kingdom was almost a misnomer, and their authority little better than a mockery. But Martanda Varma was one of those whom the world

* Since writing the above, the following version of the story has come to my knowledge. Such variations are inevitable where history has to rely on oral tradition :—

Unable to pay the taxes due to Government and being constantly subjected to torture and oppression by the officers of the Government of the Nawab of the Carnatic, Rama Iyen's family including his father, mother, four brothers and a sister migrated to Travancore between 893 M. E. and 906 M. E. (1718—1731 A. D.). Their first settlement was at Shencottah where lived a maternal uncle of Rama Iyen's, one Subrahmanya Sastrial, a great Sanskrit scholar and sometimes *Guru* (tutor) to the Rajahs of Kottarakara and Travancore. Once when the Travancore Maharajah invited the Sastrial to his court he took with him young Rama Iyen also. His introduction to the Rajah's favour is said to have been brought about in this wise. One evening as the Maharajah was at his evening *japam* (prayers) in his palace at Trivandrum, the Sastri and his nephew happened to be in attendance on His Highness. The Maharajah was seated in front of an ordinary metal lamp facing the west, when the light began to grow dim on account of the snuff in the wick. The boy standing behind at a respectable distance noticed it at once and calm'y stepped forward to trim the wick. With keen precaution he first lighted another wick which he held in his left hand and then trimmed the light with the right hand. This done, he put out the newly lighted wick and retired. The Maharajah who was observing the boy's proceeding marked his caution and intelligence and requested the Sastri to leave his nephew in his service, which he was only too glad to do, and Rama Iyen was first appointed Pakatasala Rayasom (a petty clerk in the palace) on a monthly salary of Rs. 2 and fanam 1. On another occasion when the Maharajah was at his supper he received a letter from the Nawab of the Carnatic which required on immediate reply. A reply was prepared by His Highness on which however young Rama Iyen was able to find matter for criticism. He was at once commanded to draft the reply himself which he did to the entire satisfaction of his royal master. Ever since Rama Iyen rose in His Highness' favour and was always consulted and confided in by the Maharajah.

produces but at rare intervals. He was born to command and to conquer. He had the best of schooling—that of hardship. He had the best of teachers—foes. He was served by one of the ablest of minsters. Sully did not serve Henry IV of France more ably and faithfully than Ramaiya did Martanda Varma. 'The Baron de Rosny was the very man to remedy this state of matters; rude, obstinate and haughty, but at the same time resolute, active, indefatigable, wholly devoted to his master's interests', Ramaiya was unrelenting, unsparing and often unscrupulous to his master's enemies; but his self was merged completely in that of his master. He was as fearless in the Council-room as he was in the battle-field. With such a minister at his right hand, and with a strong will, abiding patience, and indomitable courage, the Rajah not only won back what his predecessors had lost, but subjugated, one after another, the neighbouring chiefs who were a perpetual source of trouble." *

In short, to quote the words of Gibbon, Rama Iyen had "a heart to resolve, a head to contrive and a hand to execute".

One anecdote of Rama Iyen's self-abnegation still lingers in the public mind. Rama Iyen, after his wife's death, consorted with a Sudra girl at Mavelikara, whither his work in connection with the northern conquests often took him. She was poor and on her entreaties for help on his death-bed, he gave her a cadjan-chit † for presentation to the Maharajah. But the poor woman was not able to pay her respects to the Maharajah at Trivandrum. In the next reign she went and submitted the cadjan-chit to His Highness Rama Varma which contained a request in the handwriting of the Dalawa himself to his Sovereign-master asking for remission of a few chuckrams' ‡ tax on her house-garden as she was, Rama Iyen said, a poor dependent of his. The Maharajah granted the remission of the tax on the woman's land as prayed for and in addition loaded her with presents of cloths and jewels in grateful recognition of Rama Iyen's invaluable services to the State. His Highness gave her also a monthly allowance of a few measures of paddy and rice which is said to be continued to the family to this day. This story is in the mouth of every Travancorean, illustrative of Rama Iyen's unselfishness as well as his scanty means.

Demise of the Maharajah. Ever since the death of the faithful Dalawa, the Maharajah was slowly pining away. On the 27th Mithunam 933 M. E. (July 1758), he knew his end was approaching and so called his nephew the Elaya Rajah to his bed-side and gave him the following advice:—

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* The Calcutta Review for April 1884.

† Until recently all Vernacular correspondence in Travancore was carried on on palmyra *olas* using an iron style for a pen.

‡ Chuckram is a Travancore coin equivalent to 6.73 pies of the Madras currency.

1. "That no deviation whatever should be made in regard to the dedication of the kingdom to Sri Padmanabhaswamy, and that all further territorial acquisitions should be made over to the Devaswam.

2. "That not a hair's breadth of alteration or deviation should be made in the established charities and the institutions connected with the same.

3. "That no family dissension or quarrel should be allowed in the royal house.

4. "That the enmity of the Kayenkulam Rajah should neither be forgotten nor their ill deeds endured.

5. "That the expenses of the State should not be allowed to exceed the income.

6. "That the palace expenditure should be defrayed from the profits of the commercial department.

7. "That, above all, the friendship existing between the English East India Company and Travancore should be maintained at any risk, and that full confidence should always be placed in the support and aid of that honourable association." *

Prince Rama Varma solemnly assured his dying uncle that he would stick to every letter of his advice, on which the Maharajah was gratified and blessed him, and in a few minutes quietly passed away praying devoutly to God, in the presence of all the members of his Royal house, his loyal officers and a large retinue of servants. The Maharajah was fifty-three years old and was a virtuous and capable Prince who ruled the country well for twenty-nine years during which period Travancore reached its present enlarged dimensions. The stories still extant amongst the people show their grateful remembrance of him and the esteem in which he is held as the founder of modern Travancore.

Foreign policy. In his dealings with foreign powers the Maharajah was cautious and conciliatory. When the Pandyan Government, with whom the former Rajahs had perpetual alliance, finally passed into the hands of the Nawab of the Carnatic, the Maharajah negotiated with the Nawab renewing the terms of the old treaty his predecessors had with the Pandyan Kingdom. Accordingly His Highness entered into a treaty with the Nawab on the following conditions:—

1. That Travancore should pay to the Nawab a sum of Rs. 6,000 and one elephant per annum.

2. And that the Nawab should afford every protection to Travancore from foreign and local enemies.

Thus the Maharajah secured the aid of the most powerful Ruler in Southern India.

* Shungoonny Menon's History of Travancore. Page 175.

With the Treaty of Mavelikara in 932 M. E. (1757 A. D.), the Cochin Rajah declared perpetual alliance with Travancore. The defeat at the battle of Poracad added to the invasion by Hyder Ali Khan, greatly checked the haughty spirit and power of the Zamorin who thereafter ceased his hostilities against Travancore.

Travancore and the Dutch became mutual friends by the Dutch treaty of 928 M. E. (1753 A. D.), and the Dutch were bound to supply Travancore with the ammunition of war annually to the value of Rs. 12,000. The English merchants at Anjengo were ever ready to render assistance when required. In June 1757 A. D., the factors at Anjengo wrote to Fort St. George reporting the great advantages which the Company might derive through friendship with the Rajah of Travancore. The Maharajah himself wrote in 1757 A. D., expressing his willingness to have the differences between himself and the Nawab settled amicably by the English. In January 1757 the Madras Governor wrote to Issoof Khan, the Company's renter in Tinnevelly, advising him to preserve the friendship with the King of Travancore. Thus arose our friendship and union with the great new European Power in India attended with such beneficial results in the next century and a half of Travancore history.

RAMA VARMA 934—973 M. E. / 1758—1798 A. D.

This illustrious Maharajah was the longest-lived sovereign of Travancore in recent history and his rule was characterised by wisdom, justice and humanity which endeared him to his subjects. He was rightly adored as the *Dharma Rajah* (the good and just king), a title of honour which has remained with the Travancore Maharajahs ever since, and Englishmen called him 'The father of his people.' He was a ruler endowed with great natural gifts and possessed abilities of a high order for administration which stood him in good stead under trying and difficult circumstances. Personally he was distinguished by courage and presence of mind of which several stories are still current in all parts of Travancore. The following is one such.

During the severe fight between the Kayangulam Rajah and the late King Martanda Varma, which took place in 1736 A. D., Prince Rama Varma, the heir-apparent, was staying at Padmanabhapuram. For a time no news came to him from the scene of battle—all letters having been intercepted by the order of the Kayangulam Rajah. The Prince immediately went to Kayangulam *in cognito* and gained entrance into the fort under the guise of a Pathan. News reached the Kayangulam Rajah that some spy from Travancore had entered his fort, and he at once issued orders for his arrest. The Prince managed to remain within the fort several days undetected, but could not get any news of his uncle who with his whole army had been closely besieged by the Kayangulam forces. He then decided to get out of the fort but could not. At that time the *Tevaram Puja* of the Kayangulam king was conducted by a Nambudiri of the Ilangallur *Illam*. * After nightfall the Prince met the Nambudiri and confided to him the secret about himself and sought his help to escape from the fort. The Nambudiri agreed to help the Prince if he could suggest any feasible plan. The Prince thereupon concocted a letter purporting to have been sent to the Nambudiri from his *Illam* asking him to go home immediately to see his dying mother. The Nambudiri presented the letter to the Kayangulam Rajah and got permission to

* This Ilangallur *Illam* still exists and the present representative of the house is personally known to me since I was a Tahsildar some 32 years ago. I was instrumental in helping him out of a difficulty caused by the Public Works Department cutting a new road by the side of his *Illam*. This was a sore trial to the poor man, for if the road had been made, it meant the abandonment of his home which had stood there for centuries. The British Resident inspected the spot, and the authorities were at last pleased to save the house and spare him the pain. It was then that I learnt from him personally of the part which his ancestors had played in the making of Travancore history.

leave the fort with his servants. The Prince served as a lamp-bearer to the Nambudiri, and thus managed to escape from the fort. In return for this help of the Nambudiri, the Prince in later days created him the chief of his four palace priests, got his house rebuilt, gave him one hundred Parahs of wet land tax free and settled on his family a *Homam* ‡ in Mavelikara.

Martanda Pillai Dalawa. Aiyappan Martanda Pillai was Dalawa from 1758 to 1763 A. D., and under his supervision, the coronation ceremonies, *Tulabharam* and *Hiranyagarbham* were performed. The Maharajah at first directed his efforts to the improvement of the newly acquired territories and to the remodelling of the forces. Reforms were introduced in the revenue and judicial departments. The whole country was divided into three divisions, viz., *Vadakkumukham*, *Pandinjarumukham* and *Tekkumukham*, each of which being placed under the charge of an officer known as *Valia Sarvadhikariakar*. There were four subordinate officers called *Sarvadhikariakars* in each division and below these again there were *Kariakars*, *Provertikars*, *Chandrakarans*, *Toraikarans* and others. The districts under a Kariakar were again sub-divided into Maniams, Kelvies, Adhikarams or Proverties.

Treaty with Cochin. About 1760 A. D., the Zamorin of Calicut conquered a portion of the Rajah of Cochin's dominions and his army committed depredations at Karurupadana, a small village between Shoranore and Cochin. The Rajah of Cochin at once sent his minister Paliathu Menon to solicit the Travancore Rajah's assistance and himself came to the court of Travancore. The following agreement was entered into, between him and the Rajah of Travancore on the 12th Dhanu 937 M. E., (23rd December 1761 A. D.):—

"On the 12th Magarom 932 an agreement took place between us the particulars of which had been settled by the parties at Mavilicara. On the 3rd Chingom 929, it was there agreed that the parties should lay aside all former enmity which subsisted between them and observe and cultivate a perpetual friendship with each other. In conformity to that agreement I engage that I will not protect or afford any assistance whatever to your enemies in my country. As you wish to receive five hundred candies of pepper out of the produce of your country at any place you may think proper, I have only to request that your merchant or broker may receive that quantity with the consent and in the presence of my merchant, and my merchants shall advance money and receive the remainder of the pepper produced in your country as soon as this agreement shall have taken place. The chiefs of Chambagacherry, Ambalapilly and Vadacomcoor have been indisposed towards me and you desire that the sums expended by me in reducing them to subjection shall be levied from them and that until the

‡ A *Homam* is a *puja* and sacrifice offered to the Gods and the performer gets a modest sum in the way of grain, money and other perquisites for a salary, but it is a privilege highly valued.

amount be paid I shall retain the possession of their districts in my own hands and you promise not to take part with them or render them any assistance as I place much confidence in this assurance on your part, I have agreed that the chiefs of Ambalapilly &c., shall be permitted to remain at Trichoor and during the period of their residence at that place you promise not to hold any correspondence with them by letter or otherwise nor to afford them any supplies for their subsistence nor to have an interview with them; you further promise not to grant protection to my enemies in your country. In regard to certain privileges which you possess in my country and some also which I possess in your country they must be observed and continued as has ever been the custom.

"All the aforesaid articles having been agreed to, you inform me that the Samoory has entered your country with his troops, expelled your people and taken possession of it and you desire me to assist you by sending my troops, at my own expense, in order to enable you to recover possession of your country by expelling the Samoory's troops from that part which extends north as far as Poocoidah river and east as far as Chittoor river as also the districts you formerly possessed in Vellapanad Karee. If I should assist you and put you in possession of this country you in return agree to make over to me the district Carapooram extending to the south of Pampolly river and north of Alipie and also Paroor and Alangado with all their rights, &c., except the three villages, Chetany, Yeado, and Chambalum and you further agree to pay into the hands of my people the amount of half the revenues collected in your country to defray the expenses of my troops until you shall be put in possession of your country. When the army shall enter the Palghautcherry country, you consent that I shall place my own servants to collect the revenues in the villages formerly belonging to the Samoory in the same manner as the Samoory collected them. I will send my troops to be paid by me and will use every exertion and render all the assistance in my power to defeat the Samoory's troops and restore your country. You shall be put in possession of those villages which were not conquered by me in the year 933 in the district of Carinadoo extending north as for as Murinhapoya river and south as far as Verapole river. When you wish to discharge the petty Poligars in your country, I will join you and render you all the assistance in my power, I desire that Dewauree may read and explain this agreement to the elder Rajah Parumpadapoo. The agreement is drawn up by Shangara Coomaran by order of the Travancore Raja." *

At the time of the agreement Karappuram belonged to Travancore, yet it was purposely included to prevent all future disputes about it. That same year the Rajah of Cochin and the Rajah of Travancore proceeded to Suchindram and the former solemnly made the following declaration in the presence of God.— "We, myself and nephews, do hereby declare under the solemn oath in the presence of Stanumurti ‡ that we shall from this day the 12th Karkadagam 937 M. E., on no account neither oppose nor sanction war against Sri Padmanabha Bala Rama Varma Kulasekhara Perumal, King of Travancore and his nephews."

The Travancore Lines—The Zamorin repulsed. The Travancore troops were accordingly sent to aid the Cochin State and the

* The Malabar Manual, Vol. III. Page 112.

‡ The temple at Suchindram is dedicated to Siva who is locally known as Stanumurti.

first thing they undertook was the construction of the famous Travancore lines, stretching in an almost straight line from the shore of the backwater opposite to the town of Cranganore to the foot of the Ghauts. They consisted of an imposing earthen rampart, not very high, extending over thirty miles in length from Palliport along a great portion of the Cochin State on a strip of land ceded by the Cochin Rajah, which served as a check upon the Zamorin's advances. Just flanking their western extremity were the Dutch forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta. The lines were fronted by a ditch on the north. Flanking towers were placed at intervals and a fort was constructed at the western extremity. The construction of the fortifications was entrusted to the Dalawa and General De Lannoy. The weakness of the fort lay in the fact that so few of the points were closed on the rear or southside and that if one such point were taken the whole line would necessarily collapse. However the lines resisted successfully the advance of the Zamorin's troops. In 1762 the Travancoreans under the command of General De Lannoy formed into three divisions and attacked the Zamorin's garrisons severally at Cranganore, Parur, and Verapoly, with their right flank protected by their fortifications. The Zamorin was defeated in a short time, and his troops were completely driven back from Cochin territory. The Rajah of Travancore reinstated the Cochin Rajah in his dominions. At the same time he also opened Alleppey which he had taken from Cochin, to foreign trade much to the detriment of the Dutch trade. This event made Travancore "master of the whole country from Cranganore to Cape Comorin, a small isolated portion of territory lying round the Cochin Raja's Palace at Tirupunattura on the east of the backwater, and another portion to the north and south of Cochin on the west of it, being all that was left to the Cochin Raja of his dominions to the south of the Travancore lines". On the 28th of Edavam 938 M. E. (1763 A. D.), the Zamorin entered into a treaty of perpetual alliance with Travancore. The Zamorin came to Padmanabhapuram to meet the Maharajah and entered into an alliance by which he agreed to indemnify the Maharajah for the expenses of the war by giving the moderate sum of Rs. 150,000, promising at the same time perpetual friendship and fidelity. After the conclusion of the peace the Dalawa returned to Trivandrum placing a portion of the army, for the security of the country to be maintained at the expense of the Cochin Rajah. About this time Parur and Alangaud were surrendered to Travancore by their Rajah who was thereupon pensioned. The Queen of Karurswarupam also ceded her territory being unable to meet the payment of 6,000 fanams due to the Rajah of Cochin, which was cleared by the Travancore Maharajah. A boundary dispute arose between Travancore

and Cochin about Karur and was settled in favour of the former and the Travancore laws were extended to the newly acquired territories.

Reforms. Forts were erected at Krishnapuram. The palaces were repaired; waste lands lying east of the Neendakara bar and south of the backwater were reclaimed and peopled and the tract has since been called Dalawapuram; several roads were opened, and many rest-houses were established between Kunnatnad and Thottapalli. The whole army of the State was remodelled and brought to a state of great efficiency, the number of European officers being also increased. At Varkala twenty-four houses were built and given as gifts to as many Brahmin families; and in the Trivandrum Pagoda the *Kulasekharamantapam* which was begun in 933 M. E., was completed in 940 M. E.

Shencottah. In 1752 A. D. the Poligar of Chokampatti forcibly seized certain portions of the district of Shencottah. In consequence of this act of wanton aggression, the King of Travancore sent an army to Chokampatti, subdued the Poligar and recovered possession of the district. Regarding this event Colonel Munro wrote in July 1810:—

"The District of Shencottah forms one of the most ancient possessions of Travancore and to which the Rajah's Government justly attach the greatest importance. The whole of the District continued under the Government of Travancore from a remote period of time until the Malayalam year 928, when the Polygar of Vadagherry or Chokampatti, in the spirit of violence and encroachment which distinguished the conduct of the Tinnevelly Polygars at that period of time, seized some of the lands belonging to Shencottah and retained possession of them by force until 934 or 1759 A. D., when the Rajah despatched a body of troops against the Polygar, defeated him in an action, captured his fort and recovered all the lands that had been seized."

Relations with the Nawab of Arcot and the English. About the middle of 1758 A. D., the Districts of Tinnevelly and Madura from the forests of Nattam to the gates of Travancore were exposed to the ravages of the Company's sepoys stationed at different places by Mahomed Issoof Khan, the Nawab's agent. Maphuze Khan, the dismissed Governor, was still in arms and was recognised by the Poligars of Tinnevelly as their leader. Issoof Khan represented to the Nawab and the Governor of Fort St. George the advisability of entering into a treaty of alliance with the Rajah of Travancore. The two authorities agreed to the proposal as they considered that Maphuze Khan would prove a dangerous enemy if he was allowed to remain at large among his Poligars. Maphuze Khan in the meanwhile communicated to the King of Travancore the signal defeat of the English at Wandewash, and the letters he had received from Bassaulet Jung and the Pondicherry Government which encouraged him

to think that the British power would soon be overthrown in the Carnatic. He also offered the King several districts in Tinnevelly on his border if he would quit the English and join him. The Maharajah sent these letters to Issoof Khan and demanded of him the cession of Calacaud and other districts as a price of his friendship. On the 4th December 1759, the Madras Government wrote to His Highness informing him of the issue of necessary instructions to Mahomad Issoof Khan to deliver to him the territory of Calacaud, and the Maharajah was accordingly confirmed in his possession of the twelve districts. The Travancore troops joined Issoof Khan who after a short operation defeated the Poligars and re-established his authority.

The Governor of Fort St. George wrote to Mahomed Issoof Khan on the 22nd November 1759 highly appreciating the services rendered to the company by the King of Travancore in putting down the Vadakara Poligar and Puliteven.

Soon after this, Issoof Khan in his turn rebelled against the Nawab of Arcot, and desired to establish himself as an independent chief. With this object he secured aid from the French and even applied to the Travancore King offering to give him all the territories west of Tinnevelly which had once belonged to Travancore. But the offer was coolly declined. Issoof Khan in resentment marched a force against the King of Travancore but was defeated by the latter. For this rash act of Issoof Khan in attacking the kingdom of Travancore without the permission of the Governor of Madras, he was severely reprimanded for taking on himself to make war on independent States and was asked to report himself at Madras to render an explanation. Issoof Khan wrote back stating that the King of Travancore had defeated a part of his troops near Tinnevelly and that he was going in person against him and therefore could not go as desired. This and similar hostile acts of his were viewed with extreme disapprobation and an army was despatched to capture him. The King of Travancore also sent a strong force to co-operate with the English at Trichinopoly. Issoof Khan was captured and hanged at Madura as a public enemy in 1766. The following letter from the Rajah of Travancore, dated 25th February 1763, while clearly describing Issoof Khan's several acts of hostility in the late war between the two, and his overtures for peace, also illustrates the Rajah's magnanimity and sincere attachment to the Nawab and the Honourable Company :—

"I had the pleasure to receive two letters from you dated the 3rd and 14th of December 1762 with a copy of letter concerning Usoff Cawn, on the 24th of February

1763 advising me of the strict and old friendship of the Company and I understood the contents. I lately sent you a letter through the means of the Chief of Anjengo thereby acquainting you of the disturbances and troubles raised by Usoff Cawn without the Nabob's or Company's orders, that he fought with my people and that he afterwards was desirous of a friendship; altho' he was a servant of the Company's, yet he behaved so disrespectfully and committed inexpressible hostilities, he has plundered, demolished, and set fire to all the Countries together with the Pagodas in which our Gods were kept as well as their Seats or Chariots, and thus by his hostilities occasioned the loss of many lacks to my Circar which in reality is the Company's own loss. He had no business to commence a war with me, notwithstanding he did it to his own folly. Some of Usoff Cawn's people were taken prisoners of war by me whom I treated civilly and sent them back to his camp giving them presents and money for their expenses on the road, but when he has taken some of my people he has been so base to cut off their noses and ears and sent them away disgracefully. Great numbers of my people were killed in the fight. Before I received your letter Usoff Cawn sent some people to acquaint me that he began a war with me through his own folly and that it would be better to enter into a friendship. Altho' the said Usoff Cawn might have committed great crimes yet as he was the Company's servant, I out of regard for my old friendship for the Company as well as in regard to the affairs of the Nabob's Circar, thought fit to make peace with him. As no proper person is with him to keep him by good advice from bad actions is the reason that he acted so wickedly. If the day of misfortune overtake him what can he do? By the blessing of God he will meet with his deserts and punishment by his own Masters. The friendship being concluded the 21st February last, he returned towards Tinnevelly &c. Countries are conferred on Usoff Cawn or on some others either by the Nabob's Circar or by the Company. You will give strict orders to such as may be appointed not to meddle or go even near or round my Districts. My business is to regard the Company's interest and that of Nabob's. Usoff Cawn tried all he could to sow discord between me, you, and the Nabob, but you was wise enough not to hearken to him, which made me perfectly easy and cemented the friendship between us. If Usoff Cawn goes to your place accordingly, it is well, if not I am certain the Company's army will march to punish him accordingly as you informed me, then I shall join in this business according as the Company may write me." *

The dispute about the Districts of Calacaud. It has been stated that, in recognition of the strict friendship subsisting between the Honourable Company and the King of Travancore and as a recompense for the latter's assistance to Issoof Khan in reducing to subjection the rebellious Poligars, he was reinstated in the possession of the twelve districts around Calacaud (which were formerly possessed by his ancestors) by a writing under the Sign Manual of the Governor of Madras. But about the end of October 1764, Mahomed Ali, the Nawab, accompanied by the English troops arrived at Tinnevelly and ordered the King of Travancore to retire with all his people from those districts, adding that in case of noncompliance he would despatch forces for the purpose. The Rajah out of regard for the Honourable Company delivered up the forts and

* Extract from Military Country Correspondence, Vol. XI—Ancient Records of Fort St. George.

everything in them and quietly withdrew his forces to Tovala. He then requested the English factors at Anjengo to intercede in his behalf and also wrote to the Governors of Bombay and Madras clearly explaining his claims to those districts. This request of the Rajah was taken as a fitting opportunity by the English to obtain for them the grants and privileges already referred to by the Chief of Angengo in his letter dated 8th September 1757, and to strengthen their relations with the King. The Company's position was thus clearly expressed by the Anjengo factors in their letter to the President and Governor-in-Council at Fort St. George :—

"In consequence of the King's request we take the liberty of representing to your Honours that should the Districts not be restored to His Majesty, it will be attended with consequences fatal to the interest of our Honourable Masters at this settlement. On the contrary should your Honours think proper to favour His Majesty's request we presume that you will have it greatly in your power, previous to the granting such favour, to obtain for the Honourable Company those valuable Grants and Privileges, represented to your Honours by Mr. Spencer in a letter to the Gentlemen of your Select Committee under the 8th September 1757, we must therefore request your Honours not to come to any conclusion with the King until these points are settled, as probably we may never have such another opportunity in our power as the present of gaining these advantages by the interposition of your Honours' authority.

"As we have entered into Contracts with the King and his subjects, very valuable to the Hon'ble Company, and are entirely dependent on him and have ever been on the strictest terms of friendship with him, which we are particularly enjoined, by your Honourable Masters and our Superiours at Bombay, to support by a prudent measure, we are prompted from these essential motives to intercede with your Honours on His Majesty's behalf." *

The Madras Government on receipt of the Rajah's letter referred the matter to the Nawab who sent an ambassador to confer with the Travancore minister. Engineer Call, a servant of the Company, was deputed by the Madras Government to arbitrate. The parties met at Nagercoil on the 14th of November 1764. The Nawab's proposals were briefly these:—

1. That the Sirkar should possess all the lands east of the mountains, while the fort and those to the west of the mountains should belong to the King of Travancore; and the districts of Shencottah and others from the eastward of the mountains of Vadakara to belong to the Sirkar.

2. That the King of Travancore should pay Rs. 100,000 yearly in two payments on account of the lands of the Sirkar taken by him.

3. The original tribute paid by the House of Travancore to the kings of Trichinopoly viz., 400,000 fanams yearly and 100,000 fanams on account

* Extract from Anjengo Factory Diaries, Vol. I.

of the expenses of the palace servants and five elephants would be reduced to a yearly tribute of Rs. 50,000 exclusive of the Rs. 100,000 mentioned above.

These terms were strongly supported by Engineer Call. The conference thus ended virtually against the Maharajah. The following was His Highness' reply to the above proposals:—

"I have seen the proposals which you have thought requisite to make for the preservation of the continuance of the desired friendship between me and the Nabob Saib and as it is therein related that the Lands situated to the eastward of the Hill and Fort, to the sea side must be given up to the Nabob and those to the Westward of the said Hill and Fort be possessed, I reply that my Ancestors for many years possessed the Districts of Calacaudu and Chengota, after which the Aramanean reaped the benfit of them for sometime by force of Arms. We did likewise avoid, however, the continual disputes that arose about the possession. I represented the affair to my faithfull friend the Hon'ble Company at Bombay and Madras and they not only answered me that I might possess these our ancient districts, but also sent a order to Essouf Cawn, the person in the Honourable Company's service who had charge of the Lands, to deliver up to me those districts, under which security I have possessed them ever since without any molestation. And as the relinquishing of the Possessions of my Ancestors will be an act of disgrace, I answer with regard to the Hill and Fort at the Head of the Districts of Calacaudu that there is such a Hill and an old Fort, also privileged writings, which were executed at that time in veneration of the Pagodas where they are deposited and which being examined will inform you of the whole affair. It is upwards of one thousand years since we have been in possession of the Districts of Chengota, but as in the interim the Maniagar of Tengaugy by Force imposed a Tribute to be paid to the Aramanean I continue the same till this day and as this is the rise of these affairs, I cannot comprehend why you should propose to me to give up the Lands to the Eastward of the Hill and Fort without well examining things.

"The District called Atazanelur we have been in possession of a long time and because in the time of Aragapa Mudally we gave this place to him to rent, the Aramanean by force took possession of it, all this being well examined I hope will be admitted as just.

"As it is also metioned that I had taken the Lands of the Aramanean at rent, and used authority in them and made Peace with Aramanean paying him one hundred thousand (100,000) Rupees, I reply that I did not take the lands of Armanean at rent, nor have I used any authority in them, besides I have accounts the Expenses and Losses attending my Army against the Polygars for the defence of the Hon'ble Company and the Aramanean and there can be no reason for me to pay money for reaping the benefit of my own Lands, and for Tribute I will not pay more than 40,000 Fanams a year. In this manner I will satisfy the past as well the future.

"The Hon'ble English Company being the most faithful Friend of both Parties, I hope that, on every circumstance of these affairs being examined, such measures will be taken by them as to prevent any disunion between me and the Nabob and that an everlasting Friendship may be preserved between us.

"The Nabob Saib being at present at Tinnevelly I have represented every circumstance of this affair through my minister Changarayen to his Ambassador

Vengudda Salam Ayen to settle the terms for obtaining his consent regarding the Districts of Calacaudu, and paying the due Tribute I hope it will be settled in this manner." *

On the 20th January 1765 there was a conference at Anjengo of the Rajah with the Chief and factors there. After the usual ceremonies and compliments the Rajah opened the conference. He first referred to the dispute between him and the Nawab and then expressed his great inclination to oblige the Company by giving up to them all the pepper of his country and excluding the Dutch by giving the English a piece of ground near Cochin at a convenient locality, if the dispute were settled in his favour. The conference ended with the Rajah presenting to them in writing the following proposals:—

"The twelve Districts of Calicaud, and Chengotta, Guilangadu, Aundy, Chambier, Vadagare, I claim, and Malcangulong, all these Provinces which anciently belonged to the House of Travancore, the Nabob has taken by Force these twelve Districts of Calicaud, and six Districts of Chengotta which in the time of my Ancestors we possessed. If the Hon'ble Company will act in such manner that the Nabob will give up these places to this House, I propose to give the Hon'ble Company two thousand Candies of Pepper annually without fail, and permission to erect a flagstaff at Brinjohn, and to the Nabob 60,000 Fanams and one Elephant yearly besides, exclusive of the 40,000 Fanams which this House usually paid to the Nabob and thus I determine to give the Nabob 100,000 Fanams and one Elephant yearly without fail." *

His Highness also forwarded to the Government at Madras certain convincing proofs of his claims to those districts viz., copies of five copper plate grants and one extract from the Book of the Gentoos, as it was called. But the Nawab still stuck to his old claims over those districts. His plea was that the districts of Calacaud never at any time belonged to Travancore from the establishment of the Mahomeden Government down to his time, that Issoof Khan in consideration of the Rajah's assistance against the rebellious Poligars gave him the disputed districts without either the Nawab's or the Hon'ble Company's orders but merely to serve his own purpose, and that with regard to Shencottah and the adjacent districts they were all dependent on Tinnevelly and were given to the Rajah on a yearly rent of 2,000 chuckrams at the time of the Rajahs of Trichinopoly on condition of his proving faithful and obedient.

At last after a good deal of discussion and correspondence between the Nawab and the Honourable Company and chiefly through the intervention of the Governor of Madras, Mr. Robert Palk, the Nawab was prevailed upon to enter into a treaty with the King of Travancore in December 1766.

* Extract from Anjengo Factory Diaries, Vol. I.

The terms and other tributary engagements with the Nawab of the Carnatic are clearly explained by the following document found among the old Huzur Records:—

"Cowle namah in the name of Noble Rama Rajah, Zemindar of Malabar in the Carnatic Payen Ghaut from His Highness the late Nabob Wallajah of of the Carnatic:

"Whereas in consequence of the arrival of the five sealed Moochalikas from you professing continual friendship and obedience on your part to my Sircar, declaring that you will not on any account claim the Taluk of Calacaud &c., and that you will render any assistance that may be in your power in the Taluks of Tinnevelly and Madura and promising to send troops at my call for the punishment of the rebels and containing also other professions of fidelity and good will which are inserted on the back of the Purwanah; I have graciously pardoned all your past errors and have agreeably to your request consented to receive the full sum of two lakhs of Teerwahpoor rupees in cash on account of the former Treaty and the plunder committed in the Calacaud Taluk. As you agree to pay the annual Nazzaranah according to Mamool, I am pleased to make over to you the villages of Shencotta and the Pagoda of Cape Comorin agreeably to your long cherished desire, and hope that you will duly appreciate the favour thus done to you and evince your sense of it by an increased obedience and service on your part to my Sircar agreeably to your Moochalikas and that you will pay to me regularly the annual sums on account of the villages of Shencotta and the Pagoda of Cape Comorin together with the established Peishkush and remain contented, for you must be aware that as long as you shall continue firm in your promise of submission and fidelity to the Sircar, you will experience the favour of the Huzoor.

Seal.

Wallajah Amrul Hind Sirajud Dowla Anwaruddin Khan Bahadur Munsoor Jung Sepah Sirdar Fiduce Shatlam Padsha Ghazi 1179.

Dated the 11th Rujjub, 1180 Hejira."
(14th December 1766 A. D.).

The English. We have just seen how the peace between the Nawab and the Rajah was brought about by the intervention of the English Company. But even before this time, there were several agreements between the Anjengo factors and the Rajah of Travancore for bartering pepper for arms and piece-goods. In 1764, the Rajah permitted them to erect a flagstaff at Brinjohn (Vizhinjam) and in 1765 they were allowed to build a large factory at Verapoly.

To correctly understand the history of the period, one should accurately gauge the influence attained by the English East India Company at the time, for they had now become a potent factor in the history of India. When Rama Varma ascended the throne of Travancore they were still merchants. They had won the battle of Plassey in 1757, but had not yet established themselves as sovereign power in any part of India. Starting as a company of merchants with soldiers to protect them

and their wares, they gradually grew into a quasi-political power throughout the Indian Continent. In the Madras Presidency, however, their position was peculiar. They had already interfered in the affairs of the Carnatic and warmly espoused the cause of Anwaruddin and Mahomed Ali against Chanda Sahib. This brought them face to face with the French and the supremacy of the English in South India was firmly established within fifteen years of the Siege of Arcot and ten years of the Treaty of Pondicherry. They were still not territorial sovereigns. The Nawab of the Carnatic in a very short time became their friend and servant. Their relations with Travancore began in the same way, purely commercial at first, and then as small tenants under the Queen of Attungal to whom they were indebted for a few acres of land, and even later on when they interfered on behalf of the Nawab, they came in as friends and advisers of both and not as a superior authority dictating to either. It is an interesting study to note how from these small beginnings this handful of English merchants soon became under the decrees of Providence the arbiters of a mighty Empire, comprising an area of 1,700,000 square miles and owning willing allegiance from hundreds of ruling potentates and three hundred millions of subjects of diverse creeds, races and tongues—a truth which altogether beats fiction and before which the wonders of Aladdin's lamp so powerfully depicted by the richest oriental imagination fade into a dim haze of feeble light.

Invasion of Hyder Ali. About 1766 A. D., Hyder had invaded and taken possession of the northern countries of Malabar including the dominions of the Zamorin. At Calicut there was a conference between the Dutch Commissioners and Hyder for effecting an offensive and defensive alliance, but nothing came of it. The Cochin Rajah fearing lest his country would be ravaged, at once offered his allegiance to the Mysore Chief who promised not to molest him if he would fulfil certain conditions before a fixed date. But as there was delay in responding to the proposals, Hyder Ali modified his terms with the Cochin Rajah and demanded four lacs of rupees and eight elephants. He then turned to the King of Travancore and demanded of him fifteen lacs of rupees and twenty elephants, threatening him with an immediate invasion of his territories in case of refusal. The Cochin Rajah now placed himself unreservedly under the protection of the Dutch, but the Travancore Maharajah feeling strongly assured of the support of the English East India Company replied, "that he was unaware that Hyder went to war to please him, or in accordance with his advice, and was consequently unable to see the justice of his contributing towards his expenses". He added besides that he was already tributary

to the Nawab Mahomed Ali and could not afford to be a vassal to two suzerains at the same time but that he had no objection to contribute a large sum if Hyder would reinstate the Kolattiri Rajah and the Zamorin in their territories. Hyder Ali gave the Travancore Rajah time to reconsider the proposal and returned to Mysore.

In July 1766, the Travancore Rajah commenced the work of extending the northern lines to within range of the guns of the Dutch fort at Cranganore and on to the territory of the Cranganore Rajah. Day in his *Land of the Perumals* thus describes the Travancore lines:—

"The military frontier of Travancore includes a large portion of the Cochin territory and passes through the southern part of the Kodachayree district. The celebrated Travancore lines were not of any considerable strength: they occupied the greater part of the crests of a series of slopes, which were comparatively open, and not remarkable for elevation or steepness. They commenced at Yellungayree to the eastward of which the hills, were supposed to afford some defence: they then extended twenty-four miles to the westward, and terminated at Jacotay—a name which was occasionally employed to designate the whole work. The latter consisted of a rather strong embankment and parapet of earth: the whole measuring at the highest part above fifteen feet, but the elevation was not always the same. The ditch was, generally speaking, about half that depth, or two or three feet broad. An Abattis, composed of a bamboo hedge, was planted, which, in some places where it has been carefully preserved, may still be seen flourishing. Along its inner side ran a broad and level road, and scattered along this at irregular intervals were forty-two small works."

The Dutch fearing that the extension of these lines would offend the Mysore Chief, required the Travancore people to desist from the work within Dutch limits. The frontier fortifications were satisfactorily completed by the joint efforts of General De Lannoy and Dalawa Soobba Iyer and the magazines were replenished with fresh ammunition to meet exigencies.

Hyder adopted very stringent measures to subdue the refractory Nayar chiefs. He first deprived them of all their privileges and ordered that they should be degraded to the lowest of all the castes. This proving of no avail, for the Nayars preferred death to degradation, he next gave them the option of embracing the Mahomedan religion. Many yielded but most of them fled and took refuge in the kingdom of Travancore. While Hyder was thus attempting an entry into Travancore, his own dominions in the north and east were invaded by the Nizam, the Mahrattas and the English. He therefore abandoned his attempt on Malabar and made haste to meet the opposing armies.

About 1769, Hyder was defeated by the East India Company's soldiers in several engagements. This convinced him of the existence of a

mightier power in South India and tended to sober his arrogance and cruelty. He therefore sued for peace. In the treaty concluded at Madras with the East India Company, special provisions were inserted for the safety and protection of the kingdom of Travancore. Still the Maharajah, wise and far-seeing as he was, issued orders to strengthen the northern fortifications and made arrangements with the English and the Dutch to co-operate with him in case of necessity. He then deputed an ambassador (*Stanapati*) to the court of Mysore to watch the further movements of that monarch, and similar officers to the courts of the Nawab, the Cochin Rajah and the Zamorin.

The new ministry. In the meantime Dalawa Soobba Iyen was succeeded by Gopala Iyen, a Travancore Brahmin, in 1768 A. D., but as the latter was found unequal to the task, Tampi Chempakaraman Pillai was appointed *Valia Sarvadhikariakar* or Deputy Prime-minister to conduct the duties of the Dalawa. In 948 M. E. (1773 A. D.), a survey and assessment of lands and gardens were completed under the able supervision of the Deputy Prime-minister.

Invasion of Hyder Ali. In 1774 A. D., Hyder again invaded Malabar and devastated the country. The Zamorin and other Princes of Malabar fled and took refuge in Travancore where they were treated with great hospitality and kindness.

Hyder was ambitious and he could not be expected to keep to the terms of the treaty. He made up his mind to conquer Travancore, so that by enriching his coffers and securing an advantageous position on his enemy's flank, he might more easily invade the Carnatic. With this view Hyder in 1776 set out with a large army against Travancore. As the Dutch still held the fort at Cranganore which effectually protected the western flank of the Travancore lines, he demanded of them at Cochin a free passage through their territories into Travancore. The Dutch Governor Moens being unwilling to accede to his request declined to comply with it on the plea that the matter should be referred to the Supreme Government at Batavia. Hyder remembering that the very same reply was given him ten years previously, naturally regarded it as evasive and threatened the complete destruction of the Dutch power. He thereupon ordered a large army of 10,000 men under the command of Sirdar Khan, to seek a route by the Cochin territory. In August 1776, the northern portion of Cochin was invaded and the fort of Trichur taken. The Cochin Rajah offered a *Nuzzer* of four lacs and four elephants to Hyder and promised to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 120,000. Hyder's further

advance was effectually checked by the Travancore lines. The Dutch began to hope that the Mysoreans would leave this part of the country for ever, but soon a letter from the Sirdar arrived in which he claimed the territory of Chetwai on behalf of Hyder Ali who now by right of conquest became the successor to the Zamorin from whom it was wrested by the Dutch some time ago with a promise to return it after a certain period. On the Cochin Council declining to give it up, Sirdar Khan on 9th October 1776 crossed the Chetwai river a little to the north of the Dutch fort, took possession of the customs-house and began to throw up strong works at Paponetty. From here he despatched another letter to the Governor of Cochin stating, "that Hyder Ali considered that he had met with a premeditated insult from the Dutch Governor, who had given no decided reply to his letter. Still he wished to be friends, but a free passage for his troops towards Travancore was essential: and were such refused, it would be considered equivalent to a declaration of war." To this the Governor replied that he was glad that the Mysoreans wished to be regarded as friends and that he would feel obliged by their evacuating the Dutch territory. But before this reply could have reached him, Sirdar Khan attempted to surprise the Cranganore fort but failed. He then wrote another letter demanding the cession of the territory the Dutch had received from the Zamorin in 1758 as well as a *Nuzzer* and free passage into Travancore. The Governor now found his position very difficult. He therefore proposed that the Dutch, the Cochin Rajah and the Travancore Rajah should join together in attacking Hyder. The Travancore Rajah replied that as he had already entered into an alliance with the Nawab of Arcot and the British, by which he was to act only on the defensive and had been promised assistance by his allies should the Mysore troops advance on his territory, he was unable to enter into a treaty with the Dutch except as a measure purely of defence. Accordingly the Travancore lines were improved and the forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta were strengthened, the first by having a retrenchment thrown up under its guns, and the second by strong repairs. The Travancore sepoys sent to garrison the Ayacotta fort retreated in expectation of attack by the Mysore troops but on the timely arrival of a Dutch reinforcement the Mysoreans themselves had to retire. A short time after, the whole of the territory of the Rajah of Cranganore excepting the Dutch fort succumbed to Hyder's General, but his further advance was successfully resisted by the Travancore lines. In January 1778 the Dutch stormed and took the Cranganore Rajah's palace and pursued the enemy. In March the Travancore Minister went to Cochin to interview the Dutch

General, who urged upon him the necessity of preventing Cranganore from falling into Hyder's hands.

These proceedings of Hyder were in the meantime communicated to the Madras Government and the Nawab of Arcot, who at once resolved to put an end to the rising power of Mysore. In the war that followed, the Travancore sepoys fought side by side with the English at Calicut, Palghat, Tinnevelly and other places. In 1782 Hyder Ali died and was succeeded by his son Tippu. The war continued for two more years in which the Travancore troops fought very bravely in the united action. They were "universally allowed to have behaved remarkably well". Col. Humberstone wrote to the Rajah about the services rendered by the Travancore force:—"I am well informed how steady and sincere an ally Your Majesty has ever been to the English nation. I will relate to the Governor-in-Council the great friendship you have shown and the services you have rendered to the English interests in general and to the army that I commanded in particular."

The friendship of the Rajah and the assistance rendered by him were not forgotten at the conclusion of the Mysore peace in March 1784. The Rajah of Travancore was expressly named and included in the treaty as the Company's friend and ally and the peace plenipotentiaries, Staunton and Hudleston assured the Rajah on behalf of the Company, "Your interests and welfare will always be considered and protected as their own," and added, "the Company did not on this occasion forget your fidelity and the steady friendship and attachment you have uniformly shown them in every situation and under every change of fortune".

Death of De Lannoy. While the war was still in progress, the country sustained an irreparable loss by the death, after a short illness, at Udayagiri of General De Lannoy in 1777 A. D. His death was sincerely deplored by all Travancoreans, as he was the founder of European discipline in the Travancore army and as it was in his time that most of the forts in Travancore were constructed. He was buried with military honours in his own church at Udayagiri. The Latin inscription on his tomb when translated reads thus:—

"Stand Traveller! Here lies Eustachius Benedictus De Lannoy: who was Commander of the general Travancore Army and for nearly thirty-seven years with the greatest faithfulness served the King, to whom by the strength and fear of his armies he subjected all kingdoms from Kayangulam to Cochin. He lived 62 years and 5 months and died 1st day of June 1777. May he rest in peace."

The Maharajah's pilgrimage to Ramesvaram. In 1734 the Maharajah proposed a pilgrimage to the holy island of Ramesvaram

not only as a piece of religious duty but also to acquaint himself with the manners and customs and the methods of administration followed in the neighbouring countries. His Highness was accompanied by a large retinue and was escorted by a few companies of sepoys belonging to the English and some officers of the Nawab, as he had to travel through the countries of the Poligars, a set of rude and lawless chieftains. During the tour His Highness inspected the various irrigation works, bridges and inns in the two Districts of Tinnevelly and Madura and the knowledge thus acquired was turned to good account. An improved system of irrigation was set on foot in South Travancore, several public roads were opened in and about Trivandrum and the Government *Anchal* (postal service) was improved and placed on a better footing.

Domestic Events. But domestic troubles fell thick upon him. In 1786 Prince Makayiram Tirunal (i. e., of the Star Mrigasira), the Maharajah's younger brother, died. It is said of the Prince that he had learnt the arts of jugglery and legerdemain as a leisure-hour occupation and several stories are current of his feats in them, especially of his encounters with one Pitambara Iyer of Tinnevelly, a professional expert in those arts.

Another Prince (Asvathi Tirunal), an accomplished Sanskrit scholar, died in 1788. As there remained only a young prince (Bala Rama Varma) aged seven and as there was no prospect of the Ranis bringing forth any further issue, two Princesses were adopted from the Kolathunad family.

Kesava Das. In 1788 Chempakaraman Pillai became Dalawa and Kesava Pillai was appointed Sarvadhikariakar. The latter was a gifted official and greatly helped the Dalawa in the administration of affairs. Kesava Pillai was a real patriot honoured by his own King as well as by the British Government. As Mr. P. Aiyappan Pillai B. A.,* observed:—

"For, it was during his time and mainly through his labours that the present political relationship with the Paramount Power was established and strengthened—a relationship that has mainly contributed to the intellectual, social and material progress that our country has made ever since—a relationship that has saved the country from vegetating up to the present time in the condition in which the earlier centuries saw it—a relationship that has showered immense blessings, by securing an uninterrupted period of peace and safety, which afforded ample scope and leisure for later administrators to introduce salutary reforms, by opening easy modes of communication, and last, not least, by giving us a true and substantial education which alone will enable our countrymen to appreciate and utilize all that has been the outcome of this relationship. But this is not all. There was much in the *man*, apart from his

* Lecture on "Raja Kesava Dass and his times," delivered under the auspices of the Trivandrum Public Lecture Committee (August 1889).

political acts, which excites one's admiration, and ennobles one's feelings. His life from beginning to end is an exemplary specimen of truth, justice, honesty, loyalty and patriotism."

A brief account of his early life may therefore be given here with advantage.

Kesava Pillai was born of very poor parents in Kunnattur, a hamlet of South Travancore twenty-five miles from Trivandrum, his mother being a maid-servant at the Maharajah's palace and his father a poor astrologer. At the age of five he was sent to a pial school. The *asan* (teacher) was so taken up with the superior intelligence of the boy that he offered to teach him free. He was particularly quick in arithmetic and gave promise of a bright future. At twelve years of age he left home owing to poverty and went to Trivandrum. At Puvar a merchant met him and appointed him as an accountant on a small salary. He soon rose in the favour of his master by his integrity and capacity for work. When once the merchant went to pay his respects to the Maharajah he took the boy along with him. As the interview lasted till late in the night the young boy was fast asleep in the antechamber and was left there undisturbed by the merchant when he came away. An interesting anecdote exists about the boy's having slept in the antechamber. Early next morning the first sight that greeted the Maharajah's eyes, it is said, was this half-naked boy whose poor appearance disgusted the Maharajah, for according to the orthodox Hindu notion the fortunes of the day more or less depend on the first object one sees in the morning. For Manu says the King ought to keep in his palace elephants, monkeys, cows &c., on which only he should cast his eyes, when he rises from bed in the early dawn. A half-famished beggarly looking boy is not according to the Shastras an object worthy of being so seen by kings. The boy was at once ordered to be placed under restraint for having slept where he should not have had access. But scarcely had an hour passed before news reached the Maharajah that a ship laden with rich merchandise had neared his port. The Maharajah felt much gratified at the news and attributing the glad tidings to the sight of the young boy in the morning ordered his immediate release and enrolled him as a servant in the palace. The boy gradually rose in the favour of his Royal master who now began to take a very warm interest in him. He had already formed a high opinion of his talents and aptitude for business. From a clerkship he was soon promoted to the work of supervising the commercial department of the State. Kesava Pillai opened correspondence with the English East India Company and the Dutch who had established factories, by which many material advantages

resulted to the country. He also learnt the art of war under the Flemish General (De Lennoy) who was much attached to him, and this military training enabled him to take active service in the field and made him so efficient a General. He was then made Palace Samprati from which place he rose to the position of Valia Sarvadhikariakar or Deputy Prime-minister. Kesava Pillai with the object of strengthening the alliance with the Honourable East India Company entered into correspondence with many of the Company's officers in Madras and Bombay. About this time the Dalawa fell ill and Kesava Pillai was appointed to the high office. The title of Dalawa being too antiquated and old-fashioned, Kesava Pillai sought and obtained the sanction of the Maharajah to change it into that of *Dewan*, by which his successors have since been known.

The Pope's message. The Maharajah's rule was characterised by a wise tolerance to all religions. The Christians who settled in his country were treated with especial consideration. Pope Clement XIV on learning about the numerous benefits they had received from the Maharajah wrote to him a letter, dated 2nd July 1774 A. D., thanking him for his kindness towards the members of his Church resident in Tranvancore. The letter was received at Verapoly only in 1780, and Bartolomeo, one of the missionaries that carried the letter to the Maharajah, thus describes his reception and interview :—

"As soon as we made our appearance before the gate of the castle, the guard presented his arms, and the minister sent a guide to conduct the persons who bore our palanquin to the door of the palm-garden in which the king resided. Here our coolies, or palanquin-bearers, were obliged to remain behind us, lest being people of the lowest caste they might contaminate the royal palace. At this door we were received by the king's commander in chief, who conducted us through the palm-garden to a second door, where the king was waiting for us. He received us standing, and surrounded by a great number of princes and officers. Near him stood his son with a drawn sabre in his hand; and in a shady place were three chairs, one of which was destined for the king, and the other two for me and my colleague. When we had all three taken our seats, the attendants formed a circle around us. I then produced the pope's letter, which I had hitherto carried in a pocket-book richly embroidered according to the eastern manner; raised it aloft; applied it to my forehead in order to show my respect for the personage in whose name I presented it; and then delivered it to *Samprati Keshava Pu'la*, the secretary of state. The latter handed it to the king, who also raised it up and held it to his forehead as a token of respect for his holiness. At the moment when the pope's letter was delivered, there was a general discharge of the cannon of the castle.....When the king had conversed for sometime on various topics he ordered his minister and secretary to give such an answer to our petition, and such relief to our grievances which we had specified on an *Ola*, that we might return home perfectly satisfied and easy. For my part I could not help admiring the goodness of heart, affability, and humanity of this prince, as well as the simplicity of his household establishment and way of life. At that time, he and all the persons of his court, according to the

Malabar mode, had nothing on their bodies, but a small piece of cloth fastened round the loins; and the only mark of distinction by which his royal dignity could be discovered, was a red velvet cap with gold fringes." *

Tippu's schemes against Travancore. The Mysoreans had ever cherished the conquest of Travancore. We have seen how Hyder was successfully resisted by the Travancore lines. Tippu had long been watching for a favourable opportunity to invade Travancore. The increasing prosperity of the country and the wide fame of the Mahārajah aroused his cupidity and envy at the same time, and he was therefore watching for the slightest pretext to invade and subdue Travancore. With this object in view he had already, about June—August 1787 A. D., reconnoitred the several roads leading into Travancore both from the north by way of the coast and from the east by the Kambam and Gudalur passes. He then invaded Malabar and persecuted the people and chiefs massacring all those who refused to embrace Islam. Many of the noble families of Malabar including that of the Zamorin fled to Travancore as before and were received with due hospitality. It is said that no less than 30,000 Brahmins with their families fled from their country and took refuge in Travancore. This incensed Tippu Sultan, who at once sent a message to the Maharajah demanding the surrender of the fugitives. But the Maharajah politely replied that the Hindu principles of hospitality would not permit him to give up those helpless persons who had sought protection under him. Tippu then resolved on nothing less than the entire subjugation of Travancore. But he could not make bold to appear as principal in the war, for the Travancore Rajah had been included in the Mangalore treaty as one of the special "friends and allies" of the Honourable Company. He therefore encouraged the Zamorin to put forward some pretended claims to suzerainty over Travancore, promising him in return the restoration of a portion of his territory. But the Zamorin did not join in this nefarious scheme. Tippu then turned to the Rajah of Cochin who had already become his vassal and pressed him to urge his claims on the Taluqs of Parur and Alangad, which were owned by his ancestors. He also advised the Cochin Rajah to speak to the Rajah of Travancore personally about concluding a treaty of alliance with him. The Cochin Rajah met the Travancore Rajah on the 4th June 1788 A. D., at Annamanadai north-east of Cranganore, where the latter had gone for inspecting his forts, and told him everything. The Travancore Rajah replied that he could do nothing without the knowledge of his friends and allies, the English and the Nawab. The matter was soon

* A Voyage to the East Indies—Bartolomeo. Page 180.

communicated to the Madras Government who sent Major Bannerman to advise the Rajah.

The new English alliance. Tippu at the same time sent envoys to Travancore with valuable presents to the King. The messengers were received in Durbar in the presence of Major Bannerman and every respect was shown to the Sultan's *Kharita*. The messengers pointed out the advantages likely to result from an alliance with the Sultan of Mysore and requested the King to give his decision without delay. They were dismissed with presents and were told that a suitable reply would be sent through the Rajah's own envoys after due consideration. A reply was accordingly sent by the Rajah in consultation with his trusted Dewan couched in the most polite language possible, stating that he would not enter into any alliance without the consent of the Company. Tippu's rage on reading the reply knew no bounds and he immediately began preparations on a large scale to invade Travancore. The Maharajah intimated to the Madras Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, the whole of the proceedings and requested him to lend him four English officers and twelve sergeants to drill and command his army, and anticipating an early invasion by Tippu, commanded Dewan Kesava Pillai to look to the frontier fortifications. The Governor informed Tippu that aggression against Travancore would be viewed as a violation of the Treaty of 1784 and equivalent to a declaration of war against the English. In his reply, dated 12th August 1788, to the King of Travancore, he stated that the officers asked for could not be granted as it was "contrary to the system now laid down for the management of the English Company's affairs to lend their officers to command any troops except such as are actually in their own pay and under their authority." The Governor at the same time suggested that two or three battalions of the Company's troops might be employed with advantage in securing the Rajah's territories against Tippu's inroads. The Rajah consented to the proposal and agreed that the cost of the maintenance of the troops would be met by the Travancore Sirkar either in cash or by the supply of pepper equivalent in value. It was further settled that in times of peace two battalions of the Company's sepoys should be stationed on the Travancore frontiers and should not be employed in any other line than that built in the Travancore territory and that if an additional force were needed to strengthen the frontier against the designs of Tippu, it should be maintained at the Company's cost, provided the Maharajah would order supplies to be given them at the market rate then prevailing in Travancore. The monthly cost of one battalion was estimated at 1,750 Star pagodas, 40

fanams and 40 cash. Accordingly two regiments under the command of Captain Knox were for the first time stationed near Ayacotta and a civil officer, Mr. George Powney, was also sent as agent of the Company at the Travancore court. This officer may be regarded as the first Political Agent in Travancore, the forerunner of the modern British Resident.

The Travancore Rajah also entered into a treaty with the Dutch Governor of Cochin, by which the latter was obliged in the event of an attack to reinforce the forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta.

Purchase of Ayacotta and Cranganore from the Dutch. About 1789 Tippu began his march from Coimbatore with 20,000 regular infantry, 10,000 spearmen and match-lockmen, 5,000 horse and 20 field guns. At Palghat he opened negotiations with the Dutch to purchase the forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta which flanked the defence of the Travancore lines. The Maharajah thought it advisable to purchase these forts from the Dutch and ordered Dewan Kesava Pillai to open up negotiations with them; otherwise, according to the arrangement entered into with the Company, the British force could only be used for the protection of the Travancore boundary, and hence if these forts were captured by Tippu, the Company's regiments would not assist the Travancore sepoys in the interior. The Dutch Governor consulting Dewan Kesava Pillai as to the best method of stopping Tippu's forces at last resolved to sell the two forts to Travancore. The bargain was struck and the agreement was executed on the 31st July 1789 A. D. This was subsequently ratified by the Government of Batavia. The following is an authentic translation of the agreement for the purchase of the fort of Cranganore and the outpost of Ayacotta, obtained from the Government records at Fort St. George:—

"The Enlightened and Powerful King of Travancore, Wanji Bala Marthanda Rama Vurma, has sent his first State Minister and Dewan, the respectable Kesava Pillay to the most worshipful John Gerard Van Anglebeck, Governor of the Netherlands India and Commander of the forces of the Enlightened and Powerful Netherlands Company in the Malabar Coast with the intention of purchasing from the Company the Fort of Cranganore and the Post of Ayacottah with the gardens and lands belonging thereto; having consulted and negotiated upon this, it was adjusted upon the following conditions:

"The Dewan Kesava Pillay has bought for his master, and the Hon'ble Governor Van Anglebeck on the part of the Company has sold to the King of Travancore for the just sum of three hundred thousand Surat rupees, the Fort of Cranganore and the Post of Ayacottah, with the cannon and ordnance belonging to them as they now stand together with the powder-magazine, though no small arms or any other effects and further, the following lands and gardens:—

The Miskuton island now leased for 390 rupees.
The garden of Kilo Barki now leased for 115 Rs.
The garden of Ascencio de Rosa leased for 190 Rs.
The garden of Nagachetty leased for 164 Rs.
The garden of Hendrick Meyer leased for 230 Rs.
The garden of Babo Probo leased for 64 Rs.
The garden of Alewyn leased for 310 Rs.
The garden of Dama Moosa leased for 1,220 Rs.
The garden of Arekel Ittopoo leased for 199 Rs.
The garden of Konoto Barki leased for 115 Rs.

"The purchase and sale is agreed to upon this condition, that the King of Travancore shall not hinder the navigation of the river past the fort, either to the Company's vessels or to the vessels of the King of Cochin or their subjects, whether the same be empty or loaded with rice, paddy or goods of any description, as also all floats of wood and bamboos &c., in a word all goods whatever without exception shall pass and repass free and without hindrance nor shall there be any new tax put upon them.

"The King promises solemnly that the firewood which must be brought from above Cranganore shall not be prevented on any pretext or taxed with any duty whatever, but on the contrary that he will assist all in his power to forward the firewood to Cochin by every possible means.

"The Lepers' House at Paliporto with the buildings, gardens and further ground belonging to it remain in the full and free possession of the Company.

"The Romish Church at Cranganore and Ayacottah stands from ancient time under the Company and must remain under them. The King shall not interfere with the same or with the parsons. The Christians are to remain vassals of the Company and must not be burthened with any new tax.

"The Parson's house at Paliporto which the Governor erected and gave as a present to the Church shall remain with the Church and no new burdens be permitted.

"The inhabitants shall keep their gardens and lands that they now possess as private property, such as are Christians remain the same as the Catholic Christian vassals of the Company and must not thus under any pretence be burthened with additional taxes, only paying to the King the sum they formerly paid to the Company.

"The King promises before the delivery of the aforesaid fort and lands to make a payment in ready money of Rs. 50,000 and the four following years to pay in equal instalments by furnishing an account of pepper annually to the amount of Rs. 62,500 for the better security of which, and as lawful debtors the merchants David Rahaboy, Ephraim Cohen and Ananta Setty bind themselves.

"All this negotiated in the Fort of Cochin in the year Koilang 974 and on the 19th of the month of Karkadagom or the 31st July 1789."

The whole transaction was carried through in the presence of Mr. Powney who at once communicated it to the Madras Government. The Maharajah too wrote to them about it. The new Governor of Madras, Mr. Holland, under the erroneous impression that the forts belonged to the Cochin Rajah, a tributary of the Mysore Chief, disapproved of the

whole transaction characterising it as collusive and condemning the step as very imprudent and impolitic. He thus wrote to the Maharajah on the 30th of August 1789:—

"I lament that you have taken the indiscreet step which may possibly involve you in much embarrassment, if Tippu should be disposed to wrest from you these late acquisitions. I cannot approve of your having entered into a treaty with the Dutch for the extension of territory without the consent of this Government. This very impolitic conduct makes you liable to a forfeiture of the Company's protection, for you cannot expect that they will defend territory of which you were not possessed when their troops were sent into your country, and which have since been obtained without their assent."

He therefore advised the immediate restoration of these forts. The Maharajah made a full representation of the facts to the Governments of Madras, Bombay and Bengal, stating that the forts originally belonged to the Portuguese by right of conquest, from whom they passed to the Dutch who were in undisturbed possession of them for a period of one hundred and twenty-six years, and as such that the Dutch had every right to part with the same without any reference to the Rajah of Cochin or his suzerain. Further the purchase had been recommended by Major Bannerman both to the Maharajah and Sir Archibald Campbell who had approved of the recommendation, and had been completed in the presence of Mr. Powney as the British representative, and the object of the purchase was not extension of territories but security of the kingdom against foreign aggression. These arguments in support of the transaction were not sufficient to convince Mr. Holland who had already prejudiced even the mind of Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, by his one-sided representation. The Maharajah requested the Governor-General not to dispose of the matter finally until full inquiry had been made. The subject was taken up in Parliament and the Court of Directors referred the matter to Sir Archibald Campbell who stated that he did not recollect the existence of such a sanction and that perhaps Major Bannerman had overstepped his authority if he had intimated the sanction to the Maharajah. The Madras Government were ordered to make the proper enquiries and the following facts appear to have been proved. Major Bannerman urged the Rajah of Travancore to purchase the forts, which was at once agreed to by Sir Archibald Campbell. Again when Bannerman was in Madras in 1789, Mr. Holland was informed of the Rajah's intention to purchase the forts and of the importance of the measure. But Mr. Holland did not disapprove of it then, nor did he communicate his disapproval to Mr. Powney. The Rajah and Major Bannerman stood therefore absolved from the charge. Moreover the Sultan himself had recognised

the right of sale by the Dutch as he himself offered them double the sum promised by the Rajah of Travancore.

Tippu's demands. Meanwhile Tippu, encouraged by the attitude taken by the Government of Madras, put forth his claims to the two forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta on the plea that they really belonged to his tributary, the Cochin Rajah, to whom the Dutch were merely paying rent. On the 13th November 1789 Lord Cornwallis issued definite instructions to the Madras Government in regard to the attitude to be taken about the transaction.

"If they had belonged to the Raja of Cochin subsequently to his becoming tributary to Mysore, the Raja of Travancore was to be compelled to restore them to the former possessor. If not, then the Travancore possession of the place was to be supported. If Tippu had actually taken possession of the place he was not to be forcibly dispossessed of them without the sanction of the Supreme Government, unless he had also attacked the other territories of Travancore; but if such attack had occurred then, the Madras Government was positively ordered to deem it as an act of hostility to be followed up vigorously by war."

This sensible order of Lord Cornwallis saved Travancore from a most embarrassing situation. Later on, as we shall see, it was due to Lord Cornwallis' firmness and decisive action that Travancore was saved from falling an easy prey into Tippu's hands. We have already noted that Tippu had reached Palghat with a very large army. He first meant to take Tellicherry and thence to advance against Travancore. The Maharajah had taken every step to strengthen his defences. Kesava Pillai was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces. The forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta were repaired and garrisoned. In December 1789 Tippu sent one of his Sirdars to demand on the Travancore Rajah,

1. That his troops holding the Cranganore fort should be withdrawn;

2. That the chiefs and nobles of Malabar who were sheltered by the Rajah of Travancore should be surrendered;

3. That the portion of the Travancore lines on the northern side which crossed the Cochin territory should be demolished; and it was also formally intimated that on his failure to comply with these demands his territory would be invaded by Tippu.

To the first of these proposals the Rajah replied that he acted under the advice of the English and would still be guided by it. With regard to the second, the Governor of Madras had already written to the Travancore Rajah to discontinue the charitable aid and protection afforded to the

Sultan's rebellious subjects, but the Rajah of Travancore out of moral grounds chose "the alternative of not disavowing and concealing a fact which he did not feel to be disgraceful". And with regard to the lines, the Rajah said that they were in existence long before Cochin became tributary to Mysore.

Tippu's attack on the lines—His defeat. Tippu not satisfied with these replies sent, on the 24th December 1789 A. D., another embassy with two caparisoned elephants ostensibly meant for taking the two Rajahs of Cochin and Travancore, and on the night between the 28th and 29th of December encamped at a place six miles distant northward from the main entrance to the lines. Leaving most of his forces to manœuvre at day-break in front of the principal gate, Tippu marched with 14,000 infantry and 500 pioneers by a roundabout way at 10 o'clock in the night being guided by a native of the country. Before day-break he found himself in possession of a large extent of the rampart on the right flank of the lines. His aim was to gain the gate about nine miles from the point of entrance, to open it to the division of his army placed to manœuvre in front of it and to place his whole force within the lines in one day. About 9 o'clock in the morning the Sultan had come three miles along the water in the inner side with his whole force without any opposition, and he at once commanded his pioneers to level down the rampart into the ditch which was there 16 feet wide and 20 deep and thus make a road for him to pass. This was found rather difficult and so he advanced along the rampart in one column, the Travancoreans retreating from successive towers until finally they made a stand in a small square enclosure within the works employed as a magazine, storehouse and barrack, and having drawn a small gun inside they poured grape upon the advancing Mysoreans. The Sultan at once issued orders to take the place at the point of the bayonet. But as they were advancing to execute this ill-advised order, a party of twenty Travancoreans at once poured in a heavy fire which killed the commanding officer and created a panic and inextricable chaos.

"The relieving corps awkwardly advancing along the same flank was met and checked by an impetuous mass of fugitives; the next corps caught the infection, the panic became general and the confusion irretrievable. The Sultaun himself was borne away in the crowd; the rear, now become the front, rushed into the intended road across the ditch, which had been no farther prepared than by cutting down the underwood, and throwing a part of the rampart on the berm; the foremost leaped or were forced into the ditch; and such was the pressure of the succeeding mass, that there was no alternative but to follow. The undermost, of course, were trampled to death; and in a short time the bodies, by which the ditch was nearly filled, enabled the remainder to pass over. The Sultaun was

precipitated with the rest, and was only saved by the exertions of some steady and active chelas, who raised him on their shoulders, and enabled him to ascend the counterscarp, after having twice fallen back in the attempt to clamber up; and the lameness, which occasionally continued until his death, was occasioned by the severe contusions he received on this occasion." *

He then made the best of his way out with very great difficulty and was soon carried in a *dhuli* unperceived to his tent. In an intense fit of rage and humiliation he swore that he would remain in that camp until he took what he described as 'this contemptible wall'.

According to the English despatches the ditch was said to have been filled with bales of cotton by the Mysoreans for the purpose of passing in and an accidental inflammation of the cotton made them seek another passage. Mr. Powney in his account written from Parur on the first of January 1790 states:—

"Tippu has met with a repulse from the Raja's troops. He breached a weak part of the lines and filled the ditch with bales of cotton and earth for his cavalry to enter. He made the attack with seven thousand men. They carried it and possessed the lines for three miles in extent, but reinforcements of the Raja's troops coming from the right and left, the enemy were hemmed in between two fires and were drven out with great slaughter. Near a thousand were left dead within the lines, some horses and prisoners were taken. Zemaul Beg, commander of a cussoom was killed, likewise another person of consequence; it is said to be a son of the late Meer Saib. The enemy as soon as he fell, cut off his head and carried it with them. About two hundred of the Raja's people were killed and wounded. By all accounts they behaved very gallantly. A Brahman of some consequance is among the prisoners; he says that Tippu was at the attack, and had a horse shot under him. We apprehend he is meditating some grand attack. Report says he has crossed the Chitwa river and is advancing along the sea-side with the intention of attacking Cranganore and Ayacotta. I think we shall be prepared for him at these places. He has certainly drawn off his army from the lines."

The account of bales of cotton having been used for the purpose of passing over the ditch is not corroborated by other accounts, though it is affirmed by all that the mass of bodies in the ditch were consumed by fire after the retreat, fuel being supposed to have been added for the purpose by the Travancoreans. Tippu's palanquin, his seals, rings and personal ornaments, sword &c., fell into the Dalawa's hands as trophies, which were duly forwarded to the Nawab of Arcot at his request. Several officers and men were taken prisoners; of the former five were Europeans and one a Mahratta.

Clarke, in his *Life of the Duke of Wellington*, gives the following brief account of Tippu's atrocities in the war of 1790:—

* Wilks' History of Mysore, Vol. II, Page 145.

"In the war of 1790, in particular, when he had ravaged the country of the Nayars on the Malabar Coast, it was computed that upwards of twenty thousand persons had suffered under his persecutions in the short space of about four months. The men who refused to submit to circumcision were hanged on the trees surrounding the villages and the women of the caste, the noblest in India, on refusing to adopt the Mahomedan custom of covering their bosoms, which they consider as a mark of degradation and slavery, had their breasts cut off and suffered many other insults and indignities. Shortly after this, he had nearly lost his life in an attack on the lines of Travancore where he was forced to leave his palanquin behind him, together with his pistols and a small signet or sealed ring which he usually wore, and which the editor of these sheets has seen, and so very small that the finger on which it was worn must have been delicate in the extreme."

The attitude of the Madras Government. The Government of Madras, who were apprised of the intended attack on Travancore, were still slow to act. In a letter dated 3rd January 1790, they "deprecated the policy of committing the honour of Government by taking part in the defence of places furtively obtained", and even went the length of criticising the arguments supporting the cause of Travancore. In another letter written to the Maharajah of Travancore even after the attack on the lines, Mr. Holland gave little hopes of assistance and support. Addressing the Madras Government about 15th January 1790, Tippu gave a singular account of his defeat. He antedated it fifteen days and stated that while his troops were employed in search of the fugitives, the Rajah's people fired and his troops retaliated and carried the lines, but that on the first intimation of the affair he ordered his troops to desist from the attack; and finally he requested the Governor to advise the Rajah to observe the treaty. In reply to this, Mr. Holland wrote to him proposing the appointment of commissioners for the adjustment of the points at issue. He even spoke to Lord Cornwallis on the occasion of his departure for England his own conviction of Tippu's amicable intentions.

We have already seen that Lord Cornwallis on the 13th of November 1789 transmitted for the guidance of the Madras Government a "broad and well-explained consideration of the serious consequences of war on the one hand and the fatal policy of a tame submission to insult or injury on the other with corresponding instructions which were certainly couched in terms sufficiently explicit". The news of the attack on the lines reached Calcutta on the 26th of January 1790 and Lord Cornwallis at once wrote to the Madras Government expressing his hope that war had already been declared against Tippu and declaring that he was determined to exact a full reparation from Tippu for the wanton and unprovoked violation of the treaty. The subsequent inaction of the Government of Mr. Holland

roused his anger to such an extent as to accuse them of "a most criminal disobedience of the clear and explicit orders of the Government dated the 29th of August and 13th of November, by not considering themselves to be at war with Tippu from the moment that they heard of his attack" on the Travancore lines.

Meanwhile the Maharajah had ordered the repair of the northern frontier and the concentration of all available troops. He attempted to supply by numbers what he wanted in skill and discipline. The Madras Government did not take any active measures until the beginning of March when General Meadows was appointed to succeed Mr. Holland. The Rajah of Travancore was in a very critical and helpless condition, an idea of which may be gathered from the following extract from one of the private letters of Sir Thomas Munro, then a subaltern in the Madras army (afterwards Governor of Madras):—

"A second attack is daily expected; and if the King is left alone, all his exertions against a power so superior can delay but for a short time his ruin. The English battalions were behind the lines, but not at the place attacked; and it is said that they have orders not to act, even on the defensive. If such be the case, the Rajah ought to dismiss them with scorn; for the present is the only moment in which the aid of such a handful of men can be effectual. The barrier once forced, orders for them to act will arrive too late. All their efforts will then avail but little against the numbers of their enemies, and will only serve to draw a heavier vengeance on themselves and the unfortunate Rajah." *

Tippu enters Travancore. The Maharajah requested the Madras Governor (Mr. Holland) to issue orders to the British contingent to co-operate with him in case of an attack from Tippu which was expected every moment. Aid was promised but not rendered. On the second of March Tippu again commenced hostilities by a skirmish outside the wall and on the sixth he ordered his artillery to work. The wall resisted the heavy fire of the artillery for nearly a month but at last yielded, a breach three quarter of a mile long having been effected. The Travancore army finding that resistance was useless retreated and the Mysoreans entered Travancore. The two battalions of the Company's sepoys remained passive spectators without giving any aid to the Travancore army on the plea that no orders had been issued to them to march. Tippu next appeared before Cranganore, his army being commanded by Lally. The garrison at Cranganore was defended by the Maharajah's troops under Captain Flory who however had to abandon the fort, resistance being useless. The fortifications were soon ordered to be demolished. The army of Tippu

* Gleig's Life of Sir Thomas Munro, Vol I. Page 93.

next marched against the fort of Kuriapalli, which also had to be abandoned soon, and thence to the interior. The plain country was a scene of merciless devastation and the inhabitants were hunted and sent in immense numbers to the usual fate of captivity and death.

The English declare war against Tippu. In the meantime war had been declared by the English against Tippu. On the 30th of March 1790 the following despatch was sent by Lord Cornwallis to the Madras Government:—

"So far am I from giving credit to the late Government for economy in not making the necessary preparations for war, according to the positive orders of the Supreme Government, after having received the most gross insults that could be offered to any nation, I think it very possible that every cash of that ill-judged saving, may cost the Company a crore of rupees: besides which, I still more sincerely lament the disgraceful sacrifice, which you have made by that delay, of the honor of your country, by tamely suffering an insolent and cruel enemy to overwhelm the dominions of the Raja of Travancore, which we were bound by the most sacred ties of friendship and good faith to defend."

While Tippu was carrying on his destructive warfare, a large force consisting of the 75th regiment, two battalions of sepoys and one company of artillery were sent under the command of Colonel Hartley with orders to co-operate with the Travancore army, but it arrived too late, however, to be of service in saving the lines.

Tippu retreats. About the 15th of April, the enemy were in possession of the lines near Ayacotta; 6,000 of his horsemen having opened assault on them, the Travancore army withstood it for some time but had soon to give way. The Travancore commanders had arranged that they should reassemble at Vypeen, but this arrangement was upset by the consternation of their sepoys who immediately retreated to the woods. Colonel Hartley's firm resolve to take post at Ayacotta encouraged the Rajah's troops. On the 8th of May the garrison stationed at Cranganore was removed to Ayacotta which was the only place not touched by Tippu. With the combined troops it was clear that Tippu could not effect any considerable forward movement into Travancore. Tippu then committed various atrocities in the districts of Parur and Alangad where he desecrated the Hindu and Christian places of worship and burned the houses of the rich and poor alike. After establishing his head-quarters at Trichur, he marched southward with his army to Alwaye when his progress was obstructed by natural causes. The monsoon having set in with unusual severity, his army suffered a great deal for want of proper shelter and all the ammunition and accoutrements became damaged. Many perished by disease. His position had became one of

danger and anxiety; the rivers were all full, the Cranganore bar rose high with a swift current going seawards and there were no means of communication except by boats. All this necessitated his return to his native country. Moreover the military preparations of the English assisted by the Nizam and the Mahrattas began to disturb his mind. Further a French officer named Macnamara who about this time touched this coast, while paying his respects to the Sultan by whom he was kindly received, repeatedly assured him of the formidable preparations that were being made by the English against Tippu. These quickened his departure from Travancore. He divided his army into two divisions and ordered one to march *via* Annamanadai and Chalakudi to Trichur and thence to Palghat, and the other *via* Cranganore and Chowghat to Palghat. But before finally leaving Travancore he ordered the complete demolition of the lines which was effected as a sort of public ceremony.

"The whole army off duty was regularly paraded without arms, and marched in divisions to the appointed stations; the Sultaun, placed on an eminence, set the example of striking the first stroke with a pick-axe; the ceremony was repeated by the courtiers and chiefs, the followers of every description, bankers, money-changers, shop-keepers and the mixed crowd of followers were all ordered to assist the soldiers, and the whole was razed to the ground in six days."*

Tippu thus left Malabar destined never to return again. He had in December 1789 calculated on possessing the whole of Travancore but even about May 1790 he had practically done nothing. He hoped that by conquering Travancore he would be able to invade the southern provinces simultaneously from Travancore, Dindigal and Karur, before the English could be assembled against him, or if they should become humble and obedient, he would have the alternative of consolidating his power in Travancore before he could proceed further. As we have seen he was disappointed in both of these hopes.

Treaty of Seringapatam. The war with Tippu lasted till February 1792. Tippu had at last to yield at Seringapatam where he was opposed by the united army of the English, the Mahrattas and the Nizam. Tippu sued for peace and promised to cede one half of his dominions to the Company, among which he included the districts of Alangad, Parur and Kunnatnad. But Tippu had no right to include these in his dominions, as since 1755 they belonged to the Rajah of Travancore having been ceded to him by the Rajah of Cochin in that year. The Maharajah represented the whole matter to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, who wrote:—"With respect to the talooks of Alangaud, Para-

* Wilks' History of Mysore, Vol. II. Page 155.

voor and Kunnathnaud, the justice of the cession of them to the Company must be decided by the period of the commencement of the war, when if they were in the possession the Rajah of Travancore by whatever means and more especially if it shall appear that the Rajah of Travancore had acquired these districts from the Rajah of Cochin before the latter became tributary to Hydery Sircar, it would be an act of great injustice on the part of the Company to deprive him of them."

After considerable correspondence on the subject two Commissioners (Messrs. Page and Boddam) were appointed specially to enquire into the facts and report. Dewan Kesava Pillai was present at the enquiry. The Commissioners gave their verdict in favour of Travancore, declaring that Tippu had no right to include the territories in question in his dominions. The Rajah of Cochin next claimed the Taluqs for himself, but as his claims were also found untenable, Travancore was put in possession of the tract.

Settlement of Malabar. We have already referred to the fact that owing to the anarchy caused by Tippu's followers many nobles and chiefs of Malabar took shelter in Travancore and were very hospitably treated there. The Travancore Government expended a very large sum of money in providing them with necessaries. In May 1791, General Meadows, the Governor of Madras, requested the Rajah of Travancore to prevail on the Malabar chiefs to join the English against Tippu Sultan and subsequently the Travancore Rajah was vested with the authority of restoring the various Malabar principalities to their respective Princes and Chiefs. The Maharajah delegated his authority to Dewan Kesava Pillai who, after carefully investigating the claims of the Princes, reinstated them all in their respective territories. He also made an arrangement with the Chiefs and nobles by which they were required to supply the British and Travancore commissariat departments with grain. Among the Princes that took shelter in Travancore at the time were the Zamorin of Calicut, the Rajahs of Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Vettattnad, Beypore, Tanniore, Palghat and the Chiefs of Koulaparay, Corengotte, Chowghat, Edattara and Mannur.

The expenses of the war. The success of the British arms and the conclusion of peace with Tippu afforded immense satisfaction to the Maharajah who now hoped to have a peaceful rule during the rest of his life. But this was not to be. The English Company now demanded of the Maharajah the defrayal of the whole expenses of the war, which, they alleged, was waged to secure the interests of Travancore. We have seen that according to the agreement of 1788 the Company expressly declared

that if an additional force were to be utilised in the Travancore frontier other than the two companies which were placed there and whose maintenance charges were to be met by Travancore, it should be maintained at the Company's cost. Such an exorbitant demand in violation of a clearly expressed treaty, and especially at this time when the finances were in a low condition, was received by the Maharajah with feelings of deep distress and anxiety. But Kesava Pillai advised the Maharajah to yield at once to the demands of the Supreme Power and managed to send seven lacs of rupees by several instalments. Sir Charles Oakley, the new Governor of Madras, was not satisfied with this and at once wrote a very vehement letter to the Maharajah urging upon him to pay the whole expenses of the war by yearly instalments of ten lacs, and this exclusive of the charges of the Travancore troops engaged along with the armies of the Company. The Maharajah in consultation with his Dewan again sent seven lacs to the Madras Government requesting them to free him from any further payments. On the Governor again pressing him for payment of the balance, the Maharajah sent a full representation to Lord Cornwallis who decided in favour of the Maharajah relieving him from further payments on that account.

The Treaty of 1795. Now that the war had been brought to a close, the services of the Company's battalions stationed at Ayacotta were no longer necessary and the Maharajah wrote to the Madras Government about their withdrawal. The latter however with the object of strengthening treaty stipulations with Travancore, observed that as the forces maintained by the Company were intended to safeguard the interests of their allies also, it was only just and proper that a part of their charges should be met by the allies. The Governor therefore proposed that the contribution be limited to the precise sum agreed upon in 1788 viz., 42,768 Star pagodas per annum.

In September 1793 the Rajah applied to the Supreme Government to have a permanent Treaty concluded for the defence of his country against foreign enemies. On the 17th November 1795, a Treaty of perpetual alliance was concluded between the Honourable English East India Company and the Rajah of Travancore of which the following were the terms:—

"Article 1. Before the breaking out of the last war between the Honourable Company and Tippoo Sultan, the three talooks of Paroor, Alumgar, and Koonatnaar, made part of the Rajah of Travancore's country, and having by the said Sultan been included in his cessions to the Honourable Company by the

Treaty of Peace of the 18th of March 1792, the said Company do, in view to their ancient friendship with and the plea of right preferred by the Rajah of Travancore, renounce every claim that they may have to the talooks in question, and all the said three talooks are accordingly left on the former footing as part of the said Rajah's country.

"2. If any power or States, near or remote, by sea or land, shall, without aggression on the part of the Rajah of Travancore, attempt or begin hostility and war upon the country of the said Rajah or of his successors; under such circumstances, the expulsion of, and the protection of the country against, such enemies rest with the Company's Government.

"3. In consideration of the stipulation in the second Article, the Rajah of Travancore doth engage for himself and his successors to pay annually at Anjengo, both in peace and war, a sum equivalent to the expense of three of the Honourable Company's battalions of sepoys, together with a company of European artillery and two companies of Lascars.

"4. The Company stipulate that this force of infantry and artillery shall, if the Rajah desire it, always be stationed in his country, or on the frontiers near it, or in any other part within the Company's possessions where he shall prefer; and that they shall always be in readiness: and in respect to such requisitions as the Rajah and his successors may have occasion to address to the officer in command of these troops, to proceed to act against foreign enemies who shall have invaded the said Rajah's country, it is proper that such commanding officer stand previously furnished with instructions from the Government of that Presidency whence he shall have been detached; or otherwise, he is immediately on such requisition to procure instructions and the sanction of his said superiors for repelling such invasion; but in the event of the Rajah's country being so unexpectedly invaded by an enemy, that the urgency of the danger or attack from without shall not admit of deferring the necessary operations till the orders of the Government of such Presidency can be received, the commanding officer is, under such circumstances, to apply immediately and without objection the force under his command to the defence and protection of the Rajah and his successors; and should it so happen that the aforesaid force and the Rajah's own army be at any time found unequal to cope with and defend the country against the superior force of the enemy, the expense of such further troops as it may be necessary and requisite for the Company to furnish in such instances, is to be altogether at the said Company's cost; nor shall their Government in any wise object to furnish such additional force, the expense of which shall in no respect be chargeable on the Rajah or his successors; nor shall the Company ever apply for or demand any sum on that account, nor possess any plea or claim to make any further requisition for pecuniary aid from the Rajah or his successors, by reason of any warfare or hostility that may hereafter eventually occur.

"5. As the Company do only engage to defend and protect the country dependent in the Rajah of Travancore against unprovoked attacks; it is therefore to be clearly and distinctly understood between the parties that the Rajahs, present and future, are not to commit any hostile aggression towards any other State whether Indian or European; and in the event of the Rajah or his successors having any disputes of a political nature or tendency, it is necessary that the same shall be transmitted by the latter to the Honourable Company's Government, who will determine thereon according to justice and policy and mutual concert.

"6. The reigning Rajah of Travancore for the time being shall not keep in his service, in any civil or military capacity, nor allow to remain within his dominions as merchants, or under any other plea or pretext, the subjects or citizens of any nation being at war with Great Britain or with the East India Company; nor under any circumstances of peace or war allow any European nation to obtain settlements (i. e., territory or places under his own authority) within the same, nor enter into any new engagements with any European or Indian States without the previous concurrence of the British Governments in India.

"7. When the Company shall require of the Rajah of Travancore any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry and cavalry, exclusive of the native Nayrs of his country, which succours thus furnishable by the Rajah, as far as shall be consistent with the safety of his own country, shall be liable to be employed as far by the Company's Government on either side of the Peninsula as to Madura and Calicut; and to be, during such service, at the Company's expense and under their orders.

"8. That the pepper contract with the Company shall continue in perpetuity, liable, however, after the expiration of the period of the existing contract, to such modifications as to price, period, or quantity, as may, from time to time, be agreed upon between the parties.

"9. The Company engage not to impede in any wise the course of the rule or of administration of the Rajah of Travancore's Government; nor at all to possess themselves or enter upon any part of what regards the management of the present Rajah's or his successor's country. At the same time it is provided that all the former agreements between the Honourable Company and the Rajahs of Travancore, relative to the settlements of Anjengo and Eddowa or Erawa, and to the Company's privileges in respect to trade throughout the Rajah's dominions, remain in full force, according to the practice hitherto; and as otherwise the object of this Treaty is principally to provide for the purposes of external defence, it bears therefore no reference whatever to the Rajah's situation as a tributary to the Carnatic, concerning which the Rajah of Travancore doth in the sincerity of his heart, of his own accord, acknowledge and declare that in the line of his former fealty, as from of old established, towards the Circar of the soubah of Arcot, there shall never occur any difference or deviation.

"10. All unsettled claims of a pecuniary nature which the contracting parties may have had upon each other, relative to warlike expenses, up to the period of the conclusion of the Treaty of peace with Tippoo Sultan, under date the 18th of March 1792, shall be cancelled and declared null and void.

"11. The Company engage that none of the Rajahs of Malabar under their jurisdiction shall be allowed to commit excesses in the country, or to encroach on the rights of the Rajah of Travancore or of his successors; and both the contracting parties engage not to give shelter to the rebels, whosoever they may be, of either of the two States within the country of Malabar; but on the contrary to seize on and mutually to deliver up such persons.

"12. On the commercial vessels of the said Rajah's frequenting any of the ports in India appertaining to the Honourable Company, they shall obtain every requisite assistance and supply on paying for the same; and in like manner the Honourable Company's ships shall experience the like assistance and supply in the ports and roads of his country."

This Treaty was slightly amended in 1797 thus:—

"Whereas, in the 7th Article of the above Treaty, the following words occur, 'which succours thus furnishable by the Rajah, as far as shall be consistent with the safety of his own country, shall be liable to be employed as far by the Company's Government on either side of the Peninsula as to Madura and Calicut', and these terms being deemed not sufficiently expressive of the intentions of the contracting parties; they hereby mutually agree that the words 'and the boundary of the Cavae' be added immediately after the word 'Calicut', and that accordingly the said Article stand as follows:

"Article 7. When the Company shall require of the Rajah of Travancore any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry, and cavalry, exclusive of the native Nayrs of his country, which succours thus furnishable by the Rajah, as far as shall be consistent with the safety of his own country, shall be liable to be employed as far by the Company's Government on either side of the Peninsula as to Madura and Calicut and the boundary of the Cavae, and to be during such service at the Company's expense and under their orders.

"The above treaty having been transmitted to the Honourable Court of Directors for the affairs of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies for their confirmation, agreeable to the stipulation therein contained, and the Honourable Court having expressed their assent to the several Articles of the said Treaty, including the amended Article subjoined to the original Articles, the said Treaty is hereby ratified by me and my signature, at Trevandrum in the country of Travancore, this 21st day of the month of July, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven of the Christian era, or the nineth day of the month Aru in the year nine hundred and twenty-two Malabar style." *

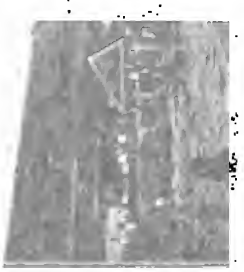
Internal reforms. Dewan Kesava Pillai now turned his attention to the internal reforms of the country. His first and foremost object was to raise the commercial importance of the country. For this purpose he visited all the sea-coast towns from Cape Comorin to the north and resolved to open two new ports, one at Alleppey and the other at Vizhinjam. Alleppey was then a mere jungle inhabited by jackals and monkeys. Within a short time, it was converted into a port town, and a warehouse and a few shops were opened. Merchants were brought from various places especially from the rich provinces of Sindh and Cutch and they were given every facility for carrying on a successful trade. To make their stay permanent, a Hindu temple and a Cutchery were built in addition to a palace for the Maharajah to stay in whenever he should visit the new town. Some of the rich and influential merchants of the present day in Alleppey are the descendants of these settlers. To make the place a centre of commerce a timber depot was opened and one Mathu Tarakan, a rich native Christian, was given the contract to collect all the timber of North

* Aitchison's Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, Vol. V. Page 310.

Padmanabhaswamy's Temple, Trivandrum.

M. E. PRESS.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.



Travancore and store it in the depot for sale. The Sirkar agents, known as *Vickarippukars*, stationed in the different forests of the State were ordered to collect the hill produce such as cardamoms, honey, wax, ivory &c., and forward them to this new port thereby laying the foundation for an efficient forest conservancy. Three ships were built at State cost to carry on trade with other parts of India, especially with Bombay and Calcutta. To extend and facilitate communication from the backwater to the new port, several canals and roads were constructed. The backwater as far as the Pallathurithy river was deepened and cocoanut trees were planted on either side of it. For the purpose of increasing traffic, the ports of Colachel and Puntora were improved and a warehouse and a spacious bangalow built. Many fishermen were brought in and were induced to stay there. Vizhinjam was converted into a small port and a warehouse was opened here. After making all these improvements which brought to the treasury a large income, Kesava Pillai turned his attention to Trivandrum, the capital of the State. The main road leading from the Eastern Fort gate to Karamana was repaired and widened and bazaars and shops were built on both sides of the road. This is the present Chalai Bazaar of Trivandrum. A bridge over the Killiyar and another over the Karamana were constructed. A good number of weavers, dyers, painters &c.,' were brought from Tinnevelly and Madura and were made to settle at Kottar which was thus made the centre of cloth trade. Many opulent merchants very soon sprang up and even now the 'Kottar Chetties' are proverbial for their wealth and industry.

The old fortifications were improved and a few new ones were added. A fresh impetus was given to the warlike-store manufactory of Udayagiri, where guns, shots &c., were manufactured with greater speed and vigour. All the temples throughout the State, especially the one at Trivandrum, were improved. The tower of the Trivandrum pagoda which was begun by Dalawa Rama Iyen was completed. The flagstaff was repaired and gilded; big brass lamps called *Dipastambham* and small copper ones also were made for the temple.

Several new coins were minted, chief among them being the gold coins of *Anantarayanpanam*, *Chinnappanam* and *Anantavarahan* and the the silver chuckrams.

The five custom houses on the banks of the northern backwaters were abolished. A new tax called *Nilavari* was imposed on all Sirkar *pattom* lands. For the proper administration of the State, the *Satta-*

variola or a collection of rules and laws was framed for the guidance of the various Sirkar officials. The following are a few specimen provisions of the same :—

"Section 14.—Provisions for the religious ceremonies and other wants of the Sirkar shall be purchased from the inhabitants on payment of ready cash, and the established hire shall also be paid for carrying the provisions to the place where such are required; but in failure of immediate payment the officer who conducts the transaction shall be made to pay the value with 50 per cent interest and after paying the ryot, the surplus shall be credited to the Sirkar as a fine for the neglect.

"17-19.—Strict attention shall be paid to the charitable supply of water mixed with butter-milk to the weary travellers on the road and the public inns, where this water is supplied, shall be thatched and kept always clean. Payment for the butter-milk for this purpose shall be made daily and the pay of the person employed in giving water, shall be paid punctually in every month.

" 21.—The officials of every village shall inspect at every season all such lands as have suffered injury by the breaches of banks of tanks, canals &c., and by any accumulation of sand and thus rendered unfit for immediate cultivation. The servants shall exert themselves in having such obstructions removed through the owners in all ordinary cases or cause the same to be removed by the owners of the adjacent lands conjointly; but if such works are found too expensive, the same shall be done at the Sirkar expense and the land in question made cultivable at once without allowing the same to be laid waste for any time.

"31-35.— Every dispute between ryots concerning landed property shall be settled by the decision of four men of the village, (in the form of a Punchayat) through the Proverticar; if that officer does not settle the case immediately, he shall be summoned before the district cutcherry and an adequate fine imposed upon him and the case enquired into by thadasthers (jury) formed of the inhabitants of the village where the disputed property is situated and in the presence of the district officer. The parties shall be then made to pay each one fanam as a vow to Padmanabha Swamy, and when the case is so decided by the thadasthers (jurors), the party gaining the case shall be required to pay a fee at the rate of ten per cent on the amount of his suit; and the contra-party who loses the the case shall be required to pay a fee of five per cent.

"44.— The district officials shall not apply fetters, chains, and manacles to those ryots who are found entangled in any criminal charge.

"52-55.— When petitioners appear before the district cutcherry, with their complaints, their cases shall be decided reasonably so as to be concurred in by public opinion; but no petitioner shall be detained to his inconvenience and put to expense for feeding himself, pending the settlement of his case; that such cases as could be decided soon shall be settled then and there, and the parties dismissed. But such cases as would require time to settle shall be decided within eight days, and if any petitioner is detained before the district cutcherry beyond eight days, he shall be fed at the expense of the district officer.

"57-58.— When a female petitioner comes before the district cutcherry, her complaint shall be heard and settled at once and on no account shall a female be detained for a night.

"59.— That not one of the subjects (ryots) shall be oppressed, by placing him in restraint, without allowing him even to attend the calls of nature, or

making him stand within a given line in a stooping posture, putting a stone on his back or keeping him in water or under the burning sun or confining him under starvation, neither shall he be subjected to any sort of disgrace.

"83.— The measures by which the ryots are required to give paddy to the Sircar in part-payment of the land tax, shall be annually examined by the district officer and the ryot himself will be allowed to put the paddy into the measures at a fixed height, and the measurement shall be made by clearing the bridge of the parah." *

Rajah Kesava Das. In recognition of the meritorious services which Dewan Kesava Pillai rendered to his country, His Highness the Maharajah granted to him a *jaghir*, which he declined with characteristic modesty saying that the generosity of His Highness had left him no want of any kind. In those days the Dewan had no fixed pay but took from the treasury what was required for actual expenditure. It was long after that the Dewan's pay was fixed at Rs. 2,000 a month, which sum represented the average of such actual expenses.

The Governor-General, Lord Mornington, had a very high opinion of Dewan Kesava Pillai, and in recognition of his ability and prudence and firm attachment to the East India Company, he was conferred the title of "Rajah Kesava Das"—an honour which the Maharajah and his subjects alike appreciated. The Travancoreans called him *Valia Dewanjee* (the great Dewan), a name by which he is still gratefully remembered by the people. He was a man of talent and foresight and great powers of organisation. He was a peace minister but energetic in war. He consolidated what Rama Iyen Dalawa had conquered, and it was in no small measure due to his method and determination and personal devotion to his sovereign and his country that the war against Tippu was so satisfactorily closed. His name stands out in bold relief as a bright page in Travancore history, serving as an object-lesson that a loyal and whole-hearted minister can be not only a valuable counsellor and collaborateur to his native sovereign but a boon and a blessing as well to his numerous population. Dewan Kesava Das is a name to conjure with in the mind of the true Travancorean and survives to this day as an inspiring example to successive generations of his countrymen.

Demise of the Maharajah. After a memorable reign of forty years unprecedented in the annals of Travancore, His Highness closed his earthly career on Wednesday the 6th Kumbham 973 M. E., corresponding to 17th February 1798 A. D., on the Hindu holy day *Sivarathri* at the advanced age of seventy-four leaving behind him only one male member. his

* History of Travancore. Page 282.

nephew, as the sole heir to his throne. The *Sivarathri* was not a good day for a Hindu to die in and the Maharajah, it is said, told his doctor and attendants on his death-bed: "Yes I know that to-day is *Chaturdasi*, but it is unavoidable considering the sins of war I have committed with Rama Iyen, when we both conquered and annexed several petty States to Travancore. Going to hell is unavoidable under the circumstances. I can never forget the horrors to which we have been parties during those wars. How then do you expect me to die on a better day than *Chaturdasi*? May God forgive me all my sins". With these words on his lips passed away the great Rama Varma, commonly known as Rama Rajah, *Dharma Rajah*—the just king, or *Kilavan Rajah*—the old king. He was the Augustus of Travancore as his uncle Martanda Varma was its Julius Cæsar.

The Honourable East India Company and the Nawab of the Carnatic treated the Maharajah with great regard and esteem and the latter gave him the title of "Manney Sultan Maharaja Raja Rama Raja Bahadur Shamsher Jang". Rama Varma was the first Maharajah who used the following honorific titles appertaining to the Sovereign to this day viz., "Sri Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Pala Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manney Sultan Maharaja Raja Rama Raja Bahadur Shamsher Jang". The Hindu pilgrims who happened to pass through His Highness' dominions used to exclaim with delight and joy, "Jaya Rama Rajah, Jaya Dharma Rajah"—a feeling still exhibited by the thousands of Gosayi travellers as soon as they enter the confines of Travancore.

From his boyhood the Maharajah received under his uncle's direction a thorough training as a soldier and statesman in view to fit him for the high position he was destined to occupy. He possessed extraordinary talents and took a genuine interest in the work of administration. He was kind and sympathetic but firm and resolute as well. "His wisdom, moderation and benevolence were universally acknowledged", and his "humanity, compassion and hospitality are the theme of traditional praise to this day". He was a keen observer of men and things and possessed a calm judgment.

Among the many stories still current of his sagacity and circumspection, one may be given here as illustrating his acuteness of observation. Tippu had sent two Brahmin emissaries to Trivandrum to study the topography of Sri Padmanabha's temple and supply him with accurate information of its resisting power and buried treasure of which he had heard such fabulous accounts; for it had been his life-long ambition

to conquer Travancore and spoliate the great temple of Trivandrum of its ancient sanctity and hoarded wealth. The Brahmins came, entered the temple, of course without let or hindrance according to the time-honoured birthright of every Brahmin, and squatted in one of the corner *mantapams* there for weeks—daily chanting the Vedic hymns at the morning hours when the Maharajah passed to the temple for worship. Thus managing to avoid all suspicion on themselves or their intents, they closely studied His Highness' movements and those of the guards placed over the temple, as well as the different apartments and cellars where the gold and silver and coin of the temple were secreted. In due course they were announced as great pandits of the east coast (the fact that they were Mysoreans being carefully concealed) and were admitted into the Royal presence to receive their presents before dismissal. It must be noted that all Vedic scholars and pandits visiting Trivandrum are admitted to the Maharajah only in this wise—a custom continuing to this day. The Maharajah gave them rich presents as became their worth and learning, and against all custom which on such occasions is one of strict silence, he accosted them thus:—"How is the Maharajah Tippu Sultan doing? Please convey my respectful compliments to him when you next stand in his Royal presence." This unexpected enquiry quite upset the poor Brahmins who were thunderstruck and finding that their whole plans were discovered, made a clean breast of it and begged of the Maharajah for a free pardon and protection. The Maharajah comforted them saying, "I will do you no harm but will see you go unmolested until you pass the confines of Travancore". The Brahmins thanked and blessed the Maharajah and swore not to go back to Mysore nor acquaint the Sultan of the condition of the Trivandrum fort or temple to study which they had been sent. The Brahmin emissaries gave up their Mysore homes and went away as voluntary exiles into the Pandy country, where they spent the remainder of their lives in want and obscurity but true to their plighted word.

Another such interesting story was related to me by an old servant of the house of a Sudra *Stanika* of Padmanabha's temple where some years ago I halted for a few days in one of my official circuits. The Maharajah believed that this *Stanika* gave secret information of the temple treasures to Tippu's officers, and in grateful appreciation of that help they spared his house from the general conflagration which they had caused to the whole village. The Maharajah now and again used to taunt the *Stanika* with this circumstance saying, "It is a very lucky thing indeed that your house was spared by Tippu's officers while the

whole village was burnt down by them". On one occasion the poor *Stanika* replied, "If Your Highness really believe that I owe it to their help, I shall go home and set fire to my house with a *chuttu* (cocoanut-cadjan torch)". His Highness replied, "No, no, that you should never do, and if you did it now how will that affect the question?" And the old servant told me that this was a sore point with his master all his life. The present head of this family was with me when the servant related the story. For all the closing years of the Maharajah's life this Tippu's invasion was his bugbear, as it left a deep impression on his mind and clouded his otherwise happy and successful reign, as I could well understand it from a Brahmin informant of mine who, himself sixty-five years old now, has heard it from his own father's lips that the Maharajah went into deep prayer and penance when Tippu had crossed the northern ramparts and had encamped on this side of Alwaye with a determination to march upon Trivandrum and tie his horse to the goldon flagstaff of Padmanabha's temple. My Brahmin informant's father was himself a young man then when he took part in the daily *Sahasranama-japam** in the temple carried out under the Maharajah's personal directions.

When Dewan Kesava Das told him that nearly all was lost and that he himself would fight Tippu so long as there was life in him, the Maharajah said, "Yes, go and fight to the last. As for me I do not wish to live as a prisoner in Tippu's hands. If God gives me up at this crisis I prefer to die. Let His will be done." The whole population was deeply moved and pious Brahmins who lived on the bounty of the Maharajah's hospitality and charity devoutly prayed for his safety, some of the aged among them observing, "What is all this anxiety for! The Maharajah forgets that Tippu would run back for the safety of his own kingdom faster than His Highness' troops could overtake him". And so it came to pass. Tippu ran for his life. And the present writer does not wish to realise for himself or for his readers how different would have been the fate of Travancore to-day if the country had fallen into Tippu's hands.

Sir Madava Row's review of the reign. In reviewing the reign of this illustrious Maharajah, Rajah Sir T. Madava Row writes thus in his fragment of Travancore history:—

"It was during the reign we are bringing to a close that the countries conquered by Travancore and composing this State as it now is, were fully and

* This *japam* consists in reciting the thousand names of Vishnu and is undertaken to obviate impending evils.

satisfactorily settled. Peace and order were completely established. The deposed Chiefs quietly acquiesced in honourable retirement, and the new subjects of the Maharajah found themselves in the enjoyment of blessings to which they had long been strangers. The wisdom, the moderation, the benevolence of the ruler of Travancore were universally felt and acknowledged. Englishmen too proud to stoop to adulation, called him 'the father of his people'.

"The financial system of the country, however cannot be said to have been improved during this reign. Liberal reforms were indeed not possible at a period when there were the most exacting demands upon the treasury. Monopolies were multiplied till almost every important article of trade was engrossed by the system. Pepper, cardamons, ginger, cinnamom, areca-nuts, turmeric, salt, coppra, coir, tobacco, cotton, teak, blackwood and numerous other staples were bought and sold by the Sircar in view to benefit the public revenues. Of these pepper yielded considerable profits as it used to sell at 140 rupees per candy and was much in demand for European markets. The cultivation of this spice was thereupon artificially stimulated beyond legitimate bounds, as proved by the circumstance that when the pressure of the monopoly was removed, the cultivation manifested a perceptible diminution. The trammels placed on the trade of the country by means of monopolies and transit duties would have proved fatal to commercial prosperity, had it not been that this evil was considerably compensated by the extreme lightness of the land-tax which greatly favoured protection.

"Though the public revenues were thus augmented, they proved quite inadequate to meet the demands arising out of the war with Tippu. The Maharajah was thus constrained to have recourse to a special war-tax. It was assessed exclusively on landed properties and limited to one year. The State imperatively required funds, and the Maharajah therefore imposed a heavy tax for a short period in preference to a light one for a long period. Indeed, the tax was one on capital and not on income. Though it might have been, in some cases, oppressive in its incidence, it had the advantage that it was demanded in the presence of the danger to which the country was exposed, and that its odium rapidly passed away. It had the further advantage that it could not be evaded, in as much as the general survey and assessment of landed properties, instituted in 948 by the Maharajah's orders, had disclosed to the State the individual possessions of all holders. It is also to be noted that all descriptions of land without respect to tenure came under this extraordinary impost, which in the aggregate is said to have yielded about one million and seven hundred thousand rupees.

"But even extraordinary taxation failed to yield adequate means to answer the incessant call for funds. The Maharajah felt that he could not, without exciting dangerous discontent among his subjects, increase their burdens, and he saw no alternative but that of raising loans. Funds were indeed thus obtained to meet the pressing exigencies of the State, but the obligations incurred inevitably led to difficulties of the gravest character, difficulties which embittered the closing years of the Maharajah and culminated in a perilous crisis in the reign of his successor. ... ...

"The deceased Maharajah may unhesitatingly be pronounced a Prince who approached nearest to the Hindu ideal of a good king. ... ...

"Judged even by the standard of modern times, the Maharajah must be allowed a high place in the catalogue of beneficent rulers. He was in every sense the model of a mild Hindu, amicable, urbane, just, and generous. His humanity, compassion and hospitality are the theme of traditionary praise to this

day. As a sovereign, he was remarkably truthful, straightforward and faithful to engagements. Blessed with a cool and calculating judgment, wisdom and prudence characterised the tenor of his long career, and as a consequence (to use the words of a native courtier of the time), dangers and difficulties which came like mountains passed away like mists. Extravagance and wasteful dissipation, the curse of oriental monarchs, the Maharajah can never be charged with. On the contrary, he carefully husbanded the public resources and prudently restrained his personal expenditure. His conciliatory disposition was conspicuous throughout his blameless life. No one met him but carried away the most favourable impressions of his virtues and good nature. Fra Paolino de San Bartolomeo who sought and obtained the honour of an audience says:—'For my part I could not help admiring the goodness of heart, affability and humanity of this Prince as well as the simplicity of his household establishment and way of life.'

"The English Commissioners appointed to settle the affairs of Malabar in 1792, and who also made the personal acquaintance of the Maharajah add their testimony by recording that, 'We own he left a very favourable impression on our minds, both as to his personal good qualities; and what we consider as the unequivocal sincerity of his attachment to the Honourable Company'. His memory is justly revered for the rare solicitude he felt and manifested for the welfare of his subjects. In his reign, to quote again the words of Bartolomeo, 'Public security is restored throughout the whole country; robbery and murder are no longer heard of; no one has occasion to be afraid of the highways; religious worship is never interrupted; the people may rest assured that, on every occasion, justice will be speedily administered'."

To the above may be added the following account of Fra Bartolomeo regarding the Maharajah and his administration, founded upon close personal knowledge:—

"The military forces of the present king of Travancore consist of 50,000 men, disciplined according to the European manner; and 100,000 Malabar *Nayris* and *Cegos*, armed with bows and arrows, spears, swords, and battle-axes. He keeps two *Valia Sarvadicariacarer*, the *Valakemugham* and the *Tekmugham*, one of whom is established in the north and the other in the south. Each of these has under him four officers, called only *Sarvadicariacarer*. These have inspection over four subalterns or *Cariacarer*; and these subalterns have under them *Pravarticarer*, *Ciandracarer*, and *Torracarer*; or collectors of the taxes, overseers and judges. The troops are always marching up and down through the country to change their cantonments, to enforce the collection of the taxes, and to preserve peace and tranquillity. Public security is restored throughout the whole country; robbery and murder are no longer heard of; no one has occasion to be afraid on the highways; religious worship is never interrupted; and people may rest assured, that on every occasion justice will be speedily administered. The present king has caused several canals to be constructed, in order to unite different rivers with each other and with the sea. By his desire also a very beautiful road has been completed between Cape Comari, and *Cudungalur*; so that in the course of twenty-four hours he can be informed of every thing that takes place throughout his whole kingdom. After deducting the expenses of Government, his yearly income may amount to half a million of rupees, arising from trade, duties, and various kinds of fines. One half of this revenue is deposited in the royal treasury and never touched but in cases of the utmost necessity. The king, as well as all the other Pagan Indians, the chief even not excepted, live according to the manner of the Pythagoreans, and use no other food than rice,

milk, fruit and herbs. He generally wears a turban of dark blue silk; a long white robe, fastened at the breast with a string of diamonds; long wide drawers of red silk; and shoes, the points of which are bent backwards like those of the Chinese. A sabre is suspended from his shoulders; and in the blue girdle round his loins is stuck a poniard or Persian dagger, which can be used either for attack or defence. When he shews himself to the people in full state, he is attended by 5,000 or 6,000 men, together with a great number of palanquins and elephants. At the head of the procession is a band of musicians, and two court-poets, who celebrate in songs his great achievements. He is borne in a palanquin; and the principal gentlemen of his court must walk on each side of it. In my time he was very much attached to the Catholic missionaries. As often as he passed by the parsonage house at Angenga, where I resided two years, he always sent two of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber to enquire after my health.

"This sovereign had two powerful enemies: one in the north, Tippoo Sultan, now prince of *Maissur* and *Concam*; and another in the south-east, the prince of *Arrucate*, Mahomed Aly Khan, of whom I have already spoken in the preceding chapter. The latter has it in his power to make an attack, by *Tovala*, one of the fortresses which lie near Cape Comari, towards the east; and the former can attempt the same thing in the district of *Palacaticeri*, the last city in the kingdom of *Concam*, towards the west. Through a dread of these two dangerous neighbours, the king of Travancore found himself obliged to conclude a treaty of alliance with the English, and to make a common cause with them both in peace and war. As long as he enjoys the friendship of these allies, from whom he purchases freedom and security at a sufficiently dear rate, and as long as he pays regularly what is due on that account, his dominions will be protected and defended; but if ever a quarrel should arise between him and the Governor of Madras, he is one of the first Indian princes that will fall a sacrifice. The annual tribute which he is obliged to pay to the English, amounts to half a lack of rupees, or 25,000 Roman scudi. In the time of war he must supply them, over and above, with horses, cannon, soldiers, and rice. He is an affable, polite, contented, prudent, and friendly man. On account of the integrity of his character, and his many good moral qualities, it is the more to be lamented that he is so zealously attached to idolatry, and is so much blinded as not to perceive the value of the Christian religion. It cannot, however, be denied, that nothing tends so much to rivet the affection of subjects, as when the sovereign adheres to the established religion, and worships the deity in the same manner as his people. *Rama Varmer* never omits being present at the ceremonies and devotional exercises of the Pagans."*

Summary. The forty years' reign of Rama Varma was one of the brightest epochs in Travancore history and a most eventful one too. No other ruler lived so long as to entitle him to be called the 'Kilavan Rajah' (aged king), by which name he is still known among the common people. He died at the advanced age of seventy-four. The troubles of his uncle's reign distracted by the ceaseless wars and feuds of the Tampis and the Ettuvittil Pillamars, in all of which Rama Varma of course took part as heir to the throne, had hardened his constitution and fitted him the better to endure the wear and tear during the long years of his own rule, clouded as it was by external troubles and worried by a wasteful expenditure and

* A Voyage to the East Indies. Page 176.

an insufficient revenue within. To add to his troubles his gifted General, De Lannoy, who had contributed so much to the success of his arms and the aggrandizement of his territories and who, had he been spared, would have so well baffled all external foes like Hyder and Tippu, died at this juncture to the detriment of the State and to his own mortification. It was in Rama Varma's time that the English appearing first as a commercial firm seeking aid in furtherance of their trade, then as allies and friends proffering counsel and advice, finally erected themselves into a political power commanding great influence in the courts of South India and the sovereign of Travancore naturally therefore attached himself to them. The Treaty of Mavelikara (1752 A. D.) had given a death-blow to the power and influence of the Dutch in Malabar. The only other potentates with whom Travancore had to deal in the beginning of this reign were the Rajah of Cochin and the Zamorin of Calicut, the latter of whom was the more powerful of the two and had considerably extended his dominions at the expense of his rival, the Rajah of Cochin. Afraid of further encroachment on his territories, the Rajah of Cochin sought the help of Travancore to overthrow the Zamorin's power. This was easily done and Travancore secured from Cochin the Taluqs of Alangad and Parur in return for its aid and all the three powers were thus cemented together by ties of mutual alliance. But fresh troubles arose for Travancore. The prospect of securing the twelve districts round Calacaud which had long remained under Travancore but which had been wrested away from him induced the Rajah of Travancore to assist the Nawab of Arcot in putting down the power of Maphuze Khan, a Viceroy of Nizam Ali, who rose in revolt against his master. After having been put in possession of the said districts, the Nawab, however, refused to recognise their cession to Travancore but demanded the withdrawal of the Travancore troops from them. This the Rajah did with much chagrin but complained bitterly of it to the East India Company and requested them to intercede on his behalf. After some correspondence the Company brought about a compromise which was far from honourable to the Rajah of Travancore, as he had to recognise the suzerainty of the Nawab and undertake to pay him an annual tribute in addition to the loss of the said districts, though he got Shencottah and the temple of Cape Comorin in return. Hardly had this trouble ended, when Hyder Ali threatened an invasion upon Travancore. In the early years of the Company's wars with Hyder, the Travancore troops fought with the English side by side in Palghat and other places and contributed a great deal to the success of their arms. But when the turn came for the Maharajah of Travancore to seek the aid of the English, his past services were ignored and advantage

was taken of his helplessness to secure from him in return concessions out of all proportion to the proffered help and in utter forgetfulness of their early obligations to him when, as humble suppliants to the native throne, they gained a foothold in his territories of a few acres of ground which at first was to be a factory centre for purposes of trade, but which under God's blessing soon developed into an empire—so broad and so mighty as to enable Sir Henry Fowler a former Secretary of State for India to say in the House of Commons the other day :—"The story of the Government of India by Great Britain was one of the most wondrous stories in all our history. There was no parallel to it in the history of our own or other countries. As an Englishman I am prouder of what this country had done in India, than what had been done at home." This marvellous achievement could not have entered into their calculations even in their wildest dreams. So when applied to for assistance to train up his men to meet the Mysore foe, the Rajah's request was coolly refused by the Company and he was ordered to receive two battalions of the Company's forces on payment of the cost of their upkeep. But even these forces were of no use to him as they had no orders to act in conjunction with the Travancore forces at the moment their services were required. History has no parallel to record to this disgraceful fiasco. Sir T. Munro did not use too strong language when he wrote of the conduct of Holland's Government that the distinction made between recent acquisition and ancient territory appeared to be a subterfuge of Government to cloak their dread of war under a pretended love of peace. When hostilities ceased, the Rajah wanted to send the forces back but the Company would not agree; they told him that, as the English army was maintained not only for themselves but also to afford aid to their allies as well, it was but fair that the allies should contribute a share of the cost for the upkeep of the same. The argument of course was conclusive. The Rajah had therefore to enter into a treaty with the Company to pay them an annual tribute for the upkeep of their army upon which he was to indent to keep off external foes, and for which he was in future solely to trust to the Company. Thus began our treaty relations with the East India Company. This compact freed the State from all anxiety on account of external foes and the Rajah was thereby enabled to devote his sole and undivided attention to the improvement of the administration, to bettering the condition of his subjects and to developing the resources of his country, the full effects of which were better noticeable in the succeeding reigns. As has been already remarked, the eternal troubles into which the country was plunged for the greater portion of Rama Varma's reign and the vast sums of money expended therefor left little scope for the introduction of useful reforms. The Dewan, Rajah Kesava Das, who was no less a

statesman than a soldier, served his sovereign as ably and as faithfully as Dalawa Rama Iyen did the great Martanda Varma. But nevertheless the crippled resources of the State did not permit of beneficial works being carried out on any large scale. He however did his best. He created a port at Alleppey, improved foreign trade and induced a few rich merchants to settle there. This considerably helped commercial activity in the land. He also caused a code of laws to be drawn up for the guidance of officers and introduced order and method into the administrative machinery and provided against failure of justice in the courts. The territorial additions in this reign were Alangad and Parur from Cochin, Shencottah and Cape Comorin from the Nawab of Arcot and Karurswarupam from the Queen of that territory in return for a small pension and the liquidation of her debts. The territory of Travancore is now exactly as it was left by the great Rama Varma, though considerably improved and strengthened by good administration since his time. His long life though a matter for congratulation was a chequered one, as long lives generally are, for his peace of mind was disturbed in his later years by wars and rumours of wars, by increased expenditure and an inelastic revenue, by disappointment in the results of the war against Tippu Sultan, by heavy subsidies to the East India Company and above all by the want of a capable heir and successor to the throne, as the Maharajah must have himself foreseen the troubles in store for his nephew, a poor youth of tender years and gross inexperience of the world. But that Rama Varma was a great and good ruler, a man of wonderful capacity and resources, of uncommon rectitude, of boldness, firmness and decision of character, kind and forgiving, all who knew him must ungrudgingly admit. He was an ideal Hindu king still remembered throughout the length and breadth of India as Rama Rajah the Just (*Dharma Rajah*).

BALA RAMA VARMA $\frac{973—986 \text{ M. E.}}{1798—1810 \text{ A. D.}}$

The illustrious Rama Varma was succeeded by his nephew, Bala Rama Varma, at the early age of sixteen. He was installed on the musnud on the 7th Kumbham 973 M. E. (12th February 1798 A. D.). He was naturally of a weak and vacillating disposition and being very young he was in the hands of a set of favourites, the chief of whom was one Udayari Jayantan Sankaran Namburi, a Malayali Brahmin from the Zamorin's territories. The Namburi was a stupid and unprincipled man and his only aim seems to have been to poison the Maharajah's ears against the old and well-tried Dewan Rajah Kesava Das. He succeeded so well in this nefarious purpose that in a few days of his installation, the Maharajah refused to see the Dewan even on urgent public business. The Dewan was sorely vexed, as no business could go on without personal conference with the sovereign. Two events brought matters to a crisis. In 974 M. E. (1799 A. D.), Jayantan Namburi succeeded in making the young Maharajah sign a document ceding Shertallay (Karappuram) to the Cochin Rajah and sent it by his friend, one Thottappai Namburi, for safe delivery at Cochin. The Dewan received private information of this huge betrayal and pursuing the Namburi messenger in hot haste overtook him at Paravur near Quilon and recovered the royal *sunnad* from his hands. Another event, though of lesser importance, embittered the people's feelings in the same manner. The Namburi was one day carried in procession through the streets of Trivandrum in the palanquin of the late Maharajah. This was a base insult offered to the memory of the late King and was specially mortifying to Kesava Das, his faithful minister and friend. Kesava Das remonstrated with the Namburi in plain terms saying that his conduct was scandalous and that the Maharajah's kindness was not to be so abused.

Kesava Das's retirement and death. Soon after this incident, Kesava Das received what is generally known in Travancore as *Velakkuneettu* (a royal writ of retirement) and was immediately confined in his own house, where a short time after, he was found one day lying dead in his bedroom. This was a disastrous event both to the Namburi and his Royal master.

There are no two opinions about Dewan Kesava Das's untimely end. He was a great and good man who served his sovereign and his country honestly and well. As Rama Rajah's trusted minister and henchman he

had rendered signal services to the Honourable East India Company and the Travancore State. His sudden death cast a gloom over the land. The people were in a state of excitement. They feared that he had been foully disposed of by poison at the instigation of the Namburi. On the day of his death—the *Aurat* day—the people uttered loud curses as the Royal procession passed from the fort to the beach and even threatened violence to the Namburi and his adherents. The Honourable the Court of Directors also seemed to have entertained the belief that the Dewan was poisoned. In their General letter to the Madras Government dated 29th September 1809, we read:—

"The late Dewan (Kesava Das) so much respected by the people was not suffered to live even in retirement. There is very strong reason to believe that he was taken off by poison, and the British Resident (Col. Macaulay) thought it his duty publicly to accuse Samprathy of this foul murder; but after a short arrest and an appearance of enquiry, in which more solicitude was shown to avoid than to effect discovery, he was restored to his liberty and influence at the Durbar."

Sankaran Namburi appointed Dewan. After the death of Rajah Kesava Das, the Namburi had no difficulty in attaining the object of his ambition and he was accordingly appointed Valia Sarvadhikariakar (or Dewan) on the 11th Medam 974 M. E. (April 1799 A. D.).

The new minister, untrained and unfitted for the post, found himself helpless in his exalted office. He selected for his council Thuckalay Sankaran Narayanan *Valia Melezhuthu* (finance minister) and one Mathu Tarakan, an influential Syrian Christian of the north, who held the salt, tobacco and other contracts during the last reign. These two men were as unprincipled as himself. "Thus the triumvirate of ignorance, profligacy and rapacity came to rule the destinies of this interesting principality in spite of the earnest wish which the Governor-General Lord Mornington expressed that a really efficient ministry should be formed."

The first act of the Namburi Dalawa (the old title was revived for a time) was to confiscate all the movable property of his predecessor even to the last ornament worn by his wife. For this ignoble and vindictive act he paid dearly soon enough.

He next turned his attention to freeing the country from its financial embarrassments, by raising general contributions from the whole people. Rules were framed for a systematic levying of such contributions. A list was prepared by the ministry of those who could afford to pay and they began to summon people before them and demanded immediate payment of large sums inflicting corporal punishment in case of refusal to pay.

This system of extortion continued for a fortnight; a large sum of money was actually realised, and numbers of innocent people were tortured. The tyranny became intolerable and the people found their saviour in Velu Tampi, afterwards the famous Dalawa. With the undaunted spirit characteristic of him, he appeared before the ministry in obedience to their summons, and when asked to pay down Rs. 3,000 as his share of the contribution fixed by them, he prayed for three days' time to raise the sum. This was granted and he went back. On the third day he appeared with a large body of armed men from Nanjanad preceded by a flourish of trumpets and drums, and encamped just outside the Trivandrum Fort. A large number of men in and about the capital seeing that relief was near flocked to his standard.

The end of the ministry. The Maharajah was quite alarmed at these proceedings of Velu Tampi. He deputed some of his high officials and the high priest to meet him and convey to him His Highness' perfect willingness to accede to all reasonable demands. Velu Tampi and his followers demanded,

(1) that the Namburi Dalawa should be immediately dismissed and banished the kingdom;

(2) that the Maharajah should execute an agreement distinctly binding himself not to recall him at any future time;

(3) that his colleagues Sankaran Narayana Pillai and Mathu Tarakan should be publicly flogged and have their ears cut off; and

(4) that the salt tax and other odious imposts should at once be abolished.

King John's barons may be said to have been meek by the side of Velu Tampi.

The Maharajah agreed to these terms and the Namburi minister and his two colleagues were dismissed on the 6th Mithunam 974 M. E., (1799 A. D.). But Velu Tampi was not to be satisfied with the simple dismissal of the Namburi and his councillors. He requested orders for the dismissed officers being given up to his followers with permission to deal with them according to their deserts. They were so made over; the Namburi was banished and the other two had their ears cut off and Sankaran Narayana Pillai was confined in the Udayagiri fort, while Mathu Tarakan was imprisoned at Trivandrum. The rebels now became all powerful and their leaders Velu Tampi and Chempakaraman Pillai dictated their own terms. The former was made commercial minister and the latter Dewan. Chempakaraman seems to have been a good

administrator. On his death in 976 M. E. (1801 A. D.), one Padmanabhan Chempakaraman was appointed Dalawa. He too was found weak and inefficient, and within eight months after his appointment was dismissed. He was accused of even complicity in certain crimes.

Velu Tampi becomes Dalawa. Velu Tampi now coveted the Dalawa's place. The chief men about the King, Samprati Kunjunilam Pillai, Valia Melezhuthu Muthu Pillai and Stanapati Subba Iyen offered him their help. But there were two able officers of the State, Chempakaraman Kumaran and Erayimman, brother and nephew of the late Kesava Das, whose claims could not be righteously overlooked. Velu Tampi and his accomplices formed a conspiracy to get rid of these two men. Kunjunilam Pillai made false entries in the State accounts and showed a sum of a few lacs of rupees as due to the treasury from the late Kesava Das. The two kinsmen were in a fix and appealed to their European friends at Madras and Bombay asking for their advice and intercession. These letters were intercepted and their spirit misrepresented to the Maharajah as importing disaffection; and other letters were forged to show treasonable correspondence of the two gentlemen with Europeans abroad. The King, then less than twenty and quite unequal to his high responsibilities, ordered their immediate execution. The two officers were accordingly murdered in cold blood, and Velu Tampi's claims stood uncontested.

The way having been thus cleared, Velu Tampi was appointed Dalawa in 1801 A. D. The appointment received the approval of Col. Macaulay who had been appointed British Resident at the Travancore Court in 1800 A. D., and who, it may be mentioned, was the first to hold this important office. Velu Tampi was a daring and clever though unscrupulous man. Rebellion was his forte. He was not in any sense a statesman, for he lacked prudence, probity, calmness and tact—qualities which earned for Rama Iyen and Kesava Das immortal fame. He was cruel and vindictive in his actions. His utmost merit lay in the fact that he was a strong man and inspired dread. Within three years of the death of Kesava Das, the country was in a state of chaos; the central government became weak and corruption stalked the land. Velu Tampi's severity, excessive and sometimes inhuman, completely extirpated corruption and crime from the country. His favourite modes of punishment were: imprisonment, confiscation of property, public flogging, cutting off the palm of the hand, the ears or the nose, impalement or crucifying people by driving down nails on their chests to trees, and such like, too abhorrent to record here. But it may be stated in palliation that the criminal law

of the Hindus as laid down by their ancient lawgiver Manu was itself severe. The Indian Penal Code is also much severer than the code of punishment prevailing in England. What is considered necessary and proper in our own times may become reprehensible according to the ethical standard of a thousand years hence.

His methods of government. The Dalawa was always moving on official tours from one district to another with a select party of assistants, and public business was transacted in a rough and ready fashion as if the country was under military law. He held his court under the shade of trees or in the open air; he would himself examine witnesses on both sides in the presence of his *Sastri* and *Moftee* and pronounce judgments then and there. If the accused was found guilty he would be hanged on the very tree under which the court was held and the execution took place before he left it for another village. Strict honesty was thus barbarously enforced among public servants and order prevailed throughout the kingdom. Velu Tampi became an object of universal dread. The race of thieves became extinct; houses and bazaars and banks enjoyed an immunity from theft unknown in any previous age. Merchants and people of all descriptions travelled by the highways both by day and night without fear or molestation.

One instance of the dread which Velu Tampi inspired may be given here. A Nambudiri was robbed of his *chellam* * containing his gold rings and cash and a silver *karandakam* † &c., at Edawa, thirty miles north of Trivandrum. He immediately returned to Trivandrum and reported the theft to Velu Tampi Dalawa. The Dalawa had rubbed oil on his head and was about to bathe when this complaint was made to him; he rubbed out the oil off his head with a towel, gave up his bath and started forthwith to Edawa, asking the Nambudiri to meet him there next morning. The Dalawa arrived in advance. What happened? The local Mahomedans had committed the robbery on the innocent Nambudiri. Of this fact Velu Tampi satisfied himself. He ordered the whole of the Mahomedan population of Edawa to be brought before him, and when they as a matter of course denied the charge, he mercilessly ordered them one after another being nailed to the tree under which he held court. When two or three Mahomedans had been thus disposed of, the others produced the Nambudiri's *chellam* with all the stolen goods in it intact. The Nambudiri

* A small brass box, generally oblong in size, 6 inches × 4 × 3, in which the betel-leaf, areca-nuts and tobacco are carried for purposes of chewing. Rings and coin and small things are also secured in it.

† A small utensil to hold 'chunam', a necessary ingredient for chewing betel and nut.

identified his property and went away mightily gratified. The thieves were thus brought to book, but this Draconian method of dispensing justice kept the people in perfect dread of its author. There are several similar stories of his doings but space does not permit their narration here.

The Dalawa caused a survey of lands and gardens to be made, and new pattahs were issued to landholders. A new *Ayacut* or settlement register was completed and a regular system of keeping accounts was introduced. By this means an increase in the land revenue was effected and the financial position of the country was considerably improved. He was able to pay off all the arrears of salaries due to Sirkar servants and also to clear off the heavy State debts. The town of Quilon was greatly improved by the construction of new bazaars, cutcheries, a pagoda and a palace and its commercial activity was revived.

The improvement of the town and port of Alleppey also engaged his earnest attention. He opened several roads for traffic from various directions and established a market at Changanachery, fifteen miles south-east, and another thoroughfare at Talayolaparambu near Vaikam, twenty-nine miles north of Alleppey; in these thoroughfares weekly and bi-weekly markets were held. He cleared the bushy island in the middle of the back-water north of Alleppey and planted it with cocoanut trees some portions also being converted into paddy fields. The Manjali market in the district of Alangad was established by him. The road from Quilon to Shencottah was opened and a feeding house for the convenience of travellers was established at Mampazhattura. In Trivandrum itself the old hall of audience attached to the palace was built under his supervision. The *Karuvelappura* palace upstairs was constructed and the four streets within the fort of Trivandrum round the temple were formed.

Intrigues against Velu Tampi. Velu Tampi's undue severity and overbearing conduct were resented by his own colleagues. A conspiracy against him was formed in the palace by Samprati Kunjunilam Pillai and his comrades, the very persons who had helped him to the Dalawaship. They prevailed upon the Maharajah to issue a royal warrant for his arrest and immediate execution. The Dalawa who was then at Alleppey got scent of this plot immediately. The Resident Major Macaulay and the Dalawa being now good friends, the latter at once went to Cochin and acquainted the Resident with the details of the conspiracy. The Dalawa was advised to go to Trivandrum without loss of time and personally explain matters to His Highness. But owing to the intrigues of the

conspirators he was refused audience at the Court. On this being communicated to the Resident, who was already aware of the fact that it was mainly at the instigation of the Samprati that the Maharajah signed the death-warrant of the two unfortunate kinsmen of the late Dewan Kesava Das, he came to Trivandrum with a few companies of the subsidiary force stationed at Quilon and held inquiries on the charges against the conspirators. Their guilt was established; they were all punished according to their deserts and Velu Tampi regained his former influence.

Major Macaulay and the Maharajah. The Maharajah resented such interference on the part of the Resident, and the favourites of the King fanned it into a flame. Every untoward circumstance was represented to the Maharajah as meaning disrespect and even contempt on the part of the Resident. The Maharajah wrote to the Governor-General, the Marquis of Wellesley, requesting the recall of Major Macaulay. His Excellancy summoned Macaulay to Calcutta to offer his explanation in person. Macaulay went to Calcutta. After hearing him the Marquis sent him back to Trivandrum expressing the hope that he would now conduct himself to His Highness' satisfaction. But in the result the Resident's power and influence did not appear to have received a check as might have been expected, for we find a Proclamation was issued by the Madras Government in 1803, prohibiting

> "All persons in the service of the Honourable Company and all others enjoying the protection of the British Government under the Presidency of Fort St. George from holding any communication, correspondence or any personal intercourse whatever with His Highness the Rajah of Travancore or with any of the ministers or officers of that Prince except with the express consent and concurrence and through the official channel of the British Resident."

The mutiny of the Nayar troops. The arrears of subsidy due to the Honourable Company were still very large. To effect economy in the military expenditure, Velu Tampi proposed a reduction of the allowances to the Nayar troops and in this he was cordially supported by the Resident. The proposal caused great discontent among the sepoys. They resolved on the subversion of the British power and influence in Travancore and the assassination both of the Dewan and the British Resident. With the active co-operation of the Dalawa's enemies they broke open jails and released the inmates, abandoned the military stations at which they were posted, marched to the capital 10,000 strong and demanded of the King the immediate dismissal of the Dalawa and the appointment of one of their own nominees. The Maharajah was

as usual alarmed at these proceedings and did not know how to act. The Nayar troops at Alleppey, where the Dalawa was at the time, declared themselves for the insurgents and the Dalawa fled for his life to Cochin. The life of the Resident having also been supposed to be in danger, he quitted Alleppey on the night of the 16th November 1804 and repaired to Cochin then garrisoned by a company of the 2nd battalion of the first Regiment. In consultation with the Resident the Dalawa collected the Carnatic Brigade and marched to Quilon. The former had already issued instructions for the Tinnevelly troops to march to Trivandrum. The subsidiary force at Quilon was also ordered to be in readiness to march to the capital. The rebels when they heard of these movements fled in all directions. The leaders were seized and dealt with in Velu Tampi's usual fashion. Some were hanged, some beheaded; others were blown off the cannon's mouth. One of them, Krishna Pillai, it is said, had his legs tied to two elephants and the animals were driven in opposite directions tearing the victim to pieces. History records but seldom such abominable tales of barbarity and vindictiveness.

Modification of the subsidiary arrangements. When the news of the insurrection of the Nayar troops reached Calcutta, the Governor-General sent on the 17th December 1804 a letter to the Madras Government advising the modification of the subsidiary engagements with the Maharajah with a view to restore his authority and that of the Dewan and for the preservation and strengthening of the English influence in the country. His Excellency wrote:—

"The treaty concluded between the British Government and the Rajah of Travancore in the year 1797 does not contain any express stipulation for the British power in quelling internal commotions within the territories of that Prince; but the spirit of the treaty certainly imposes upon us that obligation. The expediency, however, of affording such aid in the present crisis is obvious, especially under this consideration, that the avowed object of the insurrection is the subversion of the British influence in the Councils of the Rajah..... I consider this occurrence to afford a favourable opportunity for the modification of our subsidiary engagements with the Rajah of Travancore. The modification which I propose is, that the British force at present subsidized by the Rajah be permanently stationed within his dominions, and that the British Government possess authority to regulate the dispositions of that force within the territories of the Rajah in such a manner as may appear best calculated to secure the object of its appointment."

A copy of this letter was forwarded to the Resident by Lord William Bentinck, and the Resident after consulting Velu Tampi submitted the correspondence to the Maharajah. Though the Dalawa was not against the revision of the existing treaty in so far as it related to the internal

defence of Travancore, the Maharajah was strongly opposed to any new arrangement. But his opposition to the Governor-General's mandate was of no avail. After some delay and correspondence a new Treaty was signed by the Maharajah on the 12th January 1805, which was ratified by the Governor-General in Council on the 2nd May of the same year. This Treaty runs as follows:—

Treaty of 1805. "Treaty of perpetual friendship and alliance between the Honourable English East India Company Bahadoor, and the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor, Rajah of Travancore:

"Whereas the Treaty, concluded in the year 1795 between the Honourable Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies and His late Highness the Rajah of Travancore, was intended to defend and protect the Travancore country against foreign enemies, and to strengthen and fix the terms of the ancient friendship and alliance subsisting between the Company and the Rajah of Travancore; and Whereas it is evident that the intentions of the contracting parties have not been duly fulfilled; and Whereas the said Company and the Rajah of Travancore have judged it expedient that additional provisions should at this time be made for the purpose of supplying the defects in the said Treaty, and of establishing the connection between the said contracting parties on a permanent basis of security in all times to come: Therefore, in order to carry into effect the said intentions, the present Treaty is concluded by Lieutenant Colonel Colin Macaulay, the Resident at Travancore, on the part and in the name of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K. P. and K. C., Governor General in Council of all the British possessions in the East Indies, and by His Highness the Rajah of Travancore for himself, agreeably to the following Articles, which shall be binding on the contracting parties as long as the sun and moon shall endure.

"Article 1. The friends and enemies of either of the contracting parties shall be considered as the friends and enemies of both; the Honourable Company especially engaging to defend and protect the territories of the Rajah of Travancore against all enemies whatsoever.

"2. Whereas by the seventh Article of the Treaty concluded in the year 1795 between the Ram Rajah Bahadoor and the English East India Company Bahadoor, it was stipulated 'that when the Company shall require any aid of his troops to assist them in war, it shall be incumbent on the said reigning Rajah for the time being to furnish such aid, to such extent and in such numbers as may be in his power, from his regular infantry and cavalry, exclusive of the Native Nayrs of his country,' and the Company being now willing entirely to release the Rajah from the obligation incurred under the said stipulation; it is hereby concluded and agreed that the Ram Rajah Bahadoor is for ever discharged from the aforesaid burdensome obligation.

"3. In consideration of the stipulation and release contained in the first and second Articles, whereby the Company becomes liable to heavy and constant expense, while great relief is afforded to the finances of the Rajah, His Highness engages to pay annually to the said Company a sum equivalent to the expense of one regiment of native infantry in addition to the sum now payable for the force subsidised by the third Article of the subsidiary Treaty of 1795; the said amount to be paid in six equal instalments to commence from the first day of January one thousand eight hundred and five; and His said Highness

further agrees that the disposal of the said sum, together with the arrangement and employment of the troops to be maintained by it, whether stationed within the Travancore country or within the Company's limits, shall be left entirely to the Company.

"4. Should it become necessary for the Company to employ a larger force than that which is stipulated for in the preceding Article, to protect the territories of the said Maharajah against attack or invasion, His Highness agrees to contribute jointly with the Company towards the discharge of the increased expense thereby occasioned such a sum as shall appear on an attentive consideration of the means of His said Highness to bear a just and reasonable proportion to the actual net revenues of His Highness.

"5. And whereas it is indispensably necessary that effectual and lasting security should be provided against any failure in the funds destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace, or the extraordinary expenses described in the preceding Article of the present Treaty, it is hereby stipulated and agreed between the contracting parties that whenever the Governor General in Council of Fort William in Bengal shall have reason to apprehend such failure in the funds so destined, the said Governor General in Council shall be at liberty and shall have full power and right either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as he shall deem expedient for the internal management and collection of the revenues or for the better ordering of any other branch and department of the government of Travancore, or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the said Company Bahadoor such part or parts of the territorial possessions of His Highness the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor as shall appear to him, the said Governor General in Council, necessary to render the said funds efficient and available either in time of peace or war.

"6. And it is hereby further agreed that, whenever the said Governor General in Council shall signify to the said Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor that it is become necessary to carry into effect the provisions of the fifth Article, His said Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor shall immediately issue orders to his amils or other officers, either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances according to the tenor of the fifth Article, or for placing the territories required under the exclusive authority and control of the English Company Bahadoor; and in case His Highness shall not issue such orders within ten days from the time when the application shall have been formally made to him, then the said Governor General in Council shall be at liberty to issue orders by his own authority either for carrying into effect the said regulations and ordinances, or for assuming the management and collection of the said territories, as he shall judge most expedient for the purpose of securing the efficiency of the said military funds and of providing for the effectual protection of the country and the welfare of the people: Provided always that, whenever and so long as any part or parts of His said Highness's territories shall be placed and shall remain under the exclusive authority and control of the said East India Company, the Governor General in Council shall render to His Highness a true and faithful account of the revenues and produce of the territories so assumed: Provided also that in no case whatever shall His Highness's actual receipt or annual income, arising out of his territorial revenue, be less than the sum of two lakhs of Rupees, together with one-fifth part of the net revenues of the whole of his territories, which sum of two lakhs of Rupees, together with the amount of one-fifth of the said net revenues, the East India Company engages at all times and in every possible case to secure and cause to be paid for His Highness's use.

"7. His Highness Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor engages that he will be guided by a sincere and cordial attention to the relations of peace and amity established between the English Company and their allies, and that he will carefully abstain from any interference in the affairs of any State in alliance with the said English Company Bahadoor, or of any State whatever; and for securing the object of this stipulation it is further stipulated and agreed that no communication or correspondence with any foreign State whatever shall be holden by His said Highness without the previous knowledge and sanction of the said English Company Bahadoor.

"8. His Highness stipulates and agrees that he will not admit any European foreigners into his service without the concurrence of the English Company Bahadoor, and that he will apprehend and deliver to the Company's Government all Europeans of whatever description, who shall be found within the territories of His said Highness without regular passports from the English Government; it being His Highness's determined resolution not to suffer even for a day any European to remain within his territories unless by consent of the said Company.

"9. Such parts of the Treaty of Anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and ninty-five (1795), between the English East India Company and the late Rajah of Travancore, as are calculated to strengthen the alliance, to cement the friendship, and to identify the interests of the contracting parties, are hereby renewed and confirmed; and accordingly His Highness hereby promises to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him, with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture, and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness's interests, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both States.

"10 This Treaty, consisting of ten Articles, being this day, the twelfth day of January one thousand eight hundred and five, settled and concluded at the fortress of Teeroovanandapooram in Travancore by Lieutenant Colonel Colin Macaulay, on behalf and in the name of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, K. P. and K. C., Governor General in Council, with the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor; he has delivered to the said Maharajah one copy of the same in English and Persian signed and sealed by him, and His Highness has delivered to the Lieutenant Colonel aforesaid another copy, also in Persian and English, bearing his seal and signature, and signed and sealed by Valoo Tomby, Dewan to the Maharajah; and the Lieutenant Colonel aforesaid has engaged to procure and deliver to the said Maharajah, without delay, a copy of the same under the seal and signature of His Excellency the Most Noble Marquis Wellesley, Governor General in Council, on the receipt of which by the said Maharajah, the present Treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on the Honourable the English East India Company and on the Maharajah Ram Rajah Bahadoor of Travancore, and the copy of it now delivered to the said Maharajah shall be returned." *

This Treaty still remains in force. The Rajah who by the Treaty of 1795 stood engaged to furnish the Company, when involved in war, with such part of his military force as he could spare with safety to his own

* Aitchison's Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, Vol. V. Page 315.

country, had by the present Treaty been relieved from that obligation; but in lieu of it, he had stipulated to pay annually, in addition to the subsidy payable under the former Treaty, a sum equivalent to the expense of one regiment of native infantry, estimated to amount to Rs. 4,01,655; and the disposal of the whole subsidiary force, either within the country of Travancore or the limits of the Company's dominions, had been left to the option of the British Government. The Rajah also became bound by the new Treaty to pay a due proportion of the expense of any troops, additional to the subsidiary force, which it might eventually be necessary to employ for the protection of his dominions. It was further expressly provided that whenever the Governor-General in Council should have reason to apprehend a failure in the funds destined to defray either the expenses of the permanent military force in time of peace or the extraordinary expenses in time of war, he should have full power to introduce regulations for the management and collection of the revenues or to assume, on behalf of the Company, the direct management of a part of the territorial possessions of the Rajah, as he might deem most expedient. And whereas the Treaty of 1795 had respect chiefly to the external defence of Travancore, the Rajah promised by the present one to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice as the British Government should occasionally judge it necessary to offer him in respect to all the objects connected with the advancement of the internal interests of His Highness, the happiness of his people and the mutual welfare of both the States. Eventually the subsidy payable by the State had been fixed definitely at Rs. 800,000 per annum.

Financial crisis. The treasury was now empty. Zeal for the public service was waning; the revenues were not properly collected owing to personal bickerings and retaliations at headquarters such as those which disfigured the relations between Velu Tampi and Kunjunilam Pillai. At such a juncture the Maharajah insisted on the due performance of his coronation ceremonies which had to be celebrated in a proper style. The State was not able to pay even the four lacs of rupees according to the original Treaty of 1795. The subsidy had now been doubled by the Treaty of 1805 A. D.

The Resident pressed for payment and the Dewan in order to secure a short respite proposed the payment of the additional burden in four instalments, to which the former agreed and wrote to the Supreme Government accordingly. The Supreme Government were even pleased to remit the payment of the additional subsidy for two years. Even this did not mend matters. Towards the end of 1808 A. D., the subsidy had fallen into a long arrear and the Resident peremptorily demanded payment. The

Maharajah and the Dewan who had now recanted from his former allegiance to the Resident protested that the revenues of the State were incapable of supporting such a heavy burden as the charge of four battalions of the Company's troops and requested a reduction in the subsidy. In reply the Resident recommended the disbandment of the Carnatic Brigade by which a saving of 1½ lacs of rupees might be effected. The Maharajah regarded the dismissal of the brigade highly derogatory to his position; he looked upon it as an essential part of his dignity and indispensable to his personal safety.

Velu Tampi's position. It is unnecessary to dwell here on the details of the correspondence between Velu Tampi and the Resident. When the Treaty of 1805 was formally ratified, there was a strong outburst of popular discontent against the Dalawa. The Maharajah, the favourites, and the people at large believed that Velu Tampi had acquiesced in the increased subsidy as well as the proposed disbandment of the Carnatic Brigade, both of which were humiliating to the King. This however was not true, for no one was more shocked than Velu Tampi himself at the turn affairs had taken.

While matters stood thus, the Resident again pressed Velu Tampi for the payment of the subsidy. A final day was appointed for the payment and the Dalawa was able to pay a portion of the amount, but a very large portion still remained undischarged. Macaulay was in a rage and he used strong language against the Dalawa who, arrogant and haughty by nature, bitterly resented such treatment from the Resident. There was also another incident which embittered their feelings. The Dalawa demanded large sums from Mathu Tarakan, a Christian, as arrears of Sirkar revenue. The Resident opposed it writing to the Dalawa that "his conduct was dictated by a spirit of the barest treachery and tyranny". This led to an open rupture and at last the Resident insisted on the dismissal of the Dalawa. The Maharajah, though not satisfied with the Dalawa's conduct in the treaty negotiations, found, however, that he was quite a match to the Resident and that without him he could not at that juncture successfully carry on the administration. His Highness wrote to the Madras Government praying again for the recall of the Resident, but without success. Matters took a serious turn. The Resident became more obstinate than ever. He relentlessly insisted on the dismissal of the Dalawa. The Dalawa professed his willingness to resign his office, "but under cover of his pretended acquiescence in the Resident's will, he set himself to work to organise an insurrection of the Nayars

and to accomplish the murder of the Resident whom he hated as the scourge of his country and his own avowed and inexorable foe." His first act of hostility towards him was the murder of Stanapati Subba Iyen *, the Resident's agent or ambassador at the Court, whom he sent for on some pretext of business to Alleppey but only to be cruelly murdered there. Shungoonny Menon thus describes the tragic event:—

"Subba Iyen paid a visit to the Dewan at Alleppy, perhaps with a message from the Maharajah, and on a certain night while he was engaged in a private conference with the Dewan he (Subba Iyen) retired to the garden at about midnight. But, alas! he never returned. He appears to have been seized by the Dewan's people and strangled to death, and a report was given out that Subba Iyen died by snake-bite, while he was in the garden."

Mr. T. Vedadrisadasa Mudaliar, a retired Judge of the Travancore Sadar Court, has favoured me with extracts of two letters written by his grandfather Ramalinga Mudaliar, one to Col. Macaulay the Resident and the other to a Doctor Macaulay who subsequently acted as Resident. These letters nearly a century old throw a flood of light on the Dalawa's iniquities in high office. On the 26th December 1807, Ramalinga Mudaliar writes to the Resident from Palamcottah:—

"I am sorry for the Fate of Subiah; the bite of snake really appears to me to be a pretend and by the enclosed Note you will observe that Mr. Hughes gives his concurrence and that it is not possible to find the Broming (Brahmin) you allude to for he has taken my leave to go to Travancore just a few hours before. I despatched my last letter informing you of the Dewan's reconciling Subiah, his wife and family living at Janardanam or red hill near Anjengo and I am of opinion, he (Brohming) will come to me (it is probable) in 3 or 4 days more as soon as he heared the death of the poor Subiah. He will it is probable come to me with that news for your information. He is understood by everybody at that place by the name of Moorally Bagavatten. ‡ He was very favourite of late *Papoo Tombee* one *of the conspirators* as he being capable of playing upon Flute. He was the mediator between the said Papoo Tombee and the Dewan and made Subiah to take an oath for himself and the Dewan. I shall also send out some

* The circumstances of Stanapati Subba Iyen's cold-blooded murder with all its harrowing details are well known to the present writer as a piece of family tradition, because the said Stanapati was in the first place a kinsman and also because his own lineal ancestor (Boppudi Seshachala Aiya) was another such Stanapati in Travancore in the previous reign, he having been posted as such to the Tinnevelly Nawab's Court. Stanapati Subba Iyen informed the Maharajah that Velu Tampi had sinister designs in sending for him to Alleppey, and that if the Maharajah would permit he would stay away. The weak Prince, however, was no proper judge of men and things and so he assured poor Subba Iyen that such could not be the motive of Velu Tampi's requisition, but that it might be a genuine request to meet and discuss with him (Subba Iyen) matters of State, affecting the unpleasant relations between the Resident and the Dewan. The Maharajah probably thought Velu Tampi was not as black as he was painted to be, but Subba Iyen knew better and took final leave of the Maharajah and of his own wife and children and went forth to Alleppey to meet his impending doom. The present writer is personally acquainted with the grandson of this Stanapati Subba Iyen, and through him, with all the cruel incidents of the base murder.

‡ This means a man who plays upon *Murali*, a musical pipe like a flute said to have been the favourite pipe of Sri Krishna.

people privately to find him and if I effect it I shall carry him to Mr. Hughes. He informed me that lately Rajah was very friendly with Subiah and had in mind some displeasure upon the Dewan and expressed repeatedly to the people that attending immediately on his person that he will discharge the Dewan soon and give the situation or appointment to Subiah as it was former custom that Brahming (Brahmins) had the management; by which the Dewan acquired the friendship of one Aramany Ummen the present favourite girl of the Rajah and through her he got out every thing from the Rajah that what Subiah has enlightened to him the conduct of his Dewan and made Rajah through the same channel to believe to the contrary and turned him altogether against Subiah. This is the new matter the Brahming has told me ..... Let me observe to you sir that how many men he has put to death from the time he came to this high office you may redeem from late Dewan's brother the General. Tombee really is very bad and very cruel man that I have ever met with and I doubt not he will do great many curious circumstances before he finish his days. Since I heard the Fate of Subiah I have much fear about my brother Vadachellum and Paramasivam. Although they are very innocent I fear he may try the revenge he has to me will perhaps attempt some cruelty towards on them indirectly as he has done to Subiah."

Again Ramalinga Mudaliar writes on the 10th January 1808 to Dr. Macaulay thus:—

"As I have heard the Dewan have been with you lately I hope he has given satisfactory description of the fate of poor Subiah indeed if the report that so strongly prevails here to be believed then the conduct of the people there is shocking and I should flatter myself that I am lucky to wash off my hands of that country sooner than we expected. But I am sorry only for my brother Vadachellum whose life I prefer to those that is more dear to me in the world and as it appears that you suppose the Dewan would be very glad to see him outside of the gates; I fear he is watching for some opportunity and even should he meet no opportunity it is not difficulty for him to execute my brother in comparative to so many very clever men, he had executed since he assumed his present situation; so I doubt not it will be in his power to finish him (or any man that he thinks attached to me) with great secrecy and that no body may suspect him. So I most humbly entreat you will, when you meet with good opportunity, please to observe to my worthy master * and if you and him is same opinion with me I shall be glad you send him out; as it may tame the Dewan very much and in the meantime I hope Vadachellum guard against his bad design in eating; drinking; sleeping and going about."

According to these extracts, the means employed by the unscrupulous Dalawa to get rid of those who obstructed him in his villainous designs were the usual patented ones adopted under similar circumstances by other ambitious men who have darkened the early histories of all countries more or less, large or small, ancient or modern. Comment is therefore superfluous. But Ramalinga Mudaliar, deeply concerned as he was in the personal safety of his brother Vedachalam, is an unconscious witness, and therefore a valuable one, to the various wicked devices used in Velu Tampi's days to get rid of political adversaries, whom one feared

* The 'worthy master' referred to is evidently Col. Macaulay, the Resident.

as crossing one's path to glory. All the functions of nature were laid under a ban. The victim spotted by the man in power was not to eat, drink, sleep or go about freely, for poisoning and assassination were the two instruments unstintingly employed whenever the arm of the law was too weak to reach him and vindicate the authority of the powers that be acting in behalf of Government. The Rajah's weakness as described by Ramalinga Mudaliar lay in the fact that he communicated to Arumana Amma whom he calls 'his favourite girl', probably one of the consorts at the time, the gist of all the conversations that took place between Subbaiya and himself (Rajah) about Velu Tampi and the Resident. Velu Tampi was therefore well posted in all that passed between the Maharajah, Subbaiya and the Resident. He accordingly spotted poor Subbaiya as his next victim. The incapable Rajah was thus unconsciously endangering the safety of his faithful dependents and working his own downfall.

The position of the Rajah and his disposition towards his minister (Velu Tampi) and to the management of public affairs generally may be best described in the words of Sir. C. Metcalfe who in June 1822 wrote of another Native Potentate thus:—

"His ministers unfortunately think less of their master's interests than of their own, and to protect him against their usurpations has become a part of the anomalous duties of the British Resident at this court. His Highness continues abstracted from public business, and I have as yet made no progress in dispelling the cloud of mystery in which he is enveloped. In our personal intercourse, which has been rare, his manner is civil, and even kind; but he evidently labours under restraint; and I fear that people interested in preventing a more unembarrassed communication, contrive to keep alive his jealousies and apprehensions. It is not clear to me, whether his abstraction from public business, which is of long standing, proceeds from natural indolence and love of ease, or from disgust at the control exercised by his minister, with our support. Whatever may have been the cause, he has so long withdrawn himself from the affairs of government, that much as one would naturally desire to see the legitimate sovereign of the country in the exercise of his proper functions, there must be considerable risk, if ever he takes up the reins of actual rule, that much mismanagement will arise from his inexperience and want of habit. He is said to be perfectly sensible of the evils produced by the maladministration of his minister. It is generally supposed that His Highness has nothing so much at heart as the removal of——, but he has never conveyed to me any expression of dissatisfaction at his minister's conduct." *

Cochin affairs at the period. Affairs in the adjoining State of Cochin were in a similar state of confusion. The powerful minister of the State, Paliathu Achan, overthrew his master and became practically the ruler of the land. The Rajah retired to a small village near Alwaye. He had with him a trusted favourite in the person of one Kunjukrishna

* Affairs of the East India Company, Commons Evidence—VI. Political. Page 257.

Menon whom the minister wanted to murder. The King concealed him for a time and then handed him over to the care of Colonel Macaulay, the Resident. Paliathu Achan was very angry with Macaulay for the offer of protection to the Menon and made up his mind therefore to destroy both the Resident and his ward.

Velu Tampi's insurrection. Paliathu Achan and Velu Tampi combined and determined upon the extirpation of Colonel Macaulay and his influence in the two States of Travancore and Cochin. Velu Tampi organised recruits, strengthened forts and stored up ammunition and arms. He also wrote to the Zamorin of Calicut and the Isle of France for help when required. The plan of operations was arranged. The garrisons at Alleppey and Parur were to unite and make an attack on the fort of Cochin and murder Macaulay, Kunjukrishna Menon and others; another force was at the same time to attack the British garrison at Quilon; the two armies were to march simultaneously to their respective destinations in covered boats.

The Resident soon discovered the object of these preparations of the Dalawa and immediately wrote to the Madras Government for reinforcements. His Majesty's 12th regiment and two native battalions were ordered to march from Malabar, and H. M.'s 69th and three battalions of native infantry with artillery from Trichinopoly, to his aid. Velu Tampi pretended great alarm at these active measures and begged permission to resign his office and retire to the Company's territories. Agreeably to this request arrangements were made for his removal from Alleppey to Calicut on the 28th December 1808; a sum of money was advanced for his expenses and owing to the alleged fears of the Dalawa that his person was not safe in Travancore, a large body of troops was also got ready at Alleppey to escort him, thereby weakening the force stationed at the Residency.

Taking advantage of this fact, a little after midnight that same day (28th December 1808), a body of armed men surrounded the Residency at Bolghatty and surprised the Resident with a volley of several pieces of musketry at all the openings of the house. Before an entrance could be forced into the house, the Resident with the help of a confidential clerk under him managed to escape to a recess in the lower chamber, the door of which was not easily distinguishable from the exterior wall. The insurgents having meanwhile forced their way into the house, searched every part of it for the object of their vengeance, and meeting with disappointment spent the night in plundering the house and putting to

death the few sepoys and domestic servants attached to it. At day-break they beheld a British ship enter the harbour and other ships were seen at a distance making for the port. They immediately retreated to Travancore much disappointed, thus affording Col. Macaulay an opportunity to get on board the ship (Piedmonte) that had just arrived at the harbour with part of the reinforcements from Malabar. Kunjukrishna Menon also effected his escape and joined Col. Macaulay on board the ship. The disappointment affected Velu Tampi deeply, but there was no helping it. He encouraged the men as much as he could and proceeded to Quilon to make the best of the mad step he had taken.

Velu Tampi's Proclamation. From Quilon Velu Tampi went to Kundara, where he issued the following proclamation to the people of Travancore, under date the 1st Makaram 984 M. E. (January 1809 A. D.):—

"Whereas it is highly desirable to impress in the minds of the nobles, Brahmans, officers of the State, Sudras, and all other classes of the nation, a clear idea of the nature and probable results of the measure now resolved upon as necessitated by the present critical occasion in which it is inevitable that Travancore cannot maintain itself unless its utmost energies are put forth, it is hereby promulgated:

"That, never has this State been yet disturbed with any troubles nor subjected to question during the several thousand years comprising the period from the foundation of Malabar and Travancore by Parasu Ramen up to the close of Cheraman Perumal's reign, nor during the sovereignty of the succeeding Thripada * Swaroopam Dynasty.

"That, the Maharajah who died in 933 M. E., foreseeing the evil days to come, and that his successor will not be able to keep the land, entrusted to their care safe from harm, made a gift of it, in due form (with flower and water) to Sree Padmanabha Swamy, and the country was to be governed by the succeeding Rajahs as the representatives of Padmanabha Swamy. In keeping within such a position, they preferred the practice of religious rites, austerities, to the personal enjoyment of worldly pleasure, and were always bent upon the welfare and happiness of the subjects; and in order that the virtues and benefits accruing from such observance may always continue unabated, they initiated several religious ceremonies and practices for securing divine favour, established Bhadradeepam, Murajapam, sathrams or feeding houses, &c. Every one knows that it is for these reasons that in the present Kaliyuga there is not a single country from the Himalayas down to Cape Comorin which can rival Travancore as a land of charity. When Mahomed Ali had subdued and established his power at Arcot, Trichinopoly and the Deccan, it was stipulated that Travancore should send him an annual Nuzoor of (6,000) six thousand Rupees and an elephant to preserve friendly relations with him, and the country has not been interfered with by any other power. While the land was thus in peace and tranquillity, two great powers appeared, Tippoo Sultan and the English East India Company. It was believed that of the two, the English East India Company was more to be relied on, and that they would not betray their trust, and in view to secure their

* Means the Royal family of Travancore.

friendship and assistance a very long time ago, they were allowed to build a fort and to establish themselves at Anjengo, and this led to hostilities breaking out with Tippoo Sultan, but we have known to our cost how our trust was betrayed, and our friendliness taken advantage of to bring harm upon us by this very English nation, who, as is well known to the whole world, is unequalled for base ingratitude and treachery. Now see, what they have done. They gradually curtailed the power of the Nabob who gave them shelter and helped so much towards attaining their present importance, till they had destroyed his dynasty entirely and taken away his territories; next they laid hold of the neighbouring countries which were enjoying peace and comfort until at last the lights of their dwellings were extinguished, and themselves plunged into misery, and following up their treacherous inclination the English came over to Travancore; first, by craft, and then forcibly, they have taken steps to exterminate us from our land. We shall briefly mention here a few of the steps pursued by them: When Tippoo Sultan made war upon us, we sought their aid against him; they treacherously got out of us, taking advantage of our exigency, ten lacs of pagodas in return for the promised help. After this, partly by craft and partly by threats, they stipulated that we should pay them an annual subsidy of six lacs of Rupees promising at the same time that so long as Travancore and the English nation existed they would not ask for a chuckrum over and above the said sum, nor interfere with any act, however unimportant of the Travancore Government, and these terms were solemnly ratified in writing by the treaty of the year 968. While Travancore had been faithfully adhering to fulfil in all integrity the terms of the treaty, the English in violation of it, sent a Resident to reside here, and stationed three of their Regiments at Quilon, and like giving milk to a serpent, this Government had to build at its own cost barracks and dwelling-houses for the men of the Regiments, and in addition to put up to this day with all the acts of violence practised by them. A little after, in Magaram 980 the English Government demanded that two lacs of Rupees should be annually paid, beyond the sum stipulated before, and threatened in failure of this extra requisition being paid, to make war upon us, and actually brought down several pieces of cannon into different parts of the country. Seeing no other means of getting over the difficult position, the Government of His Highness yielded to the impending calamitous fate and paid the extra two lacs also. But the English Government were not satisfied even with all these concessions, and the point they next assumed reached the unreasonable and unwarrantable climax, of requiring the abolition of all religious and charitable institutions, and the disbanding of the armies of the country and payment to themselves of the money that would be saved thereby; it was required further that the Resident, Colonel Macaulay, should be consulted and communicated with in all matters connected with the Government of His Highness' territories. In reply, the English Government was respectfully informed that according to the constitution of this country these demands could not be complied with, and our humbling ourselves to the very ground was of no avail. The English Government was inexorable, as we have been always opposed to these measures, and had taken active steps against them; we got a letter in Dhanu last from the English East India Company requesting us to resign our post and to quit Travancore, along with the whole of our family and some of the officials who had joined us, and to reside in British territory, and we were promised in the event of our complying with the request that every mark of respect and honor would be paid to us, the Resident, Colonel Macaulay, thereafter intending to introduce reforms, and practically administer the Government. We were at the same time informed that we should be the cause of war being declared, in case we delayed to agree to the conditions stated in the letter, the contents of which we were required to bring at once to the notice of His Highness the Maharajah. We did not hesitate to reply that we should not, even

should our refusal cost our life, be guilty of such treason to our sovereign and country, and once for all spurned the proposals made to us. The Resident, Colonel Macaulay, thereupon and without having the slightest consideration or respect for the sovereign of Travancore or giving the least intimation, brought by the sea and landed a number of European soldiers to Quilon and shipped back all the European women and children that were there, with all their property, and unjustly commenced war with Travancore. It had never before been nor is it now our intention to break out into war with the English. But now that they have begun the war, if we do not adopt prompt measures in our defence or on gaining the first success, if we do not at once avail ourselves of them to follow up the victory, we should lose all advantages we had gained and the consequences would be that hardships would befall us such as not a single soul in this country would be able to bear and pass his days. We shall give a few instances of those hardships and miseries.

"It is the nature of the English nation to get possession of countries by treacherous means, and should they obtain ascendancy in Travancore, they will put their own guards in the palaces, Sircar buildings, and the fort gates, destroy the royal seal, do away with honorific palanquins, and other distinguishing marks, suppress the Brahmanical communities and worship in pagodas, make monopolies of salt and every other thing, measure up and assert themselves absolute owners of waste lands, impose exorbitant taxes on paddy lands, cocoanut trees, &c., get low caste people to inflict heavy punishments for slight faults, put up crosses and Christian flags in pagodas, compel intermarriages with Brahman women without reference to caste or creed, and practise all the unjust and unlawful things which characterize Kaliyuga.

"Let us therefore exert ourselves to keep off impending calamities such as those we have sketched above, and endeavour so far as lies in our power that no disparagement or discredit may be imputed to us in guarding our homes, the charitable institutions, and the manners and customs of our land. The rest, of course, we must leave to the divine will. These measures which we have enumerated are incumbent upon us to adopt to defend ourselves against the action taken by the English." *

Effects of the proclamation. This remarkable document had its desired effect. If Velu Tampi was most unscrupulous in his designs, he was undoubtedly also the ablest man of his time. He knew how to lead his countrymen like sheep and how to work upon their fears. Some passages of this proclamation seem powerful enough to move any senate however civilised or cultured, and considering that they were addressed to a credulous and rustic people, they may be said to be as persuasive as portions of the most brilliant orations of Cicero or Demosthenes, Burke or Sheridan. They might even have "moved the stones of Rome to mutiny and rage". When it suited his purpose to join Macaulay, he discarded the Maharajah's feelings, acquiesced in the disbandment of the Carnatic Brigade and agreed to the increase of the subsidy to the British Government. When he fell out with the Resident, he exhorted the people to stand by

* Shungoonny Menon's History of Travancore. Page 342.

their good-natured and simple-hearted sovereign who, he said, had dedicated his kingdom to Sri Padmanabhaswamy and was content to rule over it as the God's vassal, if only to preserve intact the State religion, to continue unsullied their ancient customs and privileges, to guard their temples from defilement and their homes from desecration, to secure the purity of their caste and thus to save them from persecution by the faithless English aliens who had degraded their sovereign and spoliated their country. As for the English themselves, he persuaded the simple and ignorant folk to believe that:—

"It is the nature of the English nation to get possesssion of countries by treacherous means, and should they obtain ascendancy in Travancore, they will put their own guards in the palaces, Sircar buildings, and the fort gates, destroy the royal seal, do away with honorific palanquins, and other distinguishing marks, suppress the Brahmanical communities and worship in pagodas, make monopolies of salt and every other thing, measure up and assert themselves absolute owners of waste lands, impose exorbitant taxes on paddy lands, cocoanut trees &c., get low caste people to inflict heavy punishments for slight faults, put up crosses and Christain flags in pagodas, compel intermarriages with Brahman women without reference to caste or creed and practise all the unjust and unlawful things which characterize Kaliyuga."

He eloquently wound up by saying "let us therefore exert ourselves to keep off impending calamities such as those sketched above, and endeavour so far as lies in our power that no disparagement or discredit may be imputed to us in guarding our homes, the charitable institutions, and the manners and customs of our land. The rest, of course, we must leave to the divine will".

Velu Tampi was of course playing a desperate game, but the arguments used and the exhortation urged were such as would, in any case and in any country and age, enable an ambitious and unscrupulous man like himself to create racial animosities, to widen the gulf between rival communities and stir up a whole nation of law-abiding, ignorant and agricultural folk into a sudden flood of mutiny. The whole country rose like one man. Their religious susceptibilities were touched, which in a conservative country like Travancore is like smoking in a gunpowder magazine. Their caste rights and privileges were threatened, their domestic and religious rites were invaded, in one word their vital interests were jeopardised. Even the quiet and peace-loving Maharajah felt for once in his life that he had suffered grievous wrongs at the hands of the English Campany and their local agent, the Resident, and that Velu Tampi was his only true friend and counsellor who at the hour of need nobly stood by him and championed his country's cause. So great a spell had been cast by the 'dangerous minister' on the people as well as on their Prince. Even the Governor in

Council felt it necessary to assure the inhabitants of Travancore, in his Proclamation of the 17th January 1809, that "particular orders will also be given to the British troops to give no disturbance to the Brahmins and religious establishments throughout the country".

Attack on the subsidiary force at Quilon. We have already stated that the Nayar troops had arranged for a simultaneous attack on the British cantonment at Quilon. On the 30th December 1808, they assembled in strong numbers at the Dewan's residence which was at no great distance from the cantonment. Colonel Chalmers, the officer commanding the subsidiary troops, took prompt measures to resist the intended attack. Five companies of native sepoys were detached to occupy a low hill commanding the Dewan's house. The Nayar troops attacked them stoutly and the British sepoys in spite of their inferiority in numbers were able to maintain their ground during the night, and being reinforced by a few more companies, the able commander advanced against the Travancore sepoys and severely defeated them in an engagement. The Dalawa did not lose heart. He collected a large force numbering about 20,000 to 30,000 men with 18 guns, and again attacked the British lines at Quilon on the 15th January 1809. Col. Chalmers divided his force, which consisted of one European regiment and three battalions of native sepoys, into two columns and advanced against the Travancore troops. A stout resistance was offered, but at last the Nayars were repulsed and driven off the field leaving 700 slain and losing 15 pieces of artillery.

Attack on Cochin—Wholesale murder of Europeans. The Dalawa thus disappointed for the second time in his attempt on Quilon, immediately sent a considerable division of his troops against Cochin which was then held by Major Hewitt. The Travancore force advanced on the 19th January in three columns of a thousand each. They were easily defeated but spreading round Cochin on the land side, they covered the sea with their boats with the object of cutting off all supplies to the British garrison. At this critical moment the Piedmontese frigate with the Resident on board anchored off the town, and her boats together with a few armed vessels belonging to Cochin quickly drove the enemy's boats into the backwater, and pursuing set them on fire. The Nayar troops still continued in strong numbers near Quilon and Cochin, but they were not able to effect any serious loss on the British troops as they were soon called off in other directions.

It was during this interval that the Dalawa perpetrated a wholesale massacre of Europeans and thus disgraced himself and his country's cause,

for no Travancorean has been able since to justify this unaccountably wicked proceeding of Velu Tampi, and to that cursed day is attributed all the subsequent trials and misfortunes into which the country was plunged. This was the darkest page of Travancore history or, in the words of the eminent Historian, "those were days never to be recalled without a blush, the days of servitude without loyalty and sensuality without love, of dwarfish talents and gigantic vices, the paradise of cold hearts and narrow minds, the golden age of the coward, the bigot and the slave". Three of the European military officers including Surgeon Hume and a lady in one party, and thirty European soldiers of His Majesty's 12th regiment in another were proceeding from Quilon to Cochin and while near Poracad they were seized by the Travancore troops and put in close confinement, one batch in the Poracad bankshall and the other at Alleppey. Velu Tampi ordered their wholesale butchery and they were all accordingly murdered in the beach at Poracad. The European soldiers were tied back to back in couples and thrown into the Pallathurithy river on the eastern side of Alleppey with heavy stones tied round their necks. The lady was allowed to pass unhurt to Cochin. Wilson in his *History of British India* (1805—1835 A. D.) thus refers to the massacre :—

"During this interval they (the Nayar troops) disgraced their cause by acts of atrocity, which served no purpose except that of provoking retribution. An assistant-surgeon of the name of Hume, travelling at night on the 30th of January was seized on his route, and led into the presence of the Dewan; who, although he knew the young man personally, and had benefited by his professional advice, commanded him to be conducted to the sea-side, where he was put to death and buried in the sand. About the same time a small vessel, with some of the soldiers of the 12th regiment on board, having touched at Alepi for supplies, the men were induced to land by the appearance of cordiality among the people, and assurances that part of the subsidiary force was in the neighbourhood. Unaware that hostilities had commenced, the men, thirty in number, disembarked, and as soon as they landed were made prisoners, and shortly afterwards murdered. This was also done by order of the Dewan, who thus effaced, by his perfidy and cruelty, whatever credit he might have claimed for zeal in the cause of his country and his prince."

The Madras Government had already resolved on immediate and vigorous action. Col. Cuppage commanding in Malabar was ordered to march from the north and join Col. Chalmers with one European regiment and two battalions of native infantry and Col. St. Leger was ordered to march from Trichinopoly with a large force consisting of H. M's 69th regiment of native cavalry and three battalions of native infantry together with a detachment of royal artillery.

The Madras Government also issued the following Proclamation to the inhabitants of Travancore, under date the 17th January 1809 :—

"It is known to the inhabitants of Travancore that during many years the closest alliance has subsisted between the British Government and the Government of the Travancore country; that the British troops have long been employed in defence of Travancore, and that it was by the exertion of the British armies, that Travancore was saved from subjection to the power of Tippoo Sultan.

"Under these circumstances, the Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George has heard with extreme surprise that military preparations of great extent have lately taken place in Travancore for purposes hostile to the interests of the British Government, that the person of the British Resident has been attacked by the Travancore troops and that an assault has been made on the subsidiary force stationed at Quilon.

"The Honourable the Governor in Council has reason to believe that these unprecedented outrages have proceeded from the desperate intrigues of the Dewan of Travancore, who has been also endeavouring by injurious insinuation to excite rebellion in the territories of the Honourable Company; in order that the daring plans of the Dewan may be defeated, the Honourable the Governor in Council has directed a large body of troops to move into Travancore, who will, in a short time, put an end to the power of the Dewan, and restore order and peace in the country of Travancore. The Honourable the Governor in Council thinks it proper at the same time to make known to the inhabitants of Travancore that the approach of the British troops need occasion no alarm in the minds of those inhabitants who conduct themselves peaceably. The British Government has no other view in directing the movements of troops than to rescue the Raja of Travancore from the influence of the Dewan, to put an end to the power of that dangerous minister and to re-establish the connection of the two Governments on a secure and happy foundation.

"The Honourable the Governor in Council calls on the inhabitants of Travancore to co-operate in accomplishing these objects, and such of the inhabitants as shall not oppose the advance of the British troops may be assured of the entire protection of their persons and property; particular orders will also be given to give no disturbance to the Brahmins and religious establishments throughout the Travancore country."

The rebellion quelled. Colonel St. Leger with his force encamped near the Aramboly pass on the 6th February 1809. The pass was defended by formidable lines, consisting of a number of small well-built bastions each mounting two or three guns and connected by a strong wall masonry. The whole extended about two miles along the sides of steep and rugged hills and terminated at either extremity by a strongly fortified mountain flanked by impenetrable jungle. The high road from Palamcottah passed through the centre of the works, by a gateway which was covered with two large circular bastions and armed with several pieces of ordnance. It was resolved to take the lines by surprise as the force was not equipped with battering guns. On the morning of the 10th February, Major Welsh, one of the commandants, succeeded in taking the whole lines with very little resistance and loss of life, having during the

previous night climbed the southern fortified hill which was defended by 50 pieces of cannon and 10,000 men. The Travancore troops fled in all directions and Velu Tampi himself fled back to Trivandrum.

Having secured entrance into Travancore, the British force advanced into the interior on the 17th February. Their further operations were thus described by Major Welsh himself:—

"On the 17th of February the army marched for the interior; the advance, commanded by Lieut. Col. M'Leod, consisted of the flanking companies of the 69th regiment, three hundred and fifty Caffres, under Col. Morrice, and six native flank companies, and the cavalry under Major Nuthall, with six guns, worked by the royal artillery. This party moved off from the right of the line at three o'clock, A. M., the line following at half past four, and thus leaving a distance of three miles between them. Having got on six miles by day-break, they found the enemy strongly posted in a village, across a river with high banks, commanding the approach, and several cannon pointed down the high road. Their force was supposed to amount to six hundred men, and they had every advantage in point of position, that men could desire. Col. M'Leod immediately formed his line for the attack, and drove the enemy from their guns, after a very heavy fire of both cannon and musquetry; which unfortunately did considerable execution, from the exposed situation of our troops in advancing. The enemy were completely routed and dispersed in all directions for some miles. ... ... Nine capital guns and several dead bodies were the fruits of this victory; in addition to which we gained possession of two very fine villages, called Cotaur and Nagracoile."

A few days later, the forts of Udayagiri and Padmanabhapuram also fell into their hands having been abandoned by the Travancore troops.

"Remaining at Palpanaveram, to collect prize property, we succeeded at last in breaking open the treasury, and found all the cash chests open, with one solitary rupee on the floor, and two small jewels, evidently left on purpose for our annoyance. We had already captured sixteen elephants and about fifty thousand stand of arms, with some hundred guns; but the greatest curiosities were a gun and mortar, both of exquisite workmanship, mounted on the parade, in Oodagherry, and cast in the place, by some European artist. They were made of brass, the gun sixteen feet long, and bored as a twenty-two pounder, was so extremely massive, that twelve hundred men, assisted by sixteen elephants, could not move it, even for a few yards. . . . . The mortar was equally heavy, and, I think, had an eighteen inch bore. They have since been removed, for I lately found only the old gun carriage in that place." *

Meanwhile the subsidiary force at Quilon was engaged in several actions with the Nayar troops. But as soon as they heard of the fall of the Aramboly lines, the Nayars losing all hopes of success dispersed in various directions. Col. Chalmers soon marched towards the capital and encamped at a place within twelve miles of it, while about the same time Col. St. Leger took up a similar position on the opposite side. Velu Tampi

* Military Reminiscences, Vol. I. Page 296.

fled from Trivandrum. All was now lost; the desperate game had been played out.

In his flight he touched at Kilimanur, the domain of the Kilimanur Koil Tampurans, a village about twenty-five miles north-west of Trivandrum. He halted there for two hours and this was an interesting event still remembered by the members of that family. It was a little before midnight one day in the month of Kumbham 984 M. E. (February 1809), that two travellers and a servant-boy carrying a leather-covered wooden box on his head were seen standing at the eastern gate of the Kilimanur Palace. There was no stir in the palace premises except that a few dim lights were burning. Not knowing what to do, the strangers stood out at one side of the palace gate. A servant then came out with a light in his hand, probably the night-watch examining all parts of the enclosure before shutting the gates of the palace. The chief man among them called out to the palace servant and enquired, "Are there any of the Tampurans here (meaning Koil Tampurans)? Can we get some rice? We are hungry". The servant of the palace replied, "Please wait, I may be able to get you some rice." So saying he went in and reported the whole circumstance to the *Kariastan* (Manager) of the palace, one Arimangalathu Narayanan Nambudiripad who was the consort of the Senior Rani and was managing its affairs on her behalf as there were no adult male members in the family fit to manage. The Nambudiripad came downstairs, called in the strangers and seating them on a *jamakal* (carpet) before himself engaged them in conversation, making enquiries after their health and whereabouts, having already given orders for the preparation of their meal. But the chief man of the strangers replied, "We are fearfully hungry. If you kindly give us plain rice without any curries, we shall be much obliged and thereafter we may be better able to talk". On hearing this, the Nambudiripad got up and went in and ordered his cooks to get rice and curry ready for four people immidately, as by that late hour of the night all the balance of cooked rice and condiments had been exhausted and the cooking utensils themselves had been thrown out of the kitchen for cleaning. Meanwhile he sent to the visitors a silver plate with betel and other chewing materials for their use. The Nambudiripad returned to the guests and found that they had not used the chewing plate as intended by him. The chief visitor looked exhausted and care-worn and lay stretched on the carpet with his hand for a pillow under the head. He was a tall and well-built man about fifty years of age. He wore a white fine hand-woven full-sized native *mundoo* (cloth) of South Travancore and had a *nanamundoo* (scarf) on his shoulder which he used as a handkerchief,

Though he looked a man of consequence and strength he was jaded and worn out and sighed hard at intervals. The junior visitor was equally fatigued and care-worn and sat at a respectable distance from the other man at one end of the carpet. No word passed between them. The Nambudiripad remained quite silent for some minutes wondering who those could be. "They look like Nayars", he thought within himself, "the elder who is stretched out on the carpet must be some big man, the other looks like his brother or kinsman. I judge so by his deferential attitude. Can these be Nayar *madampis* or are they ordinary landlords? They are not northerners. I judge so by their talk. Anyhow these are not ordinary folk and they are in a very sad plight; I can find that out by and by." So revolving in his mind, he ventured to speak out. "You are very hungry, no doubt, but I see there is something else bothering you besides. Please tell me what it is about. Don't entertain any suspicions or fears. I will do my best to help you." "Yes, quite true", replied the visitor, "I am very much pinched with hunger, nothing else in particular to speak of". At this moment came the head cook of the palace to say that meal was ready for the visitors. Then the Nambudiripad told his guests, "Please get up; if you wish to bathe, warm water too is ready"; whereupon the visitor said, "we shall sup at once, we don't want to wash". So saying the guests rose. Leaves were brought for them in that same place and meals served, and for their servant another leaf was placed in the outside verandah. As the meal was got up in a hurry, the cooks were not able to prepare all the dishes ordered by the Nambudiripad. There was good rice of course to eat and in addition only a curry of buttermilk, some good butter-milk itself, fried crisp-cakes and other fried things, some kinds of pickles, and hot water for drinking with dried ginger boiled in it. This was the whole *menu*. It should be remembered here that a true Travancorean's hospitality to a distinguished guest consists of varieties of curries, scores of pickles, several kinds of fried condiments, several kinds of sweet kell in addition to rice and cereals. So this hurried preparation the good-natured host asked his guests to excuse as too humble a meal to be offered to such distinguished visitors. The Nambudiripad sat by their side ordering his servant to serve attentively and spoke words of comfort and sympathy to them while they ate. They finished meals soon and washed their hands and the leaves were immediately removed by the women-servants of the palace. The visitors then resumed their seats on the *jamakal* as before. The chief visitor then chewed and feeling gratified by the Nambudiripad's attention and hospitality said that he did not remember

having had such a hearty meal in recent years. "This perhaps is my last meal, so I presume from the satisfaction I feel." This statement quite embarrassed the Nambudiripad who said :— "Very good. Please don't speak of the meal. I am ashamed of having treated you to this poor supper, but I could not do better at this late hour of the night. You speak like the good guests that you are, but enough of this, let us talk of other matters concerning you. Who are you? What did you mean by saying this was your last meal? What is the truth about you? I shall help you and get your matters righted. You can stay as my guests here until your affairs are all righted." To which the chief guest replied:—"Kindly forgive my not telling you any of our affairs. I have endeavoured my best during my iniquitous course of life to harm this royal household, where I have now been treated so hospitably, but by God's help my intended harm did not affect the Kilimanur Palace. I am gratified to have had this opportunity of confessing to you my guilt to-day and of having taken a meal under this roof. Let this sword of mine be kept in this palace as a memento of my visit here to-day." So saying the guest drew out his sabre with a gold-hilt on from its case and placed it before the Nambudiripad. He added, "It is not possible for you to help me out of my present difficulties. My remaining here may harm you and this noble family of Kilimanur, which I should not cause on any account. You will know all about me soon enough. You must have patience till then". So saying he rose and left. The Nambudiripad also rose with him in great distress, saying "where can you go in this dark night? I will send you a palankeen and a few servants to go with you". The visitors declined the proffered help with thanks and walked out with their servant saying "May God help you and this noble house!" The Nambudiripad stood still quite confused and dismayed not knowing what all this meant, and after a while took the sword and secured it in the palace where it remains to this day, a valuable heirloom to the family and a landmark in Travancore history. Three months later, the Nambudiripad knew that the distinguished visitor was no other than the brave Velu Tampi Dalawa.

Velu Tampi was the typical child of his times. The rise of such a man was only possible in a weak rule like that of Bala Rama Varma's. The age when the great Martanda Varma and his illustrious nephew Rama Varma graced the throne was an age when only men like Rama Iyen Dalawa and Rajah Kesava Das could come to the front. Such an age is inimical to the rise or influence of men like Velu Tampi. He was the reflex result of the rule of a weak sovereign on the history of his times which could only produce men characterised by selfishness

covetousness and fierce instincts, unhallowed by refinement of thought and unsoftened by learning or culture.

The Rajah when he heard of all these proceedings was quite alarmed, and disclaiming all knowledge of the action taken by the Dalawa against the East India Company, sent his favourite Oommini Tampi and others to the Colonel's camp. Tradition offers justice to Velu Tampi's memory by attributing the Maharajah's disclaimer to the advice given by Velu Tampi himself before his flight. Orders were immediately issued for the capture of Velu Tampi and his accomplices and rich rewards were offered to the apprehenders. Velu Tampi and his brother were overtaken in the Bhagavati temple at Mannadi in the Kunnattur Taluq, but the Dalawa was not taken alive. Discomfited and despairing he had died in the high Roman fashion by his own hand. He asked his brother to cut his throat, but he would not. He therefore did it himself. Velu Tampi's body was brought to Trivandrum and exposed on a gibbet with chains on in a prominent place at Cannamula. A mission house now stands on the hill where his body was so exposed. The brother was taken alive to Quilon and hanged in the presence of the very 12th regiment in the ruthless massacre of whose soldiers already referred to, he was supposed to have been chiefly instrumental. The other accomplices were brought to Trivandrum and hanged. The man who apprehended Velu Tampi is said to have been given a reward of Rs. 50,000. Velu Tampi's house was razed to the ground and all his relatives were transported to the Maladives but having been compelled to touch at Tuticorin owing to stress of weather, some are reported to have committed suicide and some died in prison while the rest were flogged and banished under the order of Oommini Tampi. Several men of position were hanged or banished the country for being implicated in the insurrection.

Lord Minto, the Governor-General, condemned the vengeance which had pursued the crimes of the Dalawa beyond his life. "The ends of justice and purposes of public security were attained", the Governor-General remarked, "by the death of the Dewan; and the prosecution of a vindictive policy when the object of it had ceased to exist was repugnant to the feelings of common humanity and the principles of civilized Government." Well might His Lordship have said so, for he had a natural abhorrence to injustice of every kind, by whomsoever perpetrated, and had been credited with liberal and enlightened views with regard to the relations that should guide the paramount power towards the Native Princes of India. He was for a liberal policy in the treatment of Native

States and had at one time entertained the idea of handing back to the Native rulers full power over their possessions, a policy which however did not come to fruition in his time. T. Ramalinga Mudaliar, of whom mention has already been made, writes in one of his letters to Col. Macaulay thus :—

"To guess myself it is the not possible, because there must be upon two things, one is the pepper and the other is the Subsidiary Treaty of Travancore. The former I know they wish to have in their old way if possible and the latter is only a thing for which I may guess is the cause of the praise—but as the people—from Quilon and those parts of the places say a report prevails there that Lord Minto is to give up all the countries to Native powers and to do away many of the articles of the Treaties lately concluded with Native powers."

Ramalinga Mudaliar evidently did not believe in this report because from the surrounding conditions he knew it was too good to be true. With reference to the above events, the following extracts may be quoted from a minute, dated 20th November 1809, of Lord Minto which recorded his opinion as to the course of policy which it was expedient to adopt at the time :—

"We are at this moment entitled to exercise provisional rights described in the 5th Article of the treaty; that is to say, 'either to introduce such regulations and ordinances as the Governor-general in Council shall deem expedient for the internal manag ment and collection of the revenues, or for the better ordering of any other branch and department of the government of Travancore, or to assume and bring under the direct management of the servants of the Company, such part or parts of the territorial possessions of His Highness the Maharajah, Ram Rajah, as shall appear to him, the said Governor-general in Council, necessary to render the said funds efficient and available either in time of peace or war'; and, as it is explained in the succeeding article, to place 'the territories acquired, under the exclusive authority and control of the Company'; in other words, to assume the entire administration of the territory so to be assigned. It only remains, therefore, to consider, whether it is expedient at once to exercise either of the rights above described, or to adopt some intermediate and experimental measure, which may appear calculated to obtain the payment of our just demands upon the government of Travancore. After much reflection, I am decidedly of opinion that it is, on various accounts, unadvisable to assume the immediate management of the country. ... ... The objections appear to me of sufficient weight to require that, before the step is taken, every effort should be made to accomplish in some other way the legitimate objects of this government. I feel, at the same time, a strong repugnance, upon grounds more general than those already stated, to assume the government of Travancore, either as a temporary or a permanent measure. So radical a change in the nature of our relation to that country, and so total a revolution in its own political state and constitution, must be deemed by that people, and by every other Native government, equivalent to a conquest, as it would in truth be. It would be classed amongst those events which have created and still justify the jealousy so prevalent in Asia of the views with which we form our alliances, and would especially be regarded as a new example of the consequences to be apprehended from a subsidiary engagement with the

British Government. It is not necessary to contend that those considerations are so conclusive as to forbid the adoption of the measure in question in every possible conjuncture; it may, indeed, be admitted, that an absolute necessity may arise to supersede, both for the security of our own empire and for the protection and happiness of the people, a treacherous, oppressive and vicious government, by substituting the direct sovereignty of the Company in the room of that influence and control, generally more offensive than efficient, which we exercise over our dependant allies. Such, indeed, may be esteemed, if we consult either principle or experience, the natural and inherent tendency of our subsidiary connections in India." *

The circumstances of Velu Tampi's end cast a gloom over the land. Even to this day men and women in the streets of Trivandrum recall with pain and anguish Velu Tampi's ill-starred policy and ignominious finale. His energy, firmness and talents deserved a better fate. He was born wrong; the times were out of joint. If he had lived a hundred years earlier *i. e.*, before the time of Maharajah Martanda Varma, he might have left an undying reputation for decision of character, stern justice, and undaunted courage; he might have been the Cromwell or Richelieu of Travancore history in spite of his perfidious atrocities and savage cruelties which have degraded him in the estimation of posterity. If he had been born fifty years later *i. e.*, after the political relations with England had been firmly established and English power had begun to dominate over Travancore affairs, his natural vigour of mind and great capacity for leadership might have enabled him especially under the civilising influence of English education and culture to win the highest triumphs of peace entitling him to be ranked amongst the greatest administrators of our country.

The whole transaction between the British Government and Travancore was thus strongly condemned by Wilson :—

"The proceedings in Travancore were, in truth, among the least justifiable of the many questionable transactions by which the British power in India has been acquired or preserved. The protection of the Raja was, in the first instance, generous and politic; the military command of his country, subsequently, was necessary for the objects of British policy, and was not incompatible with the pacific interests of the Raja and prosperity of his limited dominion. To impose upon him the maintenance of a force infinitely more numerous than was necessary for the defence of the country, and the cost of which heavily taxed its resources; to urge the exaction with unrelenting vigour; and to resent with unpitying vengeance the passions excited by a deep sense of national wrong among a semi-barbarous and demoralised race, —were unworthy of the character of the British nation for justice and generosity, of the civilization it had attained, and the religion it professed." †

* Affairs of the East India Company—Political. Page 270.

† History of British India, Vol. 1. Page 258.

Oommini Tampi Dewan. On the 15th of March 1809, Oommini Tampi was proclaimed Dewan with military honours and he assumed charge of the administration under a salute of 15 guns. After the death of Velu Tampi the rebels continued in arms here and there in parts of the Quilon district, but the arrival of the English forces soon brought them to their senses and order was quickly restored. Travancore had to pay all the expenses of the English expedition in addition to the arrears of the subsidy. The Carnatic Brigade and some Nayar battalions were dismissed and the defence of the State was solely entrusted to the subsidiary force stationed at Quilon, part of which was also posted near the capital. Oommini Tampi's administration was not successful. The subsidy to the East India Company fell in arrears. The salaries of the various establishments became overdue and the whole administration soon fell into a disorganised state. The Maharajah disliked him as he became arrogant and ambitious and wanted to usurp the whole authority and power in the State.

The Dewan established several tannahs (district jails) throughout the country. The Nanjanadians were deprived of the bell-metal trumpet which was given them by the Sirkar as a mark of distinction, and their right of assembling in large bodies to remonstrate against government measures was also curtailed. The Dewan also established a system of *kavels* or watchmen in Nanjanad. The jungle of Unthicaud lying between Neyyattinkara and Trivandrum was cleared and bazaars were built; twelve houses were built here by the government and bestowed as gifts to Brahmins; a palace also was provided and store-houses were constructed. The Dewan invited a number of weavers, established several looms and called the place "Balaramapuram", in honour of the reigning Maharajah. He also proposed to open a port at Vizhinjam and make it a great commercial centre. But he soon incurred the displeasure of the Maharajah. The subsidy to the British Government fell in arrears. The Dewan told the Resident that the delay in payment was due solely to the Maharajah. While the subsidy was still due, the Maharajah wanted to have the *Murajapam* ceremony performed. The Dewan and the Resident strongly opposed it but the *Murajapam* was nevertheless gone through in due style. The Maharajah had expected his Dewan to support him as against the Resident, but he was disappointed. A certain member of the Mavelikara Royal family was allowed to live in the palace and the Maharajah treated him with great consideration, calling him *Elaya Rajah* by courtesy. Oommini Tampi did not of course approve of this procedure and he moved the Maharajah to have him sent back to Mavelikara. All these circumstances embittered the feelings of the Maharajah against his Dewan.

Domestic events. In the month of Medam 977 M. E. (1802 A. D.), Her Highness the Senior Rani of Attungal gave birth to a daughter, under the star of Uttirattadi (Gouri Parvathi Bayi). In 1809 A. D., another Princess, Rugmini Bayi, was born.

Colonel Munro Resident. Early in 1810, Col. Macaulay intimated to Government his desire to retire from service on account of ill-health. It was no easy matter to select a successor to Col. Macaulay. Government were fully alive to the situation of affairs in Travancore. Their choice fell on Colonel (then Captain) Munro in whom they had great confidence. In the despatch, dated 23rd March 1810, addressed to Col. Munro, Mr. Falconer, Chief Secretary, wrote:—"The nature of the past transactions, and the existing state of affairs in that quarter render the situation of the Resident at the Court of Travancore in a high degree important, difficult and delicate, and His Lordship in Council is satisfied that, in selecting an officer possessing all the requisite qualifications for an office so arduous, he fully provides for the public interests in confiding the trust to you." It having been arranged that Col. Munro should continue for a while at the Presidency to discharge the duties of Quartermaster-General, Dr. K. Macaulay, the Residency Assistant Surgeon, had to take charge of the Residency as a temporary measure. Dewan Nanoo Pillay in his Manuscript "Sketch of the Progress of Travancore" writes thus of the state of affairs in Travancore when Col. Munro assumed charge of his duties as Resident:—

"The Maharajah Rama Varma was the Ruler, Oommany Thumby who had been appointed Dewan in March 1809, the Premier. Corruption, abuse of power and irregularities pervaded the whole service. The country was deep in debt. The service was starved, and subsidy to the Hon'ble East India Company fell greatly in arrears owing to serious financial embarrassments. Anarchy and maladministration were the order of the day. The minister's predominant passion was ambition which influenced him to a degree that he almost usurped the Rajah's power. The inability of the ruling power so to adminster the State as to avert financial difficulty in payment of subsidy, went so far as to evoke the threats of the Paramount Power that it would assume the direct management of the country for the security of the funds destined to such subsidy. The understanding between the Maharajah and the Dewan was anything but cordial, and it was embittered by the intrigues of a young Prince, a member of the Mavelikara family (connected with the Travancore Royal Family by consanguinity and not by right of succession). The young Prince of Mavelikara was a favourite of the Maharajah and passed with the title of Eliah Rajah, though in fact he was not the heir-apparent. His antecedents were far from anything but irreproachable, as he had been suspected of connivance at, if not playing second fiddle to, the rebellion raised by Valu Thumby."

Thus, to quote from a member of the India Board to the Chairman of the Select Committee on East India Affairs, dated 1st August 1832

"Colonel Munro found the country in a state of the utmost anarchy and confusion. No progress has been made, nor any disposition manifested to secure by a system of economy and retrenchment the means of retrieving the Rajah's affairs. The dewan grossly ignorant of the resources of the country, could suggest no plan of finance or improvement to meet the demands of the British Government."

Demise of the Maharajah. While things were in this confused state, the Maharajah died at 12 o'clock on the 26th Tulam 986 M. E. (7th November 1810 A. D.), in the twelfth year of his reign and the twenty-eighth year of his life. This event prevented the adoption of any drastic measures by the British Government for the due administration of the State. Col. Munro had been scarcely eight months in office then.

History has to record that Bala Rama Varma was a weak ruler. His weakness was the more clearly seen as he came immediately after two such eminent Kings as Rama Varma and Martanda Varma. But he was a good and pious Prince actuated by the best of motives and earnestly solicitous for the welfare of his people. He could not cope with the wickedness of his surroundings. There were also a number of other circumstances which combined against him. He was barely sixteen when he ascended the throne of his ancestors. As was to be expected, he was not master of the situation. The favour of the Resident was the passport to power and position, and the officials of the State therefore divided themselves into parties and struggled hard to obtain it. Those who became intimate with the Resident misrepresented the Rajah and maligned his motives to him. When it suited them, they were of course loud in their praises of the young King and his policy, but this course was hardly necessary as the exigencies of the times did not require it. To cry him down and praise the British Government and its local representative were in better fashion and certainly in greater need. In this state of general confusion, the nephew of the late minister Kesava Das was able to approach the Court of Directors and poison their minds against the Rajah and his minister. Colonel Macaulay was inept as a Political Agent, an office which Colonel Munro and several others after him have filled with so much credit to themselves and lasting benefit to the British Government and the Native State. A Political Agent gifted with genius and a poetic imagination might have seen in his office representing the might and majesty of the august British Power in India more responsibility than was required to thwart and malign a young and inexperienced Prince like Bala Rama Varma. Colonel Macaulay, however, felt none of the fascination which Lord Curzon, our

late Viceroy, sees in the existence of Native States in the heart and under the a gis of the British Indian Empire. It is impossible to resist the temptation of quoting His Excellency's charming picture.

"The spectacle and the problem of the Native States of India are indeed a subject that never loses its fascination for my mind. Side by side with our own system, and sometimes almost surrounded by British territory, there are found in this wonderful country the possessions, the administration, the proud authority and the unchallenged traditions of the Native dynasties—a combination which, both in the picturesque variety of its contrast, and still more in the smooth harmony of its operation, is, I believe, without parallel in the history of the world." *

So recently as November 1905, Lord Curzon again said at Kashmir:—

"If excuses for a different policy, for a policy of escheat or for forfeiture in Native States were required, history will supply cases in which they have sometimes not been lacking, but we have deliberately set ourselves to carry out the opposite political theory, namely, to retain the Native States of India intact, to prolong and fortify their separate existence and to safeguard the prestige and authority of their rulers. Such has been our attitude towards Kashmir ever since the end of the first Sikh war, when we made over to your grandfather, already the ruler of the State of Jammu, the much more valuable possession of Kashmir. Since that day there has been no departure from this policy, and there has been no more striking evidence of it than the step which I am taking to-day, and which I consider it my good fortune that, before I leave India, I am in a position to take."

Not only was Colonel Macaulay inept and unsympathetic but unfortunately he was a man without judgment, which was a serious matter, for, as pointed out by Colonel Munro in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the affairs of the East India Company, much depended on the character and personal equation of the Resident. Colonel Munro stated:—

"It appears to me that the subsidiary system is calculated to occasion misgovernment and oppression of the inhabitants, unless it is corrected by the influence of the British Resident. The disadvantage attending the subsidiary system can only be obviated by the personal character, the abilities and integrity of the Resident."

Colonel Macaulay's conduct as a soldier too had been severely censured by the authorities. "These proceedings of Macaulay", writes Lieut. Colonel Wilson, "elicited the disapproval of Government which was thus expressed in a letter to Major Macaulay":—

"His Lordship regrets that the same motives of prudence which induced you to relinquish the intention of attacking the rebels in Panjalamcoorchy were not considered applicable to your projected attack on Cadulgoody, or any other offensive operation of the troops under your command; for if the whole disposable

* Speech at the Banquet at Gwalior on the 29th November 1899.

force of the province, collected under your own command, was insufficient to make any impression on the body of rebels at Panjalamcoorchy, it was presumable that a detachment from your force would be equally incapable of attacking the rebels with advantage at any other post of importance to them. The system of detachments, at all times exceptionable, the Governor in Council considers to be peculiarly hazardous in the face of an enemy so avowedly superior to your own force."

Wilson adds:—

"The casualties were numerous, our loss having amounted to 317 killed and wounded of all ranks. Major Macaulay retired to a favourable position about 1,500 yards from the fort, and encamped there pending the arrival of reinforcements. The Governor in Council, immediately on hearing of the disaster, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew, then Adjutant-General, to command the troops in the field, and invested him with full powers, such as had been exercised by Major Bannerman in 1799." *

It was such a man that was thought good enough to be the Resident in Travancore under the weak rule of Bala Rama Varma. The collapse was inevitable, for as the saying goes, "When sorrows come, they come not single spies, but in battalions".

The bad odour into which the Maharajah fell and the unfortunate impression which his rule had created on the minds of the Court of Directors were thus recorded in their letter to the Madras Government, dated 29th September 1809, narrating the chief incidents of this reign down to the insurrection:—

"The old Rajah was succeeded by his nephew, a young man, whose character seems ever to have been marked by imbecility, caprice, and other qualities which show him to be wholly unequal to the task of Government. The old and faithful Dewan of his uncle was supplanted by low and vicious persons, who soon gained an ascendancy over the Rajah and influenced the conduct of affairs. In 1799 an insurrection broke out in the district. In 1800 a cabal headed by a person named the Sumprathy, seized the reins of Government; gross abuses prevailed in many of the public departments; the revenues were decreasing, whilst the bulk of the people were in the lowest state of depression; and another insurrection took place on account of oppression in some branches of the collections. The time of the Rajah is described to have been chiefly engrossed by his pleasures and by superstitious ceremonies among the Brahmins who with their dependants, were reckoned to be equal in number to the working class. The late Dewan, so much respected by the people, was not suffered to live even in retirement. There is very strong reason to believe that he was taken off by poison, and the British Resident thought it his duty publicly to accuse Sumprathy of this foul murder, but after a short arrest and an appearance of inquiry, in which more solicitude was shown to avoid than to effect discovery, he was restored to his liberty and influence at the Durbar. This man is stated to have charged the late Dewan with ruining the interest of Travancore by connexion with Europeans, particularly the English, and from all the details contained in the ample correspondence carried on by the British Resident at that time,

* History of the Madras Army, Vol. III. Page 43.

it is strongly to be inferred that neither the Rajah nor those employed in the transaction of his affairs regarded British connexion with the ancient cordiality.

"In 1801, the Rajah, after repeated representations from the Resident of the disordered state of the country and the necessity of rescuing the management of affairs from those whom he had permitted to possess themselves of it, appointed a new Dewan named Valu Thamby. This person had been at the head of the insurrection of 1799; but being reputed a man of ability and firmness, the Resident, in the great want of persons of that description, approved of his appointment, and had reason to expect that he would be friendly to the connexion with the British Government. His subsequent conduct, however, did not justify this expectation. The Resident, after some absence from his station, on returning to it in December 1801, found that all the relations of the old and respectable Dewan, who himself had suffered a violent death, had also been murdered, and that Sumprathy, the former favourite, had been disgraced and imprisoned by means of the new Dewan Valu Thamby.

"But those hopes were of short duration; by the month of November the payment of arrears amounted only to Rupees 60,000 and the balance due was eight lacs. Instead of a further liquidation of debt, that month produces only succession of informations from the Resident, evincing with increasing clearness the certainty of what the officer at first calls 'something like a systematic plan of contumacious resistance on the part of the Dewan', which he says rendered it necessary to apprize the Rajah, that with a view to the proper regulation of the affairs of Travancore, another person should be chosen for the office of Dewan in the room of Valu Thamby. This is the man who first comes into notice as the leader of an insurrection in 1799, who, with the assistance of the British influence was advanced to be prime minister in 1801, whose early administration is clouded with suspicion arising from the atrocious murder of the family of the deceased respectable Dewan; who, in 1805, vowed unalterable attachment to British interests, and only two months before professed sincere contrition for his failure in this respect. He now begins to appear as the sole ruler of the Travancore State. The Rajah, though his disposition was deemed to be favourable to the British Government, is stated to have been incapable of following the course of his own wishes; he henceforth ceases to be seen in public transactions, and the Dewan exercises in his own person all the powers of Government. We hear of a faction formed under his protection, of an augmentation of Travancore sepoys, the manufactures of bows and arrows, his training the inhabitants to arms, his success in exciting a ferment, his sending to the Isle of France for 500 artillery men, and expectation of assistance from thence, his rooted purpose of determined hostility, his being capable of instigating his partisans to an attack, and the expediency of placing him as the prime mover and instigator of hostility under arrest. Early in December you were told by the Resident that the Dewan still continued with unremitting activity his plans of hostile preparations and that in conjunction with the Rajah of Cochin's minister, a person who appeared to have been a suitable confederate to him, and made a conspicuous figure in the subsequent transactions, he was endeavouring to force that Prince into measures of hostility against the British Government, urging him to unite with other chieftains friendly to Travancore for the expulsion of the English, requiring him with that view to train particular classes of his subjects in the same manner as had been ordered in Travancore. You were at the same time informed by the officer commanding in Malabar that a report prevailed there of an intended attack on the British subsidiary force, and that an army of 22,000 Travancoreans was assembled at no great distance from it."

Conclusion. The Maharajah's career thus closed under a cloud, a fate which he did not merit; and to this day his name is in the minds of the common people associated with weaknesss and incapacity of every kind. *Avittam Tirunal's** is the darkest page in Travancore history and is a byword for all that is unlucky and incapable in the administration of affairs, for the persecution of retired officials and the ill-treatment of their families, for the corruption and rapacity of public servants, for the disloyalty of ministers and for the wanton faithlessness towards the East India Company, our staunchest friends and allies. But when all has been said and done, it will remain to the credit of the pious and good-natured Maharajah that he meant well by his people, that his lot was cast in evil times, that he was unfortunate in the choice of his ministers and that his extreme youth and inexperience were his worst enemies. The whole truth is contained in the pithy observation made by the Court of Directors that the "Prince was forced into measures of hostility against the British Government".

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* Means born under the star Avittam. Bala Rama Varma's star was Avittam or *Sravishta*.

GOURI LAKSHMI BAYI 986—990 M. E. / 1811—1815 A. D.

Accession. With the death of Bala Rama Varma the affairs of the State took a rapid turn for the better. The days of darkness and disorder were over and a bright era of peace and prosperity began with the reign of Rani Lakshmi Bayi. The Princess was barely twenty years old when her uncle died and was declared heir to the throne. A rival claimant appeared in the person of a young and ambitious member of the Mavelikara royal family who was taken into the palace as a pet and treated as such by the late Maharajah. He was called by courtesy the *Elaya Rajah* or Heir-apparent. This treatment naturally turned the young man's head and he accordingly aspired to the musnud in succession to the late Maharajah. His claims were duly enquired into and found untenable. It may be remarked that even prior to the death of the late Maharajah, the young man was solicitous in pushing forward his claims to the musnud. The Princess (Lakshmi Bayi) was however quite a match to him, for she had put into the hands of the Dewan a document showing the weakness of his cause. This act exasperated him and he ever afterwards bore a bitter grudge against her. When he knew that the Rani's claims would succeed, he had recourse to art. He tried hard to gain her over to his side. He went to the length of coaxing her to make a formal renunciation of her right to succession in his favour. But the Rani remained firm frustrating all his wicked designs.

The disappointed young Rajah was however allowed to live at the capital even after the Rani's installation. This privilege he abused by employing his time in scheming and plotting against her. The Resident found it desirable to place him under a sort of surveillance by appointing one Killadar Mahasing of the Madras Police establishment of approved discretion and fidelity as a watch over him. Nevertheless the Rani felt as anxious as ever. The Colonel deemed it necessary to make this new appointment, not only as a help to the Rani, but also in the interests of the Company, as the turbulent and intriguing spirit of the times rendered it expedient. This appointment ceased to exist in the time of the Maharajah Rama Varma whose reign began in 1829-1830 A. D.

"The whole country was split into two factions, partisans of the young Rajah and of the Dewan. Both of them were unprincipled men. But the young Prince was more dangerous and hostile to the British Government, already a partisan of Valu Thumby, and surrounded by turbulent characters. He

was further cruel and impetuous. The policy pursued by Colonel Munro was to prevent a coalition of the two powerful parties. The people of the country acted less from principle than from feeling and short-sighted views of interest. Their motives frequently fluctuated, and their enmities and reconciliation were often sudden and apparently unaccountable. Their combination would have it in their power to rise against the British Government at any moment. This truth was more than illustrated by the history of the previous reign in the instance of the deceased Maharajah and his Dewan Valu Thumby. The latter was for some years exposed to the determined hostility of the former, and owed on two occasions the preservation of his life to the protection of the British Government. With all that a union was apparent amongst them in an unprovoked war against the former benefactors and friends of Valu Thumby, and security against similar coalitions could be found only in a system of administration sufficiently benevolent and just to satisfy the mass of the people, and sufficiently authoritative and rigorous, to deter men in power from prosecuting schemes of faction or sedition, and the absence of such security justified the policy pursued by the Resident. Colonel Munro maintained a kind of balance of power between the young Rajah's and the Dewan's parties; but on the whole leaning to the latter in way of support, in other words while the Resident endeavoured by attention and kindness to prevent the young Prince from meditating any improper measures, he found it requisite to support the Dewan's party in opposition to the former's, and by this means to prevent a coalition of the two. Nevertheless it was soon discovered that the Mavalickuray Prince's residence at the capital was perilous to the peace of the Sovereign and the interests of the country. He was therefore sent as a State prisoner first to Tellicherry and afterwards to Chingleput." *

When Lakshmi Bayi's claims were indisputably established, she was declared the rightful heir and successor to Bala Rama Varma and placed on the *gadi* with the approval of the Madras Government and the Court of Directors. The young Rani was endowed with remarkable intelligence and judgment. She fully understood the responsibilities of her position as a ruler. Female sovereigns seem to excel everywhere in the art of administration and such was the case happily in Travancore too; and when to the natural advantage of sex they added real talent and grip for management of public affairs as our Rani Lakshmi Bayi and her sister Parvathi Bayi did, they manage to leave an imperishable reputation. Lakshmi Bayi's special merit, young as she was, consisted in resisting the influence of evil counsellors, flatterers and sycophants. Her husband, Raja Raja Varma of the Changanachery family of Koil Tampurans and grand-uncle of Kerala Varma C. S. I., the present Valia Koil Tampuran, was a Sanskrit scholar and a man of the world, and his valuable counsel was always sought and obeyed in all important affairs of State. She placed full confidence in the British Government and received the utmost support from Colonel Munro, the Resident. She was a brave Rani though young, and the following speech delivered

* Mr. Nanoo Pillay's Manuscript Sketch of the Progress of Travancore.

by her when she was placed on the musnud, shows of what stuff she was made. Addressing Colonel Munro *Ethreyum Bahumanapetta Sahabay* (i. e., very esteemed Sahib), she said:—

"I had not expected even in my dreams that I would be called upon ever in my life to assume a Musnud which had been most worthily and deservedly occupied by my ancestors from time immemorial and latterly supported and protected under the auspices of the Honourable East India Company. My uncle, who has been just removed from this world to a better one by divine will, was only twenty years of age, and if such had not been the will of Sri Padmanabhaswamy (alluding to the household god), my uncle could have held the sceptre for a greater length of time like my grand-uncle, who departed to heaven in the year 973 M. E.; but since it has been the will and command of my household deity, I am ready to obey, but being a young female quite unprepared and unqualified for such a high and responsible position, I cannot do better than to place myself under the guidance and support of the Honourable East India Company, whose bosom had been an asylum for the protection of an infant like Travancore, since the time Sri Padmanabhaswamy had effected an alliance with such a respectable Company of the European nation. To you, Colonel, I entrust everything connected with my country, and from this day I look upon you as my own elder brother and so I need say no more."

This speech made a deep impression on the minds of the European and native audience present. The new sovereign began her reign with a determination to get rid of her unscrupulous Dewan Oommini Tampi, the feeling towards whom was embittered further by her coming to know of his misappropriation of articles and ornaments, worth more than half a lac of rupees and belonging to the late Dewan Velu Tampi and of other principal men, which had been confiscated to the State. On the 15th April 1811, Her Highness the Rani addressed Col. Munro a Malayalam letter, of which the following is a true translation:—

"I am desirous that the following representation of my wishes should be seriously considered. I suffer a degree of anxiety which deprives me of all happiness. Formerly certain seditious persons excited disorders and troubles and were even guilty of great embezzlements and injustice. They are endeavouring at present to pursue the same seditious course of measures. I allude to the present Dewan and his followers, of whom I entertain the most serious apprehensions. The removal of these apprehensions, and of the highly improper things which have created them, depends upon the power and protection of the English gentlemen alone. As I consider the gentlemen of the Company in the light of parents, and myself as their daughter, I have committed my cares and services to them, and expect the comfort and happiness of myself and my country from their justice and protection only. If the Company do not protect and assist me, who will protect me? My representation is this, that I do not require the services of the present Dewan. As I am a woman, it is not becoming to write more; but I earnestly trust that my wishes may be taken into serious consideration, and that the present Dewan may be removed from office and made accountable for the property and effects which he has embezzled."

In another letter she again observed:—

"She could at best imperfectly describe the evils inflicted upon her country by the conduct of Oommini Tampi, neither was it necessary for her to attempt a description of them as they were well known to the Resident; that her earnest desire was to fulfil her engagements and to strengthen the friendship which had so long subsisted between this State and the British Government and she was satisfied that the Government would in return consult her wishes, and she might add, her safety by removing Oommini from office."

The Resident Col. Munro fully confirmed Her Highness' views, for he observed:-

"His behaviour towards the Rajah was harsh and vindictive, his management of the country was irregular and oppressive, and his conduct to the Resident exhibited a system of deception and counteraction. He was particularly obnoxious to the Rani, and his continuance in office would therefore be unfavourable to the attainment of that close and cordial union between the States which I considered it highly desirable to establish."

Colonel Munro Dewan. When the Dewan's dismissal was resolved upon, and the question was as to who should succeed him, the Rani wrote that "there was no person in Travancore that she wished to elevate to the office of Dewan: and that her own wishes were that the Resident should superintend the affairs of the country as she had a degree of confidence in his justice, judgment and integrity which she could not place in the conduct of any other person". She added that "she regarded the Resident as her brother and was convinced that the Resident should always act for the good of herself and her people". This arrangement was just what the Resident himself conceived to be the best under the circumstances. In one of his letters to the Madras Government he observed:—

"I know no person in the country qualified for the situation of Dewan, and the history of the transactions in Travancore for the last ten years would not admit of my placing much confidence in the conduct of any Dewan that might be nominated to office, for of two Dewans appointed by the British influence during that period of time, one was guilty of open rebellion against its authority; and the other of numerous instances of mismanagement and oppression. It appears therefore to be desirable that the office of Dewan should be discontinued, and that the Resident should superintend the administration of affairs if that measure should be agreeable to the wishes of Her Highness the Rani and of the people. I had the best reasons for knowing that the measure would be highly acceptable to Her Highness, and to a great majority of the people; and its adoption was further recommended by a variety of considerations drawn from the past history and actual situation of Travancore. The history of this country exhibits a course of low intrigues, a jealous policy which could not be effectually suppressed under the administration of a Dewan; and which might not only influence the Rajah's conduct, but foster a spirit of turbulence and faction in the country. The administration of Travancore has been capricious, oppressive and cruel and could not be radically corrected while it remained in the hands of a person located under its operation, and familiarised to its vices. The situation of the country full of abuses, would be ameliorated, the attachment of the people

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Travancore and the Honourable Company's Government.

secured, and future commotions prevented by the justice, moderation and humanity of an authority possessing the confidence of the Rani and acting under the immediate direction of the British Government. The introduction of this arrangement so conducive in my judgment to the future prosperity of Travancore was facilitated by existing circumstances for the evils long suffered under the Dewans, and a general aversion to the administration of Oomminy Tampi rendered the people desirous of being placed under the protection of British justice."

With the approval of the Madras Government the Resident wrote to Oommini Tampi to say that "as there did not appear in the judgment of the British Government and of Her Highness the Rani to be any occasion at present for the office of Dewan, he was relieved from the duties of that situation". Her Highness the Rani accordingly issued *neets* under her signature to all the functionaries announcing Oommini Tampi's removal and the Resident's assumption of the duties of the administration at her instance.

Oommini Tampi was in a rage. He carried on a set of intrigues against Col. Munro. One of them was his setting up one Mallan Pillai, a late Valia Sarvadhikariakar of the Central Division, with whom he was connected by marriage, to lay before the Government of Madras most unfounded charges against the Resident through one Mr. Johnstone, his attorney. The Governmet had too great a confidence on their accredited agent at the Court of Travancore to believe the stories trumped up by designing persons. It was however resolved that Oommini Tampi should live elsewhere from the capital. Quilon was fixed upon as the place of his permanent residence. It is said that during his stay there he plotted against the Colonel's life which led to his deportation as a State prisoner to Chingleput. Col. Munro was appointed on the 18th Edavam 986 M. E. (June 1811 A. D.). On the very next day, the Rani wrote to him in the following terms:—

"My dear and brotherly Colonel Sahib, since the Colonel is aware of the honour and positon of my country and its customs and manners, it would be unnecessary for me either to write at length or to speak at large concerning them. All the systems established by my ancestors for the maintenance of the various charitable institutions, as well as for the protection and advancement of the welfare of my subjects, I request the Colonel will see conducted according to *mamool* and without the least difference.

"The subject of paying the Brahmins who had been deputed for *Setusnanam* (pilgrimage to Ramesvaram), and who have been complaining of nonpayment, has already been brought to your notice by me requesting early disbursement of the same. Mahasing Killadar has also been instructed to settle the matter at once.

"Speedy and correct despatch of business will, I think, be the more facilitated by our mutual correspondence on matters concerning the administration, and I have no doubt the Colonel will concur with me in this opinion of mine.

"As I am a female and have entrusted my brotherly Colonel with all my affairs, I have full confidence that you will have me and my country, with all my subjects and all the charities, conducted in accordance with *mamool* (usage)."

It should be remarked here that though the Rani had appointed the British Resident at her Court to be her Dewan as well, she kept the management of the State virtually in her own hands. This has been the well-recognised constitution of Travancore, for Colonel Munro writes "that the executive administration in Travancore should not only be conducted with integrity and zeal but that the people in general and more especially Her Highness the Rani and the party attached to her interests should have the means of knowing that it is conducted in that manner". Every appointment was submitted for her sanction and every detail was sent up to the palace for information or record there. Mr. Nanoo Pillay writes in his manuscript Sketch already referred to:— "The financial department was further desired (by Colonel Munro) to forward to Her Highness the Ranee twice every month statements of the receipts and issues of the Government and the sums paid and balances due to the company." Officers of the Huzur were instructed to submit papers and statements directly to Her Highness. Nanoo Pillay adds:—

"With the view to prevent these evils, Colonel Munro discouraged the issue of money excepting for urgent services in the provinces and directed all the collections to be sent to the Huzzoor treasury where accurate accounts were kept. This Department was placed under a native of Travancore, a man of respectable character named Chithumparem Pillay to whom particular instructions were given to make no issues of money excepting upon bills signed by the Superintendent of the finance department and countersigned by the Resident; to keep accurate accounts according to given forms of all receipts and issues at the treasury and of all payments to the Company's treasury, and to furnish Her Highness the Ranee with regular report of his charge."

Reforms. Munro found the administration clogged by corruption and want of discipline. The central power was weak and in consequence the subordinate staff was not properly controlled. The affairs of the State had been conducted by a gradation of officers, designated the *Valia Sarvadhikariakars*, *Sarvadhikariakars*, *Kariakars* and *Provertikars*. Of these the Kariakars were the principal officers who came into direct contact with the people in the exercise of their several functions fiscal, magisterial, judicial and military, subject to a nominal control of the superior officers. The tyranny and oppression to which the people were subjected by these officers at the time Munro took charge of the administration, is thus graphically described by him in an elaborate Report submitted to the Madras Government on 7th March 1818:—

"No description can produce an adequate impression of the tyranny, corruption and abuses of the system, full of activity and energy in everything mischievous, oppressive and infamous, but slow and dilatory to effect any purpose of humanity, mercy and justice. This body of public officers, united with each other on fixed principles of combination and mutual support, resented a complaint against one of their number, as an attack upon the whole. Their pay was very small, and never issued from the treasury, but supplied from several authorised exactions made by themselves. They offered, on receiving their appointment, large nuzzers to the Rajah, and had afterwards to make presents, on days of public solemnity, that exceeded the half of their pay. They realised, in the course of two or three years, large sums of money and were generally subjected to a complete confiscation of their property for the benefit of the State. The Rajah, therefore, imposed no restraint on their rapacity, aware that their plunder would be transferred to his own treasury. Nor does it appear that this consideration had any effect in checking their extortions: they calculated upon being able to conceal their property during their lives, and felt little concern as to the mode of its disposal after their death. On the part of the people, complaint was useless, redress hopeless; they had only one remedy, and that was bribery. This practice was universal, and it was one of the melancholy circumstances in the situation of the people, that one of the greatest evils was necessarily resorted to as a good, to mitigate the still more intolerable grievances of injustice and oppression. Innocence was protected, justice obtained, and right secured by bribes. There were also still more efficacious means of injury, and their universal use produced an extraordinary spirit of avarice in the country; for every man endeavoured to have a secret hoard of money, as the best protection of his liberty, property and life." *

Attached to the Kariakars, there was a regular gradation of accountants who managed the revenue accounts, and in general surpassed even the Kariakars in extortion and plunder. Colonel Munro therefore first aimed at remodelling the service and establishing order and regularity in the administration. He introduced a system of corporal punishments in the case of erring public servants. The servants so punished were not dismissed but were asked to continue and work on right lines. The end seems to have justified the means. He went on circuit throughout the length and breadth of the land from Parur to Tovala, checking abuses and punishing miscreants. The result was that in the course of a year order and discipline were restored. In all his actions he eagerly sought the opinions of the representatives of the various castes.

JUDICIAL. To remedy the confusion resulting from a combination of offices and to relieve the people from tyranny and corruption, the offices of Sarvadhikariakar and Valia Sarvadhikariakar were abolished and the Kariakars were deprived of their judicial and magisterial functions and were reduced to the position of mere collectors of revenue. For the proper administration of justice, a Court of Appeal and five Zillah

* Appendix to Report from Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company—Political. Page 276.

Courts (viz., at Padmanabhapuram, Trivandrum, Mavelikara, Vaikam and Alwaye), were established for the trial of offences and for adjudicating on civil claims. The Appeal Court was stationed at the seat of government and was presided over by four Judges including the Dewan. The Zillah Courts had each two Judges and a *Sastri*. The officers were all selected from among the most respectable Nayars, Brahmins, and Christians. A few ordinances or *Sattavariolas* were promulgated for the guidance of the Courts, based on the procedure and laws prevalent in the land, the *Dharma Sastras* and the regulations issued by the British Government for the guidance of their own Courts. Another Court called the Huzur Court was formed for the trial of Sirkar servants.

The reduction of the militia necessitated the raising of a separate corps for the conduct of police duties and *Darogas* of Police were appointed and placed under the immediate orders of the Dewan, independent of the judicial and revenue departments.

REVENUE AND FINANCE. A Kariakar under the new designation of *Tahsildar* was placed in charge of each district (or *Mantapathumrathukkal*) with an accountant or *Samprati* and a number of Provertikars under him, his duties being confined to the collection of the land revenue. These arrangements were not viewed with favour by the authorities in England. They were "apprehensive that the measure of depriving the Karigars of their magisterial and judicial functions would have the effect of rendering that large body of officers disaffected to the British Government." They were also of opinion, "that an attempt to assimilate the judicial and revenue system of administration in Travancore to that of the Company's territories was little calculated to suit the habits of a people, to whom it was presumed that the ancient and simple forms to which they were accustomed must be more agreeable than the artificial and operose proceedings of the regular courts of law." But before the despatch containing these observations (dated 10th August 1814) could reach India, Col. Munro had ceased to be Dewan. He however justifies the measures in the following words in his Report to the Government of Fort St. George already referred to.

"It was extremely desirable to communicate a pacific disposition to the Government and the people of Travancore; the strict gradation of authority established among the karigars, and the entire command which they possessed over the services of the people, contributed to perpetuate military feelings in the country, and to facilitate the means of commotion and insurrection. They were, in fact, at once military and civil governors exercising absolute power in their districts. The investiture of their office was given by the Rajah with a sword, and this weapon, together with the ensigns of their office, were carefully

displayed wherever they appeared. The unlimited powers exercised by the karigars were peculiarly liable to abuse in their capacity of revenue servants. In absolute governments the conduct of the revenue servants requires generally to be observed with more jealousy and vigilance than that of the other public functionaries. The constant and authoritative intercourse which they have with the people, touching their property and interests, gives them an influence, which, if strengthened by the power of a magistrate or judge, will assuredly be perverted by the natives of India to purposes of corruption and injustice. The authority of the karigars enabled them to prosecute the system of rapine, fraud and coercion, which I have described, and it was essential to the purity of the revenue administration of the country, that they should be divested of the magisterial functions which they possessed. But the views which I have stated could not be accomplished by any half measures; they could be accomplished only by reducing the karigars merely to the office of revenue servants, and depriving them of all direct authority over the persons or property of the people. It was in vain to hope that the karigars would relinquish their habits of command and control while they possessed the means of pursuing them. Persons hereafter appointed to that office would always aspire to follow the example of their predecessors; and there was no method of preventing the undue exercise of the karigars' powers, but by depriving them of that power altogether. The gradations of rank among the karigars opposed (offered?) considerable obstacles to the efficient execution of their duties. An order disagreeable to the karigars was seldom enforced; it was sent from the wallee-survaddy karigars with a private intimation to disobey it, and it was conveyed from the survaddy karigars to the karigars, and from the karigars to the proworteecars with a similar request. If called to account, these officers asserted that they had transmitted the order, and laid the blame of disobedience on their inferiors, and it was difficult to examine, 200 or 300 proworteecars. But any order favourable to the feelings or wishes of the karigars was carried into effect with the promptitude of military obedience. In fact, responsibility could not be fixed; they had a kind of military constitution, without the laws, sanction and discipline which prevent it from degenerating into anarchy and misrule. In pursuance of these considerations, the karigars have been gradually deprived of all direct authority over the people, and reduced to the situation of collectors, or rather receivers of the revenues; the offices of wallee-survaddy karigars, and survaddy karigars have been abolished, together with their correspondent accountants; a karigar under the title of tasildar, has been retained at the head of every mundaputwasil or district, with an accountant denominated sumpreddy pillah, and having a certain number of proworteecars under him. This plan admits of no evasion in complying with orders; and the duties of tasildars being confined to the collection of the land revenue, are executed with more efficiency. The influence of names is considerable, and the discontinuance of the title of karigars will be attended with advantage."

These arguments were evidently thrown away on the Court of Directors, for though a century has since elapsed, the Tahsildar Magistrates continue in power in Travancore to this day.

Munro then abolished several vexatious taxes, such as the tax on the inheritance of property, the capitation tax on all males from 16 to 60 except Nayars, Moplahs and Artizans, the tax on nets and fishermen, taxes on Christian festivals, etc. He made a detailed enquiry into the condition of the ryots and the settlement of their accounts and abolished the system

of fictitious remissions, the amount of which never benefited the ryots but really went into the pockets of the subordinate officers. The system of farming the land and sea customs revenues hitherto prevailing was abolished and a select number of chowkeys or custom-houses were opened and placed under the management of responsible officers of State. Pepper, tobacco and salt were made government monopolies and their sale was regulated by measures beneficial to the people.

He also established a clear and definite scale of pensions to dependent chiefs and Sirkar servants. He reorganised the expenditure of the palace establishments. He had brought with him one Reddy Row who was a good Mahratta scholar and accountant. He was asked to organise an account department for the State, which he accordingly did. By these various reforms and enforcing strict economy everywhere, Munro secured substantial savings. The State debt amounted to one whole year's revenue and a large part of this was due to the East India Company as arrears of subsidy. In less than three years he was able to pay off besides the current subsidy, debts to the extent of eighteen lacs of rupees to the Company and nearly six lacs to private individuals.

THE DEVASWAMS or religious institutions next engaged his attention. These institutions were ill-managed, the revenues from them being in most cases diverted from their proper uses or misappropriated by the trustees for their own private use. Velu Tampi, when Dalawa, attempted a reform in this direction but the sad events of the last reign interfered with the completion of the work. Col. Munro on the recommendation of a committee of learned Brahmins, allotted upon a large and liberal scale, allowances for the due performance of religious and other ceremonies at all the pagodas and secured to the people adequate prices for the articles supplied for the use of those establishments, in place of the arbitrary exactions to which they had formerly been subjected on that score. New rules were framed for their management and the institutions themselves brought directly under the control of the Sirkar. The result was that the temples and charities assumed were better managed and the State gained an addition to its revenues.

PUBLIC WORKS. In 1811 Munro got the Rani's sanction for the construction of bridges and *jungars* for crossing certain rivers and channels to facilitate thorough communication, and appointed Captain Arthur Superintending Engineer, Quilon, to carry out the works. During his term of office as Dewan, he constructed the Residencies at Quilon and Trivandrum.

MILITARY. After the revolt of Velu Tampi in 1809, there was practically no army in Travancore. Munro organised two battalions of Nayar sepoys and one company of cavalry as "bodyguard and escort to Royalty". European officers were appointed to the command of this small force.

TRADE AND INDUSTRIES. In 1811 he made arrangements for starting a pearl fishery near Cape Comorin. He introduced improved methods of manufacturing common salt and started new bankshalls for their sale. He also appointed a superintendent of bazaars called *Cotwall* whose chief functions were:—management and control of the bazaar; superintendence of the police and the preservation of order: superintendence of the sale of arrack and of tobacco; encouraging the people to sell their rice in the market and protecting them from insult or injury; preventing any duties being levied upon articles of provisions brought to the bazaar; fixing the price of grain every week in consultation with the merchants who should not be allowed to sell them at a dearer price, but might sell them if they chose, at a cheaper price; inducing the inhabitants to form vegetable gardens; attending to the sale of bread and sheep and slaughter of cattle, and insisting on the goodness of their quality: regulating the sale of arrack to the common people and to the troops; stopping contraband trade in tobacco, betel-nut and other articles which were the monopolies of the Sirkar; and procuring coolies for the use of officers and troops marching from Quilon. The coolies were to be registered and if they ran away after receiving their proper hire they should be punished. One of the above items viz., the fixing of the price of grain is still gratefully remembered by the people of Travancore who always believed that Government should regulate by its own authority the market prices of rice and other provisions essential to their existence, as otherwise bazaar men combine in a body and put exorbitant prices on them. This article of faith still lingers in the minds of the Travancore people without reference to the recent advance made by the science of Political Economy, as they bitterly complain of the inability or indifference of recent ministers to help them in so important a direction.

SOCIAL. By a Royal Proclamation of 1812 A. D. (21st Vrischigam 987 M. E.), the purchase and sale of all slaves other than those attached to the soil for purposes of agriculture *e. g.*, the Koravars, Pulayas, Pallas, Malayars and Vedars, were strictly prohibited, and all transgressors were declared liable to confiscation of their property and banishment from the country. The Sirkar also relinquished the tax on slaves. But the total abolition of slavery and the enfranchisement of slaves took place only in 1855, as will be seen later on.

Birth of the Princes. On the 16th April 1813 A. D., the Rani was blessed with a son. The infant Prince Rama Varma was proclaimed Maharajah on the 29th July of the same year and the Queen-mother continued to rule the land in the name of her son. In Chingam 990 M. E. (1814 A. D.), another Prince was born viz., Martanda Varma. In introducing Prince Rama Varma to the audience in a Durbar in 1814 A. D., Rani Lakshmi Bayi spoke to the following effect:—

"As the Honourable East India Company have been acting with justice it pleased Sri Padmanabhaswamy to accomplish everything agreeably to their desire.

"At the instance of my household deity (Sri Padmanabhaswamy), I have placed this child of mine on the bosom of the Company and the responsibility of the future support and respectable treatment of this Royal scion shall now rest with the Honourable Company. What more need I say?"

Col. Munro resigns his Dewanship. Colonel Munro was in charge of the administration of affairs till 1814. Lieut. Horsely bears the following testimony to his brilliant administration:—

"The arduous task of raising the country from the state of declension into which it had sunk, was after a successful administration of three years fully accomplished, though not without opposition from some of the higher ranks whose enmity was directed against a reformation incompatible with the wretched state of plunder and excess of all kinds which they had so long enjoyed with impunity. The beneficial reformation which deserves and receives the gratitude of the people, has, it is hoped, established the name and authority of the British in their affections." *

Dewan Nanoo Pillay observes:—

"It will be remembered that the investment by Her Highness the Ranee of the powers of the Prime Minister in the Resident was a temporary arrangement brought about by critical circumstances. Consistently with the spirit of the subsisting treaty the dictates of even a benevolent policy could scarcely have justified the Resident to administer the country for a prolonged period—justice demanded that the Ruler of Travancore should manage the affairs of the country through her own Minister. Colonel Munro's own opinion as embodied in an authentic record runs thus:—'The maintenance of that form of Government (that is Travancore's administration by her own Dewan) will also be gratifying to a people attached to their old usages and not without apprehensions which have rather increased than diminished by the late great ameliorations, in their conduct of the intended transfer of their country to the British Government. The Resident's endeavours to introduce order and regularity into the administration of the Government and to extinguish the rapacity, corruption and injustice which formerly prevailed were regarded by some classes of the people as preparatory steps to the complete assumption of the country, while these endeavours if carried into effect through the agency of a Dewan of respectable character would produce their proper effect without exciting any of

* Selections from the Records of Travancore—No. 1. Memoir of Travancore: Page. 7.

the fears to which he has alluded. The appointment of a Dewan, by relieving the Resident from an incredible number of subordinate details, will enable him to direct more of his attention to general arrangements for the improvement of the country and the happiness of the people. It is true, that such an appointment will diminish the direct influence to control over the proceedings of the Government and the people, and the knowledge of occurrences now possessed by the Resident; but if a Dewan of moderate temper of mind should be appointed to office and if the Resident shall exercise a vigilant superintendence over the conduct of affairs, he will return a sufficient degree of authority and influence to secure their proper management.'

Colonel Munro himself writes thus of his administration in his Report to the Madras Government which has already been more than once referred to:—

"I certainly was not induced to take charge of the office of dewan by any prospect of facility in the execution of its duties, for I saw that they would be laborious, arduous and difficult. The principle of my proceedings was to conciliate both the Rajah and the people, and this could be accomplished only by conferring benefits on them. To please the Rajah, it was necessary that his authority, dignity and revenues should be maintained unimpaired, and especially that the burdens of the country should be speedily removed; and to please the people, it was requisite that the oppressions, the onerous imposts and the ruinous monopolies under which they laboured should be abolished, measures which would of course decrease the revenues and the means of paying the debt. I however cherished a hope, that by a system of activity, order and justice, I might succeed in accomplishing those objects, apparently irreconcilable. My expectations were not disappointed: in less than three years, although I encountered far greater difficulties than I had anticipated, I succeeded in paying, besides the current subsidy, debts of 18 lacs of rupees to the Company, and nearly 6 lacs to individuals; in abolishing the most oppressive monopolies and taxes; in getting the affairs of the country on principles of justice and humanity; and I restored the management of the State to a native dewan, delivered from its burdens, with a greatly augmented revenue and in a situation of complete internal tranquillity."

For the office of Dewan vacated by Col. Munro, Devan Padmanabhan, Judge, Appeal Court, was appointed. In his letter dated 4th December 1811 to the Madras Government, Colonel Munro thus speaks of the man:—

"I have employed for some time past endeavours to discover a person fitted for the situation of Dewan; and I believe that I am justified in stating an opinion that Devan Pulpanabhen lately Valia Sarvathy Cariakar of the Northern Division of Travancore and at present, President of the supreme court of justice is well qualified for that office. This man was appointed a Valia Sarvathy Cariakar by Oomminy Thumby and is one of the few men amongst those nominated to office by Oomminy Thumby, in whose conduct I have been able to place confidence. Devan Pulpanabhen is a man of plain sound understanding; of much application to business; of acknowledged integrity and of a moderate, sober and unassuming temper of mind. A confidence in his capacity and principles induced me with the concurrence of the Ranee to select him to preside over the judicial establishment recently formed; and his conduct since his arrival here has justified my expectations. His nomination to the office of Dewan

would be acceptable to the Ranee and the people; and I am accordingly induced to recommend that arrangement to the sanction of the Government.'

Though the sanction of the Madras Government was obtained then, he was not actually appointed to the office until three years later *i. e.*, till 1814. Evidently there was much conflict of feeling in Col. Munro's mind. Devan Padmanabhan's conduct and judgment which were particularly admired were really not as good as they at first appeared to Col. Munro. In the discussion of a suit Devan Padmanabhan who was the presiding Judge, so far forgot himself as to kick a Pandit in court who would not agree to his view of the case. This outrageous conduct disappointed Col. Munro in the extreme, but he was nevertheless appointed Dewan. To quote Col. Munro again:—

"Devan Pulpanabhen's conduct in discharging the duties of Valia Survathycariakar of the Northern Division of Travancore obtained my entire approbation. He collected the revenue with regularity; he obeyed orders with zeal and promptitude and reported the state of his district with clearness and precision. He enjoyed a character of integrity uncommon, indeed I may say, unexampled in Travancore, where that virtue seems to be more rare than in any other country. Devan Padmanabhen's early proceedings at the head of the superior court strengthened the opinion which I entertained of him, for, he seemed to execute his duty with an honest zeal, and with extreme diligence. It appeared to me that I was justified in recommending the person to the Government, but I considered it to be my duty to watch his behaviour with the utmost care, and I regretted to remark in his conduct a want of temper and of judgment which seemed to disqualify him for an office which peculiarly required both these qualities. A few days after I wrote in his favour to the Government, he lost his temper in the discussion of a suit so far as to kick one of the Pundits in the Cutcherry and he excused this outrage by saying that the Pundit had persisted in giving a wrong opinion and deserved punishment."

Colonel Munro continues:—

"I consulted Devan Pulpanabhen on a variety of topics related to the management of the revenues, the administration of justice, and the selection of proper men for office, and although he continually manifested the utmost readiness of zeal to second the arrangements of the Government, yet his opinion on these points betrayed a great want of discrimination and showed that he depended much more on the judgment of other persons than on his own. This part of his character impressed me with a strong apprehension of his being misled in the event of his appointment to the office of Dewan, by the artful and unprincipled men who abound in Travancore."

The difficulty was however solved by the Dewan's dying in five months after appointment from an attack of small-pox. In the place of the deceased Devan Padmanabhan, Bappu Row who was then Dewan Peishkar was temporarily placed in charge of the administration. This Bappu Row was one of the two Mahratta Brahmin proteges who accompanied Col. Munro to Travancore, the other being Reddy Row *alias* Venkata Row.

Travancore being a hilly country, the inhabitants near the hills were exposed to the inroads of wild animals—tigers, elephants, &c. The destruction of these formed part of the duties of the military department, but on the abolition of the regular milita after the insurrection of 1809 A. D., the people were left helpless. The good Rani introduced a system of liberal rewards to people who destroyed these animals. To keep up with the times, she also introduced some wholesome changes in the orthodox customs of the palace. The female members of the Royal family were till her time *gosha*. She broke through this custom and received the Resident and other Europeans and spoke publicly on State affairs. It was considered objectionable to receive Europeans within the fort and these were therefore received by the Maharajahs or Princes either in a building on the sea-beach or in the *Singara Tope* palace, outside the Fort. This practice also was discontinued and the Rani was the first to receive Europeans in her own palace in the Fort and hold public Durbars there.

Demise of the Rani. This good and noble queen, one of the best of Travancore sovereigns, and the beautiful mother of a race of noble and talented kings, died in Kanni 990 M. E. (1814 A. D.). Before her death she called her Consort Raja Raja Varma to her bed-side and committed to him the care of her younger sister Parvathi Bayi and her three children (one daughter and two infant sons). She was dearly loved by all her subjects.

Rani Lakshmi Bayi's reign was one of the most prosperous periods in Travancore history. She evinced the deepest solicitude for the welfare of her subjects and though she had the advantage of the wise guidance and counsel of so able and trustworthy an officer like Colonel Munro in the management of her affairs, she did not forget her own position and responsibility as the ruler of a conservative Hindu population, for she took an early opportunity of telling him that she expected him to administer her kingdom in orthodox ways, to maintain her religious and charitable institutions intact according to *mamool*, even reminding him among other important concerns of the need for immediate payment of remuneration to the Brahmins who had gone to Ramesvaram for *Setu-snanam* in honour of the late Maharajah's memory. She was a naturally sagacious, firm-minded and clear-headed woman. Her Installation speech was a model of fine feeling and womanly grace, trustfulness, forethought, capacity and practical wisdom. She knew she had succeeded to a troublesome heritage encumbered by debts and honeycombed by official mismanagement, political revolt and popular discontent. But she lived to

overcome all these troubles and make her reign a blessing to her people and a credit to herself—reaching a stage of administrative excellence yet unattained by any of her predecessors. Lieut. Horsley, Engineer, recorded his testimony of her rule in the following terms:—"The reign of this Princess, undisturbed by those disorders which a series of weak sovereigns and corrupt ministers had so long inflicted, is happily connected with the improvement of the country and amelioration of the condition of the people."*

* Horsley's statement that the Princess succeeded 'a series of weak sovereigns' is incorrect, for only her immediate predecessor, Bala Rama Varma, was a weak sovereign; but her great uncles, Rama Varma and Martanda Varma, were pre-eminently successful rulers as the foregoing pages would have shown.

GOURI PARVATHI BAYI $\frac{990—1004 \text{ M. E.}}{1815—1829 \text{ A. D.}}$

When Her Highness Lakshmi Bayi died, leaving a daughter and two infant sons the elder of whom was only eighteen months old, her sister Parvathi Bayi was installed as Regent. Never did she dream of being called upon to assume the reins of government at so early an age as thirteen. The greatest fears were naturally entertained by the people as to her capacity, to be soon enough followed only by the greatest enthusiasm and admiration at the young Rani's successful *debut* into public affairs. Her natural intelligence, mild and kindly disposition added to the good training she had received under the care of her brother-in-law, Raja Raja Varma, enabled her to discharge her high duties with ability and tact so much so that the regency of Parvathi Bayi is still considered one of the brightest epochs in the history of Travancore. The Resident Col. Munro, although relieved of his duties as Dewan, continued to be her chief adviser, which circumstance contributed not a little to the success of her rule.

Ministerial changes. The first act of the new Rani was the appointment of a Dewan. Since the death of Devan Padmanabhan, the administration was carried on by the Dewan Peishcar Bappu Row. Her Highness appointed Subbien Sankaranarayana Iyen, commonly known as 'Sanku Annavi,' as her Dewan in 1815 A. D. But as he was found unfit for the place, his services were dispensed with after a short period of ten months, and with the advice of the Resident one Raman Menon, a Judge of the Huzur Court, was appointed in his stead. The new Dewan directed his attention to improve the efficiency of the service. At the suggestion of the Resident one Captain Gordon of the Bombay Engineers, who had already acted as Superintendent of the Travancore Forests, was appointed Commercial Agent at Alleppey. This officer possessed special qualifications for the post, but his proceedings were marked by haste and arbitrariness. The Dewan had to criticise him severely for his conduct, and this led to a misunderstanding between the Dewan and the Resident.

Dewan Peishcar Reddy Row, one of Colonel Munro's dependents, took advantage of the opportunity and planned to oust Raman Menon and get the Dewanship for himself. In this he was completely successful and Raman Menon was thereupon appointed *Fouzdar*—an inferior office specially

created for him in the palace. Raman Menon was given less pay and power but it issaid that he never entered upon his new duties but preferred retirement from the service altogether. In Nanoo Pillay's Sketch we find the following:—

"Raman Menon was an able, energetic and intelligent minister but he incurred the displeasure of the Resident Col. Munro by the slipshod manner in which he handled certain charges which engaged his attention against a respectable European officer of the State. This unfortunate event resulted in his degradation to the office of Fouzadar in the Palace whose duty it was simply to sign death warrants on behalf of the sovereign, when criminals were sentenced to suffer the extreme penalties of law. This transpired in the middle of the year 992 (1817)."

Reddy Row Dewan. Dewan Peishcar Reddy Row was appointed Dewan in Kanni 993 M. E. (September 1817 A. D.). Having attained the object of his ambition, he with the help of his master Col. Munro tried to distinguish himself in his new office. Several enactments were passed in the form of Royal Proclamations relieving the people from obnoxious imposts and restrictions. Chief among them were:—

1. The Christian ryots were relieved from their *Oozhiyam* service of all descriptions connected with the Hindu religious ceremonies. They were also exempted from attending to public work on Sundays.

2. Stamped cadjans were introduced for documents.

3. The restriction put on the Sudras and others regarding the wearing of gold and silver ornaments was removed.

4. The Chetty and other castes were relieved of their poll-tax when they were *Devaswam* ryots.

5. Coffee cultivation was introduced.

6. The judicial officers were prohibited from holding any kind of private conference with the parties.

7. The system of vaccination introduced towards the close of the last reign was further given effect to and a good number of vaccinators were entertained and the boon was widely diffused.

Colonel Munro's retirement. In the middle of the year 994 M. E. (1819 A. D.), Colonel Munro retired. He has left an imperishable name in the hearts of the Travancore population for justice and probity. The most ignorant peasant or cooly in Travancore knows the name and fame of *Munrole Sahib.** Everything good is attributed to his administration—not that they know it—but they believe it must be so. He worked

* The common folk speak of Munro as 'Munrole' in the vernacular.

with a single-hearted devotion to the interests of the State. He knew the country and admired its conservative institutions. He understood the genius of the people. He was Dewan for three years and refused to take any kind of remuneration for his services during the period. The Rani offered it to him and asked the Madras Government to permit his accepting the same, but Munro refused to take anything. He was British Resident for ten years and these ten years were years of great activity and progress. He gave warm support to the Christian missions and entertained a large number of Christians in the State service for the first time. In token of gratitude for his help the Church Mission Society called their Kallada property 'Munro Island'. Colonel Munro lived to a good old age and died on the 26th January 1858 in his Scotch home. When the sad news reached India, the Travancore Government desired to perpetuate his memory in some useful way and consulting the wishes of his daughter put up lights in all the lakes and backwaters of the State for the use of the travellers and called them 'Munro Lights'. This was done by Maharajah Martanda Varma of 1036 M. E. (1860 A. D.). *

Munro was succeeded by Col. McDowall, who arrived in Trivandrum early in 1819 A. D., accompanied by a Mahratta Brahmin protege, Vencata Row by name It may be remarked here that every big Anglo-Indian of those days had one or two Mahratta Brahmin dependents hanging about him. They were the most advanced among the South Indian Brahmins in educational qualifications and were besides a race of pushing people characterised by great natural sagacity and a ready capacity to adapt themselves to new political surroundings. But the levelling effect of University education so general and so widespread in recent years has deprived them of their vantage ground which they enjoyed in the earlier years of British rule bringing up the other classes of Brahmins to their rank and oftentimes overtopping them. This Vencata Row knew English and he was appointed as interpreter and agent of the Resident. As such he was able to cultivate an acquaintance at the Rani's court. By his ability and tact he soon won promotions in the State service and was made a Dewan Peishcar under the direct orders of the Dewan. He ingratiated himself into the good graces of the Rani and her officers. With this object in view he repaired the buildings connected with the Trivandrum pagoda, improved the *Agrasala*, made a golden *kavacham* in the shape of

* Since the time of Parvathi Bayi, the Maharajahs are referred to in common parlance by the years of their demise.

a coat for the idol of Sri Padmanabhaswamy, added other pretty accessories such as a silver howdah, plated sticks or *chobdars* to the royal processions, &c., and improved the kit of the sepoys and the troops after the Mysore fashion, and thus soon became a favourite at court. This Vencata Row, it may be added, was the paternal uncle of Rajah Sir Madava Row of later history.

Reddy Row and Vencata Row. Dewan Reddy Row who was waning fast in popularity viewed these proceedings of the Peishcar Vencata Row with alarm. He therefore invited the Cochin Dewan Nunjappiah to Trivandrum with the object of strengthening his own position through him. In this he completely succeeded and he soon regained the favour of both the Rani and the Resident. The Rani, being much pleased with Nunjappiah's services in some important negotiations in which she was specially interested, bestowed on him on the 17th Karkadagam 995 M. E., a tract of land in Parur to the extent of six or seven hundred acres worth about Rs. 20,000.

Marriage of Princess Rugmini Bayi. Princess Rugmini Bayi having attained the age of ten, preparations were made on a grand scale for the celebration of her marriage (*Talikettu*). As she was then the only Princess in the Royal family, the marriage festivities were celebrated with all oriental pomp and grandeur, and were continued for fourteen days—instead of the usual four. Prince Kerala Varma was born to her on the 18th Mithunam 1001 M. E. (1827 A. D.).

Reddy Row resigns. In recognition of the satisfactory arrangements he made for the Royal wedding and for efficient services rendered in general as Dewan, Reddy Row obtained from the Rani a *jaghir* of two villages in the Shencottah Taluq viz., Sambur and Vadakara.

In 995 M. E. (1820 A. D.), McDowall died and Col. Newall succeeded him as Resident. Dewan Peishcar Vencata Row who was only waiting for an opportunity to overthrow the minister, took advantage of this gift of a *jaghir* and with the help of Raman Menon worked for the Dewan's fall. The Dewan's acceptance of the *jaghir* was pointed out to the new Resident as improper and unbecoming in the responsible adviser to the sovereign. The Resident was of course of the same view and after a careful investigation called upon the Dewan to surrender the *jaghir*. Dewan Reddy Row resigned in disgust.

Vencata Row becomes Dewan. In 997 M. E. (1821 A. D.), Dewan Peishcar Vencata Row was appointed Dewan. An admirer of Col. Munro,

he adopted the mode of administration chalked out by him. He had an intimate knowledge of the workings of the different departments of the State and this considerably helped him to render his administration both vigorous and popular. His first act was the granting of a general remission of arrears of tax, which won for him the good will of the people. He established his headquarters (Huzur Cutchery) at Quilon. In 999 M. E. (1824 A. D.), the Rani sanctioned the construction of two canals, one from Trivandrum to the backwater of Kadinangulam and the other to connect the Quilon and the Paravur backwaters, which had already been projected by Colonel Munro. The work was commenced in 1825 A. D., and completed within three years. Several other useful works connected with irrigation were also undertaken and duly carried out. In all this Dewan Vencata Row took part and personally worked. The people still remember how he spent months on the banks of the line of canals which he cut, living under thatched huts put up temporarily for him. He gave a free hearing to the grievances of all classes of people and a particular time was appointed every day when he would hear petitioners on any matter and dispose of their grievances accordingly. By such acts he grew very popular and rose very high in the estimation of the sovereign and the people who looked upon him as their friend.

Missionary enterprise. It was in the regency of this enlightened Rani that the English Missions received substantial help. The London Mission at Nagercoil was permanently established in 991 M. E. (1816 A. D.), a nucleus of which having been formed in Myladi some ten years earlier by the Danish missionary M. Ringletaube. Her Highness the Rani permitted a few missionary gentlemen to live permanently in her State and gave them liberal support. To carry on the regular mission labours a sum of Rs. 5,000 and a large bangalow at Nagercoil were granted. Rev. C. Mead, one of the missionaries, was also appointed Judge of the Zillah Court at Nagercoil. In 991 M. E. (1816 A. D.), sanction was given for the erection of a Protestant Church at Alleppey. The timber required for this building was granted free of all charges and Rev. T. Norton, its Chaplain, was permitted to stay at Alleppey. Permission was also given to the Church Mission Society at Kottayam to commence its operations for bettering the condition of the Syrians who were the oldest Christian subjects of the Rani, and the Society began their work conjointly with the Syrian Metran. A College was opened and the Rani made a generous grant of Rs. 20,000 to purchase gardens and paddy fields for its maintenance. Col. Munro who took a special interest in the progress of this Mission thus referred to the event in addressing the Madras Government on the state of Christianity in Travancore :—.

"The temporal situation of the Syrians has also been materially improved. I have frequently taken occasion to bring them to the notice of Her Highness the Ranee of Travancore; and her intelligent, liberal and ingenious mind has always appeared to feel a deep interest in their history, misfortunes and character. She is aware of the attention excited to their situation in Europe and her anxiety to manifest the sincerity of her attachment to the British nation has formed, I believe, an additional motive for the kindness and generosity she has uniformly displayed towards the Syrians. She has appointed a considerable number of them to public offices; and lately presented the sum of Rs. 20,000 to the College at Kottayam, as an endowment for its support. The Syrians are most grateful for her goodness, and cherish in no ordinary degree the sentiments of affection and respect towards her person, that are entertained by every class of her subjects."

Education of the Princes. Raja Raja Varma, Valia Koil Tampuran and guardian, took great interest in the education of the Princes. They were taught Malayalam, Sanskrit and English. Their English was placed in the hands of one T. Subba Row, familiarly known in the country as 'English Subba Row.' He was a native of Tanjore and was selected by Col. Munro just before his departure in 1819 A. D. Within a couple of years Prince Rama Varma and his only brother Martanda Varma made considerable progress in their English studies. In addition to this they were taught Hindustani, Persian, Telugu, Canarese and Marathi. Regarding the education of these Princes Col. Welsh observes:—

"Being on a tour of inspection during the month of May (1825), and stopping to pass a few days at the Residency, with Colonel Newall, I had the opportunity of witnessing the studies of the young Rajahs in private, and forming an estimate of their progressive acquirements and abilities. On the morning of the 16th, at 10 o'clock, I accompanied the Colonel in his gig, without attendants, to the fort, where we were immediately conducted to a room in the palace, and found them, with their father, their sister, her husband, and their school master, ready to receive us. The elder boy, now thirteen, seemed greatly improved in mind, though rather diminutive in person. He read a chapter of Malcolm's Central India; the Governor General's Persian letter on the capture of Rangoon; a passsage in Sanscrit; another in Malyalum, and seemed equally clever at each. He then took up a book of mathematics, and selecting the 47th proposition of Euclid, sketched the figure on a country slate; but what astonished me most, was his telling us in English, that Geometry was derived from the Sanscrit, which was *jaw meter*, to measure the earth, and that many of our mathematical terms, were also derived from the same source, such as hexagon, heptagon, octagon, decagon, duo-decaogon, &c. His remarks were generally apposite but their language inelegant, and ungrammatical. This is much to be lamented, because, with so many studies on hand, he can never read enough of English, to correct his idiom; and the master a very clever Tanjore Brahmin,* could not speak it much better than himself. His Persian was pure and elegant; but of the other languages†, I am too ignorant to offer an opinion. This promising boy is now,

* Subba Row who subsequently became Dewan is the Prince's tutor referred to here.

† In these vernacular languages especially Telugu, Canarese, and Marathi, the young Maharajah displayed wonderful facility and could compose in them, his musical compositions being renowned throughout India. A Telugu songster who visited Travancore some years ago assured me that the Maharajah's musical compositions were sung in every village of the Telugu Districts. The Colonel's 'promising boy' came to be subsequently recognised as the veriest genius in the Travancore Royal family.

I conclude, sovereign of the finest country in India; for he was to succeed to the Musnud, the moment he had attained his sixteenth year. The younger brother gave us various specimens of his acquirements; somewhat inferior of course, to those of the rising sun of the country, but still very fair."

The good-humoured Colonel's diary goes on to say:—

"The Princess, at whose wedding I was present in 1819, was grown both fat and coarse. Their father, a very handsome man, about the middle age is their joint guardian, with the Ranee and Resident; but has no other power or authority, whatever. The Princess's husband looks very much like her younger brother; indeed, apart, I should not know the one from the other. At noon we took our leave, much gratified with this domestic scene.

"I have not made any mention of the present Dewaun, an uncommonly handsome, fair, and elegant Carnatic Brahmin. ‡ His name is Venketa Row; and he is one of the most intelligent, well educated men, I have met with in India, and writes an excellent English letter. As far as I could learn, he was most attentive and unremitting in his exertions for the improvement of the country, and the good of the state. Such a man to educate the young Princes would have been worth his weight in gold." *

The Nayar Brigade. After the insurrection of 1809 the whole military force of Travancore was disbanded with the exception of about 700 men of the first Nayar battalion and a few mounted troops, who were retained for purposes of state and ceremony. In 1817 the Rani represented to the Resident Col. Munro her desire to increase the strength and efficiency of the army and to have it commanded by a European officer, as the existing force was of little use being undisciplined and unprovided with arms. On the strong recommendation of the Resident, the proposal was duly sanctioned by the Madras Government in 1818, and the Rani was given permission to increase her force by 1,200 men. Captain McLeod of the 9th Regiment M. N. I., who was at the time employed as Killadar of the Trivandrum Fort, was appointed Commandant of the Nayar troops and was entrusted with the reorganisation. The Rani accordingly issued the following *neet* to the Dewan under date the 29th Kumbham 993 M. E. (1818 A. D.):—

"As the present strength of the Nayar Brigade has been found insufficient to furnish the required guards for watching the Trivandrum Pagoda, Palace, Fort, Treasury and other places, and detachments for different outstations to keep watch at those places and escorts to accompany Us in Our occasional tours to the north and south-east and additional guards to the Palace &c., on the last mentioned occasions, and as inconvenience is experienced in consequence of the said deficiency, it is Our pleasure to entertain 1,200 sepoys or twelve companies of 100 sepoys per company and the required number of Subadars, Jamadars,

‡ The Dewan referred to here is Rai Raya Rai Vencata Row, a Mahratta Brahmin, not a Carnatic Brahmin. Col. Welsh evidently did not understand the shade of difference that exists between these two sects of Brahmins.

* Military Reminiscences, Vol. II. Page 236.

Havildars, Naicks, Pillamars &c., so as to complete two battalions. As captain McLeod who had been appointed to organise the present Nayar Brigade on the same footing as other well-armed and trained military bodies, has accordingly continued to discharge such duty, We have spoken to that officer about Our desire to increase the strength of the Brigade so as to complete two battalions, in consequence of the inconvenience resulting from the present deficiency. You are hereby directed to address the necessary communication to Capt. McLeod with a view to collect the required number of recruits to make 1,200 sepoys for twelve companies of 100 per company, inclusive of the men already on the list as well as the usual number of Subadars, Jamadars, Havildars, Naicks, Pillamars &c., so as to complete two battalions. You are at the same time authorised to make arrangements for defraying the additional expense attendant on the above increase of force as a permanent expenditure."

Captain McLeod proceeded with his work and was soon able to raise a second battalion of troops and formed a detachment of artillery. The reorganisation was completed in 1819 and the Travancore army then consisted of 2,100 men armed with rifles and bayonets and a troop of 50 cavalry, under the command of English officers. Two six-pounders and two nine-pounders were also added for firing salutes, which had been discontinued since the rebellion. Thus was organised the present Nayar Brigade, though the designation itself was given to it only in 1830 A. D.

Vencata Row's administration. With the education of the Princes who completed their studies towards the close of this reign, the influence of Subba Row became very great in the palace, and he expected to become the principal adviser and leader of the Court when his pupil Rama Varma assumed the reins of Government. This was greatly feared by Dewan Vencata Row who saw signs of his being overthrown and supplanted by Subba Row. This would actually have taken place had not the Rani interfered for Dewan Vencata Row who had rendered valuable services to the State by the introduction of several salutary reforms. The following extracts of letters to and from the Madras Government bear ample testimony to the very able manner in which Dewan Vencata Row discharged the duties of his high office.

Letter from Mr. Newall,* British Resident, to the Government of Madras, dated 16th November 1824:--

"Her Highness at all times expresses the most anxious desire for the improvement of the condition of the inhabitants; these beneficent intentions of Her Highness the Ranee are fully executed by the exertions of Vencata Row, the Dewan, whose zeal and ability in conducting the important affairs committed to his charge are very conspicuous and I can with confidence

* Col. Welsh writes of Newall in his *Military Reminiscences*:-"He was a kind-hearted, liberal man, and a particular favourite of Sir Thomas Munro, than whom no man ever possessed a clearer judgment." (Page 97, Vol. II).

affirm that the inhabitants of Travancore of every class and description at present enjoy a protection, tranquillity and happiness long unknown to them."

Again on the 2nd December 1825, the Resident wrote:—

"Vencata Row, the Dewan, by his zeal, ability, integrity and unwearied exertions for the interests of the Sircar and the welfare of the inhabitants, has fully gained my confidence; I consider him a public servant of the first order."

The Madras Government on the 30th December 1825 remarked:—

"I am in conclusion directed to state that the Honourable the Governor in Council regards with sentiments of the highest approbation, the vigorous and judicious manner in which the affairs of the Travancore country continue to be conducted and also that the very exemplary conduct of the Dewan Vencata Row is observed with much satisfaction."

Lastly in his letter dated 1st may 1827, the Resident wrote to the Dewan:—

"I cannot leave Travancore without expressing to you the high sense which I entertain of your merits as a public servant of the Travancore Government. The high office of Dewan which you have filled with great credit to yourself and advantage to the interests of Travancore for the last five years is an office of the greatest delicacy, trust and confidence; the duties of this important station have been conducted by you with exemplary zeal, ability and unremitting activity, and the whole tenor of your conduct has afforded me entire satisfaction."

This distinguished Dewan was, as already stated, the uncle of the illustrious Rajah Sir Madava Row of our own times, who as Dewan of Travancore earned the reputation of being the first Native Statesman in India.

Other events of the reign. In 1818 Travancore entered into a commercial treaty with Ceylon for the supply of Jaffna tobacco on certain terms at stated prices. In 1823 Tangasseri was leased out to the Travancore Government for a period of twenty-four years. Tangasseri and Anjengo are two little British possessions enclaved in Travancore territory and though many attempts have been made to include their jurisdiction in the Native State with which they are so entirely homogeneous, somehow all such attempts have failed resulting in no small administrative inconvenience to Travancore as well as to British India in more ways than one.

"Tangacherry is an ancient settlement with an interesting history, and bears evidence of a historic past in the ruins of an old fort and a pretty and moss-grown cemetery. A lighthouse was recently erected at Tangacherry, and in the event of Quilon developing into a harbour, Tangacherry would become a most valuable possession. Anjengo is an equally interesting survival of past days and is much better known, for the old laterite fort is still in a fair state of preservation, while the names of Sterne's Eliza (Mrs. Draper) and Orme, the historian, will ever be associated with this relic of power once exercised by the H. E. I. Company." *

* The Madras Mail—February 14, 1905.

In June 1825 the Dutch factory at Cape Comorin was handed over to the English in accordance with the treaty concluded between Their Majesties the King of the Netherlands and the King of Great Britain and Ireland. In the same year the jurisdiction over the petty State of Edappalli was transferred to Travancore.

Regency closed and Rama Varma crowned. In 1004 M. E. (1829 A. D.), Prince Rama Varma attained his sixteenth year and the illustrious Rani, his aunt, who so successfully administered the kingdom in his behalf, cheerfully handed it over to him and retired to a peaceful private life with all the honours due to a reigning sovereign. Rama Varma was crowned King amidst the great rejoicings of his people on the 10th Medam 1004 M. E. (1829 A. D.). Both Rama Varma and his brother Martanda Varma deferred to the Queen-mother's opinions on all matters of importance affecting themselves or their people.

The Rani-Regent was an enlightened and thoughtful ruler who illumined her reign by many humane acts of good government, the memory of which gladdened her last days, and she used to beguile her leisure moments with narrating her exploits as Queen to the little Brahmin boys, sons of servants and favourites, that surrounded her Court in old age. One such boy, now nearly three score years and ten, tells me that she used to refer with pride and satisfaction to her various acts of administration for the amelioration of her people, one of which he remembers was a concession to her own sex of relieving females from the burden of bearing torches during Royal processions. She used to tell my informant that many such acts of redress of public wrongs, for which so much credit was taken in later days, had been either carried out or inaugurated in her time. This was no small achievement for a Travancore Queen to be proud of in the twenties of the last century, when we remember that, in the early years of the late Queen-Empress' reign, the condition of women in England was far worse. Mr. Justin McCarthy M. P., writes :—

"In some of the coal mines women were literally employed as beasts of burden. Where the seam of coal was too narrow to allow them to stand upright, they had to crawl and go forward on all fours for fourteen or sixteen hours a day, dragging the trucks laden with coals. The trucks were generally fastened to a chain which passed between the legs of the unfortunate women and was then connected with a belt which was strapped round their naked waists. Their only clothing often consisted of an old pair of trousers made of sacking; and they were uncovered from the waist up—uncovered, that is to say, except for the grime and filth that collected and clotted around them. All manner of hideous diseases were generated in these unsexed bodies. Unsexed almost literally some of them became; for their chests were often hard and flat as those of men; and not a few of them lost all reproductive power; a happy

condition truly under the circumstances, where women who bore children only went up to the higher air for a week during their confinement, and were then back at their work again. It would be superfluous to say that the immorality engendered by such a state of things was in exact keeping with the other evils which it brought about. Lord Ashley had the happiness and the honour of putting a stop to this infamous sort of labour for ever by the Act of 1843, which declared that, after a certain limited period, no woman or girl whatever should be employed in mines and collieries."*

Lord Ashley's Act was passed some twenty years later than Rani Parvathi Bayi's humane reform referred to above; but the evil that Lord Ashley had to contend against was of a more serious nature and such as could only exist in a state of high material civilisation engaged in the eager pursuit of wealth. Such a civilisation never perhaps existed in any part of India within historical memory. All the old Indian civilisations were in a sense less worldly and had a touch of the philosophical and abstruse in them, caring less for the good things of this world and more for what would be called a vague and indefinite 'hereafter.'

Lieut. Horsley wrote of the good Queen thus:—

"The short reign of Letchmee Ranee terminated in 1814. This Princess left issue, but they being minors at the period of her death, she was quietly succeeded by her sister, who, as Regent, conducted the Government of the country with the same successful policy till the year 1829, at which period the present Rajah † having attained his majority was formally installed and placed on the musnud by the British Resident Col. Morrison."‡

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* History of Our Own Times, Vol. I. Page 304.

† Rama Varma Kulasekhara Perumal.

‡ Memoir of Travancore—Page 7.

RAMA VARMA (*Swati Tirunal*) 1004—1022 M. E. / 1829—1847 A. D.

Rama Varma, the young and strong-willed Maharajah, formally assumed the reins of Government in his sixteenth year and was installed on the musnud on the 10th Medam 1004 M. E. (1829 A. D.).

This Prince was born under very peculiar circumstances. With the death of Bala Rama Varma all prospects of having a king in the near future were cut off, and it was even feared that the country would be annexed by the British Government. Daily prayers were offered to Sri Padmanabhaswamy, the tutelary deity of the Royal House, and various other religious rites were performed to invoke divine blessing on the Maharani Lakshmi Bayi. The Rani herself observed all kinds of fasts and devoted a good portion of her time to religious and devotional purposes. Offerings were made to every big temple in the State and costly *danams* (gifts) were given to holy and learned Brahmins. As the result of all these meritorious acts, so the orthodox firmly believe, a prince was born to Lakshmi Bayi in 988 M. E. (1813 A. D.), under the star of *Swati*. The news of the birth of an heir to the throne was hailed with joy throughout the country; special offerings were made in all the temples and thousands of poor were fed and clothed. As Shungoonny Menon puts it, "this sovereign was really the King of Travancore from the very day of his birth", for from the very day of conception, he was looked forward to as the future King and won the title therefore of *Garbhasriman*. So great was the general satisfaction that even Colonel Munro, it is said, contributed to the offering of a silver umbrella set with emerald pendants to Sri Padmanabhaswamy.

His Highness possessed great natural intelligence and sagacity and had an excellent training under his distinguished father Raja Raja Varma Koil Tampuran, and his English tutor Subba Row who subsequently became Dewan. He possessed a strong will and showed great aptitude for business. His scholastic attainments were of a high order. He was a good scholar in Sanskrit and English and had mastered the vernaculars such as Persian, Hindustani, Marathi and Telugu, in most of which he had composed several poems and songs. He is the author of several Sanskrit works, one of which viz., *Bhaktimanjari* has recently been published by the Government. This work, which may be taken as the type of the Maharajah's later compositions, is

H. H. RAMA VARMA, Swati Tirunal, 1829-1847 A.D.

H. H. MARTANDA VARMA, Uttaram Tirunal, 1847-1860 A.D.

H. H. RAMA VARMA, Ayilliam Tirunal, 1860-1880 A.D.

H. H. RAMA VARMA, Visakham Tirunal, 1880-1885 A.D.

Photo by Z. D'Cruz.

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H. H. RAMA VARMA, Swati Tirunal, 1829-1847 A.D.

H. H. MARTANDA VARMA, Uttaram Tirunal, 1847-1860 A.D.

H. H. RAMA VARMA, Mulam Tirunal, ascended the Musnud, 19th August, 1885 A.D.

H. H. RAMA VARMA, Ayilliam Tirunal, 1860-1880 A.D.

H. H. RAMA VARMA, Visakham Tirunal, 1880-1885 A.D.

Photo by Z. D'Cruz.

"remarkable for the expressiveness and sweetness of the language generally used, the flowing nature of the style employed, and the ease and naturalness of the figures of speech found throughout, which are quite in keeping with the sense of devotion with which the work is replete." *

His other works are:—*Padmanabha Sataka, Syanandurapura Varnana Prabandha, Ajamilopakhyana, Kuchelopakhyana, Sangita Kirtana* (in Sanskrit, Telugu and other languages), and *Utsava Varnana Prabandha* (in a mixture of Sanskrit and Malayalam). He was an accomplished musical composer and some of his compositions show great knowledge of the art of native dance, known as *Bharata Nattyam*. His higher musical works, *Varnams* and *Kirtanams* are considered masterpieces for the profuse introduction of *Swaraksharam* in them. He invited to his service and patronised many distinguished musicians from Tanjore, Mysore, Malabar and Tinnevelly. As already stated in this history, his musical compositions are sung to this day by men and women in the remote Telugu villages lying on the banks of the Krishna and the Godavari.

In addition to these personal qualifications, the Maharajah had valuable advisers in the persons of his enlightened father, a meritorious Dewan (Vencata Row), and a capable Resident (Colonel Morrison). Besides, the country was in a prosperous condition and its finance thriving — a result due to the wise and judicious administration of the country by the two Ranis before him.

The new Dewan. The Maharajah wanted to promote his tutor Subba Row to the Dewanship, but Her Highness the Rani (late Regent) and Colonel Morrison opposed the measure. Colonel Morrison being recalled, Dewan Vencata Row tendered his resignation. On his retirement, the British Government appointed him to the Mysore Commission and Lord William Bentinck conferred on him the title of "Rai Raya Rai," an honorific prefix which only one other native of South India obtained after him. ‡

His Highness was now free in making his own choice. He appointed his tutor Subba Row as Dewan in 1005 M. E. (1830 A. D.), and Cochusankara Pillai, Judge of the Huzur Court, was appointed in Subba Row's place as Dewan Peishcar. The Huzur Cutchery and other public offices were removed from Quilon to Trivandrum and were located in the vicinity of the Palace within the Fort.

* Bhaktimanjari—Introduction. Edited by Pandit T. Ganapati Sastrial, Principal of the Trivandrum Sanskrit College.

‡ Thande Narasinga Rao, who was Head Sheristadar of the Madras Board of Revenue and retired during Sir C. Trevelyan's Governorship (1860 A. D.), was the other native who was similarly honoured.

Subba Row's administration. Subba Row began his administration well. He introduced several reforms and improvements in the various departments of administration and enforced good discipline throughout. Bribery and corruption were considered grave crimes and were visited with Royal displeasure. In 1833 A. D., there was a disturbance raised by the Shanars of South Travancore, but the riot was easily put down without military aid. The officers of the various Taluqs were specially instructed to do their best to promote the welfare of the ryots. The result was that agriculture greatly flourished and peace and plenty prevailed everywhere.

His Highness set apart a few hours every day for the transaction of State business and particular days were fixed for the personal reports of the Dewan, Judges of the Appeal Court and the other chief officers of the State This enabled the Maharajah to familiarise himself with the details of the working and progress of the various departments. Men of real worth and talent were sought out and encouraged, and within two years of His Highness' accession, the administration was brought to a high standard of efficiency.

Reduction of the Subsidiary Force. About 1829 A. D., the Madras Government on the suggestion of the Court of Directors proposed to the Maharajah the idea of withdrawing the subsidiary force and the Residency staff maintained in Travancore. The Maharajah assented to the reduction of the subsidiary force to one regiment of native infantry, but desired for various reasons the retention of the Resident and his staff at least for some time to come. This on being communicated to the Supreme Government in Bengal was duly sanctioned, and instructions to that effect were immediately transmitted to the Madras Government. Accordingly in December 1830, the Company's troops stationed at Aramboly and Bhutapandi were recalled and the subsidiary force in Travancore was reduced to one regiment of native infantry, a detachment of which was stationed at Nagercoil to protect the country from enemies on that side. In September 1832, Lieut-Colonel E. Cadogan, Acting Resident, wrote regarding the step taken thus:—

"The recall of the subsidiary force in December 1830 affords the best proof that the maintenance of a considerable body of troops in Travancore was no longer deemed a measure of expediency, and without entering minutely into a subject that has already been under the consideration of Government, I trust I shall be able to show in a few words, that the force might have been withdrawn at a much earlier period with perfect safety to both Sircars.

"Immediately after the war of 1809, the State of Travancore was deprived of its arms, ordnance and military stores, and the inhabitants so completely

disarmed as to be, from a military point of view, utterly annihilated No man has since been permitted to hold fire-arms of any description that are not stamped, registered and accompanied by a certificate or permit from the Dewan; and as this regulation prevents the importation of arms to any extent, it affords the best security against serious internal disturbance or resumption of designs hostile to the British authority. Moreover the habits and character of these people have undergone a complete change within the last twenty years. That warlike, refractory and turbulent temper for which the Nairs of Travancore were once so remarkable has totally disappeared, and they must now be regarded as a population of pacific habits placing the most implicit confidence in our protection and well convinced that their safety entirely depends on the stability, support and friendship of the British Government.

"The ostensible reason, by treaty, for maintaining a force in Travancore was to protect the territories of His Highness against all enemies by sea and land. But when it is considered that Travancore is bounded on three sides by the Company's territories and on the fourth by the sea, the policy of shutting up a large body of troops in the heart of the country to shield it from foreign aggression needs no comment. The well-known fact that Travancore furnishes no carriage for equipping the smallest force for the field renders it highly improbable that any European enemy will ever attack us through this part of the coast; and should a landing be effected in ignorance of this want of means, an advance of five miles from the beach would be perfectly impracticable.

"The native regiment now in Travancore is retained for the purpose of affording protection to the unarmed inhabitants in the frontiers, who are subject to frequent attacks by formidable gangs of robbers from the provinces of Tinnevelly, Coimbatore and South Malabar. It has also to guard the Company's treasuries at Quilon, Ernakulam and Cochin and it appears to me fully adequate to all these duties.

"By the foregoing observations I have endeavoured to show, first, that, as the Travancore State is unprovided with arms, ordnance and military stores, it is quite incapable of disturbing the authority of the British Government for a moment; secondly that there can be no well-founded apprehension of its ever supporting a foreign enemy because its own preservation depends entirely upon our stability, and it is not probable that it would act in direct opposition to its own interest; thirdly no power can invade the Travancore territory without passing through the Company's country by land, and it cannot be assailed by sea with any hope of advantage, and fourthly, the troops now in Travancore are quite sufficient for the purpose intended and I see no reason for any increase whatever."

The first Gubernatorial visit to Travancore. On the subject of the appointment of the new Dewan, the British Resident, Colonel Morrison, had reported unfavourably to the Madras Government, and Mr. Lushington, the Governor of Madras, visited Travancore in 1005 M. E. (1830 A. D.), with the special object of inspecting the State and forming his own opinion about Travancore affairs and the capabilities of the reigning Prince. His Highness met His Excellency at Quilon and had a long interview with him. The conversation was carried on in English, a thing which the Governor had not expected, and His Excellency

was extremely pleased with the thoughts and aspirations of the young Maharajah. The commanding appearance of the Prince and his knowledge of the politics and administrations of other countries contributed in no small measure to the excellent impression formed of him by the Governor. He was fully satisfied of the Prince's ability to rule the land and left Travancore highly delighted with all he saw. But all the same, a prejudice was created and kept up against the Maharajah in the minds of the Court of Directors, for in their Extract Political letter to Bengal, dated 18th December 1832, they wrote :—

"Our relations with the state of Travancore therefore appear to us, as they existed at the date of your most recent communications, to have been in a state by no means satisfactory. Upon authority indeed, which Col. Morrison seems confidently to rely on, it would seem that the country, which on the accession of the Rajah was in a most flourishing condition, was hastening to decline. Its affairs we trust have received in the meantime your watchful attention.

"We confide in your judgment and care for discovering and executing whatever the exigencies of the case may require; and for that purpose we desire that you will consider the management of Travancore affairs as specially entrusted to you."

We read much the same discordant note sounded in a private letter of Macaulay's to his sisters in July 1832, where speaking of his pressure of work he writes :—

"My dear sisters, I am, I think, a better correspondent than you two put together. I will venture to say that I have written more letters, by a good many, than I have received, and this with India and Edinburgh Review on my hands; the life of Mirabeau to be criticised; the Rajah of Travancore to be kept in order, &c."

This prejudice worked against the Maharajah throughout his reign.

Reforms. The visit of His Excellency the Governor gave the Maharajah an opportunity to see the British forces in full parade. He was struck with their dress and drill and made arrangements for the improvement of his own forces after the British model. New accoutrements were ordered and the commanding officer was asked to train the sepoys after the model of the British troops. The dress of the mounted troopers was improved and fresh horses were got down; and the appellation of the "Nayar Brigade" was first given to the Travancore forces. The Tovala stables were removed to Trivandrum and improved. On the advice of the Court of Directors the European officers of the Nayar Brigade were relieved from attendance at the Hindu religious ceremonies.

In 1007 M. E., Munsiffs' Courts were established for the disposal of

petty civil and police cases. In 1008 M. E., the Huzur Court at the capital was abolished and a Zillah Court was opened instead.

THE FIRST CODE OF REGULATIONS (1010 M. E.). At the suggestion of Mr. Casamajor who succeeded Colonel Morrison as Resident, one Itterarichan Cundappan, generally known as Cunden Menon, an intelligent Tahsildar of Malabar, was appointed Huzur Dewan Peishcar in 1010 M. E. (1835 A. D.). By his tact and ability he soon gained the confidence of the Maharajah and the approbation of the people. The details of the administration were placed in his hands and the Dewan was asked to consult him on all important matters. He was asked to frame a code of laws, both criminal and civil, founded upon the British enactments. A committee was formed of the experienced officers of the State. Within a few months the proposed code was drafted and passed into law with effect from 1011 M. E. (1836 A. D.). This was the first Code of Regulations of Travancore and it was printed at the Kottayam Mission Press, as the Government Press was not then established.

The Code consisted of eight Regulations. The first five treated of the Civil Procedure and the constitution of the Munsiff, Zillah and Appeal Courts; the sixth Regulation vested the Tahsildars with Police authority and the Zillah Courts with criminal powers, while the seventh and eighth authorised Judges of the Appeal Court to perform the functions of Sessions Courts. These Regulations though considerably modified in later years still form the groundwork of our present judicial administration. To carry out the provisions of the new Code, one Bhagavanta Row, a Munsiff of the Malabar District, was made the first Judge of the Appeal Court in Trivandrum. He reorganised the criminal and civil departments while Cunden Menon, who now became virtually the Head Magistrate, reformed the police and magistracy. Thus within a short time the judicial department was thoroughly reformed and placed on a satisfactory footing.

Cunden Menon's next reform was the commencement of a garden survey, which was completed in 1012 M. E. (1837 A. D.). These reforms secured for him the confidence of the sovereign, the people and the Resident. But the Dewan viewed his popularity with jealousy. He found that his powers were day by day usurped by the Peishcar until he became a mere signing machine. With the help of Dewan Peishcar Kochusankara Pillai, he devised plans for the overthrow of Cunden Menon, but failed. But Cunden Menon fell suddenly ill and died after a short time. The people were not slow to attribute his death to the

machinations of the Dewan, for they said "the Peishcar has fallen a victim to the arts of witchcraft practised against him". In Cundeu Menon, His Highness lost a very valuable officer, from whom he had expected much benefit to the State.

ABOLITION OF MINOR DUTIES. In 1011 M. E., the Maharajah abolished the duty on 165 articles of different kinds and thus gave fresh stimulus to trade. This act of his was much appreciated by the Resident, who wrote to the Dewan on the 4th July 1836, that the Governor in Council was of opinion that the adoption of this measure 'reflects great credit on the Travancore Court."

CENSUS OF 1836. In 1836 A. D., the Resident wrote to the Dewan to order the Tahsildars of the State to take a detailed Census of the respective Taluqs under their charge, and accordingly a general Census was taken, which gave a total population of 12,80,668 for Travancore.

THE OPENING OF AN ENGLISH SCHOOL. In 1009 M. E., (1834 A. D.), an English School was opened at Trivandrum and placed under Mr. J. Roberts, who had been keeping a private school at Nagercoil, and a monthly grant of Rs. 100 was given him. In 1012 M. E. (1836 A. D.), it was converted into the Sircar Free School, and Mr. Roberts was given a monthly salary of Rs. 300. General Fraser who became the Resident in 1011 M. E., took great interest in the progress of the institution and at his instance a few District Schools were started as feeders of this central school. This was the foundation of English education in Travancore. In 1842, the Committee of Europeans appointed to examine and report on the progress of the pupils of the school, certified to their excellent attainments and proposed a distribution of prizes and suggested to His Highness, "the holding out of some prospects of future employment in the public service to those boys who may distinguish themselves by their progress, especially to the Sudras who form so large a portion of the population of His Highness' country".

THE TRIVANDRUM OBSERVATORY. The Maharajah had a good knowledge of the science of Astronomy. While on a tour to Alleppey in 1011 M. E. (1836 A. D.), he happened to see some of the astronomical instruments of Mr. Caldecott the Commercial Agent. The Maharajah took great interest in these instruments and with Mr. Caldecott's advice an Observatory was opend at Trivandrum in 1012 M. E. (1836 A. D.), and operations were commenced in the following year. Mr. Caldecott was appointed the first Government Astronomer. Mr. J. A. Broun F. R. S., his successor, to whose astronomical labours Travancore owes not a

little of her present fame in scientific circles, thus refers to His Highness the Maharajah :—"His Highness was celebrated throughout India for his love of learning, for a cultivated mind, great practical powers and a thorough knowledge of many languages. His Highness is well known also for his decision of character and took the whole subject at once under his special protection." * For the use of the Observatory, lithography was introduced, and this in course of time gave place to a small printing establishment which was subsequently enlarged. Printing presses were got down from England and a department for printing was opened. The first Government publication was the Anglo-Vernacular Calendar of Travancore for 1015 M. E. (1839—1840 A. D.).

THE CHARITY HOSPITAL. The appointment of a doctor to the Royal family gave an opportunity to His Highness to test the virtues of European medicine and to realise the benefits of European treatment. Soon after, a Charity Hospital was opened at Trivandrum for the benefit of His Highness' subjects. It may be mentioned here that so early as 1814 a Vaccination Department had been organised on a small scale and a European Physician attached to the Royal household under the designation of Durbar Physician.

THE ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT. For the purpose of introducing the art of European Engineering in this country, an experimental Engineering Department was opened and Lieut. Horsley was appointed 'Visiting Engineer'. The Karamana stone-bridge was one of the first works of European engineering skill. An Irrigation Maramut Department with a Superintendent and a few companies of pioneers was also established at Nanjanad and was placed under the supervision of the Visiting Engineer. The Maramut Department for the repair and construction of palaces, temples &c., was also reorganised and an experienced Superintendent appointed.

Other Reforms. His Highness took an early opportunity to abolish the custom of disgracing female criminals by shaving their heads and afterwards banishing them from Travancore. The Suchindram ghee-ordeal resorted to by the Nambudiri Brahmins in cases of suspected adultery was also abolished. A revenue law was introduced, remitting one-fourth of the tax on cocoanut and other trees planted and reared by the ryots. On the advice of the Resident, Col. J. D. Fraser, the Maharajah gave up all interference with trials in courts of justice, except

* Report on the Travancore Observatories published in 1857.

in cases involving capital punishment or imprisonment for more than fourteen years.

Resignation of Dewan Subba Row. Subba Row's popularity waned and his administration did not please the people. Several petitions were sent to the Maharajah making serious allegations against him, his assistant Kochusankara Pillai, and the Judge Narayanan Kesavan. A commission was appointed to inquire into the charges against them, but no malpractices on their part were proved. But their conduct had caused dissatisfaction and the Maharajah was not willing to continue them in their respective offices. Kochusankara Pillai and Narayanan Kesavan were dismissed and the Dewan was asked to resign, and his resignation was accepted on the 25th February 1837. When this fact was intimated to the Resident, he wrote to the retired Dewan as follows:—

"I regret that any circumstance should have deprived the Sirkar of the further advantage of your services and recognised ability; and I deem it due to you to state that I have been entirely satisfied with your general conduct as Dewan, the judgment with which you directed public affairs, the integrity of your administration and the friendly, candid and honourable disposition, which you have invariably manifested in all your personal communication with myself."

Ex-Dewan Vencata Row. Dewan Peishcar Runga Row, father of Raja Sir T. Madava Row, was appointed to temporarily carry on the work of administration. But in 1013 M. E. (1838 A. D.), the ex-Dewan, Rai Raya Rai Vencata Row, was invited from Kumbakonam where he had retired after his resignation, and was appointed Dewan again. But within a year of his appointment he fell out with the Acting Resident, Captain Douglas. He therefore resigned his office in disgust in 1014 M. E. (1839 A. D.), and retired to Kumbakonam again.

Ex-Dewan Subba Row again. The retired Dewan Subba Row was re-appointed in 1014 M. E. The Resident, Captain Douglas, officially wrote (13th April 1839 A. D.) to His Highness regarding this appointment thus:—

"In reporting this occurrence for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, it will afford me the greatest pleasure to submit at the same time my opinion that this selection of an individual of known abilities, long tried fidelity in your service and attachment to your person, conjoined with a degree of local knowledge and experience possessed by few, affords the best guarantee of Your Highness' anxiety to administer the duties of your exalted station for the well-being and protection of your subjects and consequently to the advancement of the honor and dignity of the Raj."

The powers of the Dewan and his staff were strengthened and the Maharajah issued a Royal writ in 1015 M. E. (1840 A. D.), prohibiting the

officers in charge of the different departments from carrying on direct correspondence with the Palace, the Dewan alone being allowed that privilege.

During the second administration of Subba Row, the *Puthanmalika* and *Rangavilasam* palaces were constructed.

The Maharajah and General Cullen. Lieut-General W. Cullen was appointed Resident in September 1840. The new Resident did not study His Highness' wishes and the Maharajah's relations with him may be said to have never been cordial; and as the Maharajah had already gained ten years' experience on the throne, he did not perhaps care to befriend the Resident as a young Prince would have done. This made their relations unpleasant and soured the Maharajah's temperament, and accounts to some extent for his strange behaviour in making appointments and unmaking them, in dismissing Dewans and other high officers of State on slight pretexts and inviting them again to high offices in his service.

The Resident had brought with him a Brahmin of Masulipatam named Krishna Row, whom the Maharajah out of deference to the Resident appointed as a Huzur Deputy Peishcar for the management of the Devaswam, Oottupurah and other departments. But as he was a man of ambition, he aspired to the Dewan's place and therefore concerted plans for the overthrow of Dewan Subba Row. This greatly annoyed the Maharajah.

General Cullen was a little hard of hearing and His Highness therefore avoided frequent interviews with him as they caused him trouble and physical pain, and he was really unfit to bear the strain of a long continued loud talk with a deaf man. * This was the sole ground of the Rajah's dislike to confer with the Resident as often as his interests required. But the Resident's favourite, Krishna Row, took advantage of this untoward circumstance and did his best to widen the breach between him and the Maharajah. He misrepresented matters to the Resident and told him that the Dewan had poisoned His Highness' mind against the Resident and that His Highness had no regard whatever for the British representative. This naturally irritated General Cullen who began a course of retaliation. Every act of His Highness' and the Dewan's was misconstrued and the Resident took upon himself the task of opposing tooth and nail every measure of the Government. By his attitude he encouraged petitions from parties in civil and criminal cases, called for reports and

* General Cullen was stone-deaf when the present writer saw him for the first time as a school boy, twenty years later (1860 A. D.).

records without end both from the courts and the Huzur Cutchery and criticised them in a cavilling spirit. This interference of the Resident became so frequent and so great that it seriously affected the administration and the people lost all confidence in their Judges, so much so that the Chief Justice Srinivasa Row was so incensed that he officially reported to Government that their work was hampered and the administration of justice seriously suffered on account of the unnecessary explanations which had to be submitted to the Resident and which wholly occupied the time of his Court, leaving him practically little time for his legitimate work. No State appointments could be made without the sanction of the Resident. The Dewan became altogether powerless and could not even give small increases to his own office staff without the Resident's permission.

Day by day this interference increased and passed all legitimate bounds. It became the tyranny of the Resident in the place of what would have been in the olden days the tyranny of the Native monarch and his ministers, with this difference, however, that while the monarch's interests were indissolubly bound up with those of his State, for they stand or fall together, the British representative stood on a vantage ground with practically no interest of his own or his Government's at stake. Any control or check over such Residential tyranny was in those days nearly *non est*, as the appellate authority at Fort St. George was far away and, in the absence of the railway and the telegraph, practically inaccessible.

It struck Sir William Denison (Governor) as a curious anomaly that Native Princes should be so cabinned and cribbed as they were. He wrote of a neighbouring Prince thus :—" The Rajah may be likened to a tenant, who, although he pays his rent regularly, is compelled to cultivate his farm according to the will of his landlord ". The position of the Maharajah became humiliating, and he naturally felt much annoyed and the misunderstanding between the two became irreconcilable. To add to this, the Resident misrepresented matters to the Madras Government who passed several strictures and recorded unfavourable remarks on the Travancore administration. The Maharajah's remonstrance was of no avail and even the Court of Directors endorsed the opinion of the Madras Government. At this critical state of affairs, Dewan Subba Row resigned in disgust and retired on a pension of Rs. 500 per mensem in June 1842 A. D. His Highness very reluctantly promoted the Resident's protege Krishna Row to the post of Head Dewan Peishcar, and put him in charge of the administration as the only way to avoid further troubles.

When the interference of the Resident became unbearable, the Maharajah prepared a long and spirited memorandum to the Supreme Government at Calcutta, in which he pointed out the great injustice done to him and his country, and the humiliating condition to which his relations with the British Government had brought him. His Highness concluded the memo by stating that at this rate he was ready to abdicate his throne and hand over the kingdom to the Resident and his protege Krishna Row. The draft memo was of course shown to his brother the Elaya Rajah and his aunt the Queen Regent, and it is enough for present purposes to say that wiser counsels prevailed at last, and the strongly worded protest was not sent to the Supreme Government.

Reddy Row Dewan again. The proceedings of Krishna Row as Acting Dewan did not give satisfaction to the Maharajah, though they had elicited the appreciation of the Resident and the Madras Government. His Highness therefore wrote to the Madras Government that Krishna Row could not be confirmed in the office of Dewan. It was offered to the retired Dewan Reddy Row who was then at Kumbakonam, and he at once accepted it. The appointment was of course approved by the Madras Government, but the Resident in communicating their approval wrote to Reddy Row thus (4th February 1843) :—

"The Government have noticed that in your several addresses to the Residents Col. McDowal and Newall, requesting permission to resign the office of Dewan, you at that period assigned as a reason your advanced years, infirm state of health and the laborious duties of the office — and they observe that they apprehend after the long interval of twenty years, you can still be equal to its fatigue, but that they are aware of the aid 'which Reddy Row will receive from Krishna Row, the Dewan Peishcar, who during the time he had been in charge of the office of Dewan, is reported by the Resident to have reduced the arrears of business and instilled a vigour into the administration highly creditable to himself and advantageous to his country.

"And I shall equally feel it my duty to give you every possible support by which means, I think, every satisfaction will be afforded to His Highness the Rajah as well as to the Madras Government. As I am opposed to the system which has occasionally obtained of filling a Cutcherry with friends and dependents, I shall expect that you will bring with you no persons with that view and that you will limit the persons who may accompany you to such number only of your family as may be reasonable and indispensable to your personal comfort."

The meaning of this letter was clear; the Resident was decidedly opposed to Reddy Row's appointment, his own Krishna Row being superseded. It was most galling to General Cullen's vanity. In spite of this letter, the old Reddy Row brought with him a good number of his relations and employed two of his sons in his office. The ex-Dewan Peishcars Kesava Pillai and Kochusankara Pillai were

re-entertained and appointed as the Huzur Dewan Peishcar and Palace Peishcar respectively. Later on, the Head Dewan Peishcar Krishna Row incurred His Highness' serious displeasure and was so much disliked that he was made to resign his office and leave Trivandrum immediately. Krishna Row was general Cullen's man and his resignation was brought about at the personal influence of His Highness. The letter of His Highness the Maharajah, dated 1843, to the Marquis of Tweedale, Governor of Madras, clearly explains his relations with General Cullen :—

"My Lord,

"With due deference I beg to lay the following statement before Your Lordship, and hope you will kindly excuse the intrusion on your precious time, because my painful struggles against an unprecedented interference of the Resident at my Court in the affairs of my Government having harassed my mind to a degree inexpressible, have at last driven me to the necessity of thus seeking Your Lordship's protection and support in the time of need.

"I beg to inform Your Lordship, that soon after the present Resident arrived here, he began to exercise a want of confidence in my Dewan Soobrow. Here I think a few words necessary concerning this individual against whom the Resident seemed entirely prejudiced. Soobrow is an old and devoted servant of mine, having served me more than twenty-two years, in the capacity of my tutor first, and in that of Dewan afterwards; he by his conduct not only gained my esteem and confidence, but the highest good opinion of several Residents at my Court. It is against this old and respected servant of mine, that General Cullen began to show marks of his dislike and aversion, at the instigation and ill-persuasion, from self-interested motives apparently, of a person named Kristna Row, a young Gentoo Brahmin about thirty years of age who accompanied him from Madras.

"The Dewan Soobrow, although a man of advanced age, found no difficulty in carrying on the public business with benefit to the State, when duly supported as usual by the Resident; but in consequence of the total withdrawal of this support, and knowing that without it no possible exertions of his would give satisfaction, he frequently besought me to relieve him from his fruitless fatigues in the public affairs; but fully aware as I was that the public interest would suffer by his retirement, I did not accede to his solicitations.

"The Resident at this time recommended to me and to the Dewan, his own servant Kristna Row, to be employed as a Deputy Peishcar. The Dewan actuated by a wish to gain the good-will of the Resident by a compliance with his request spoke to me on the subject; but I first decidedly objected to the appointment of Kristna Row from an apprehension that the measure would soon produce a spirit of insubordination and affect the power of the Dewan, as was experienced here before on similar occasions, but at last however, hoping that my compliance with the wish of the Resident might dispose him to entertain a better feeling towards my Dewan, I consented to appoint Kristna Row as a third or extra Deputy Peishcar, there being already two others employed.

"As soon however as he was appointed, that I had anticipated came to pass, Kristna Row getting a party of intriguing persons both in the Sircar's employ and otherwise, began to undermine the Dewan's authority by encouraging false complaints &c., and were I to mention here all the anxieties and

troubles which the Dewan suffered from Kristna Row's machination and the latter's influence with the Resident, it would be a detail too long for a letter, suffice it, therefore, to say that the Dewan's authority was completely usurped and set at defiance by various devices made use of by the party against him. At this crisis the Resident addressed me a memo in official form, but without signature, containing some frivolous and unfounded charges against the Dewan and urged me to relieve him from the office; but while I was about to send my reply to it in refutation of every unfounded allegation it contained, I received a letter from General Cullen stating that I need not take the trouble of answering it, as it was merely intended for my private information.

"The two-fold object of these two communications may now be easily perceived, *viz.*, first, if the Resident had received my reply in an official form, he must then have been obliged to communicate it to the Madras Government, which I have great reason to believe, is not at all General Cullen's policy; but that he endeavours to keep the Government perfectly ignorant of what passes here. Secondly, by sending to the Government a copy of the memo he had the facility of intimating that my silence arose merely from my inability to confute his accusations. Thus under a mark of solicitude for my convenience, the deep design of gradually subverting and assuming my power is to me quite manifest.

"This explanation of the *finesse* of the Resident did not occur to my mind at that time, or notwithstanding his second letter, I would have forwarded my reply to the said memo and requested him to bring the same to the notice of the Government. From a perusal of a copy of the Minutes of Consultation of the Madras Government which the Resident subsequently sent me, I learnt to my great astonishment, that he had informed the Government that I was determined to relieve the Dewan, both on account of his old age and inefficiency. Here, My Lord, I most positively assert that neither did such an idea enter into my head, nor in any conference with General Cullen, have I ever spoken anything ambiguous so as to have led him to construe my meaning to that effect. On the contrary I have repeatedly expressed my satisfaction at the Dewan's conduct; but unluckily either my voice is too feeble to convey my sentiments, on account of his badness of hearing, to the Resident, or he thinks proper to misrepresent them to the Government.

"It is natural that the Government knowing only from the *ex parte* statements of the Resident, should furnish him with an extract of the Minutes of Consultation to the effect that the Government concurs with me in my determination of relieving the Dewan on account of infirmity and inefficiency. The Resident in forwarding a copy of this document for my information strongly urged me to relieve the Dewan from his office. When I saw the said extract the truth at once flashed upon my mind, that the Government was perfectly misinformed as to the state of my affairs, and I resolved immediately to address the Government on the subject. But the Dewan, dejected and weighed down by his ill-treatment, dissuaded me from doing so, stating as a reason that no aggravation of mutual bad feeling between me and the Resident should take place on his account. He then again urged me to accept his resignation of office, which I at last did on the 14th June last granting him a suitable pension for his long and faithful services. I then at his suggestion put Kristna Row in charge of the public affairs, as a temporary measure, and for reasons easily guessed, by way of trial to see whether he would prove to be adequate to this task; but his subsequent behaviour has shown him to be totally unfit for any high responsible office. Even after the retirement of the late Dewan, the infliction of a fresh hardship upon him seemed to be premeditated, because another extract from the Minutes of Council

was furnished both to him and myself by the Resident, to the purport that he 'should leave Travancore as his predecessors have done on similar occasions.' The ex-Dewan in order not to exasperate the Resident by refusal, was already thinking of going from this country, entirely against his will and at the risk of his and his family's health, and to their great inconvenience and loss; but I positively prevented him from doing so, and wrote officially to the Resident on the subject on the 29th July last to the following effect: that in the first place there is no parallel between this minister and his two immediate predecessors who have left the country immediately after their removal, at their own option, inasmuch as this Dewan has been my tutor which they were not, a distinction and relationship which I highly venerate. That the two former Dewans never thought of settling in this country, which they might have done had it suited their convenience, whereas this Dewan's case is quite different from theirs, because upon my promise of protecting him and his family, he had not only disposed of his house at Tanjore, but also built a large and costly one and purchased gardens at Trevandrum, for the express purpose of settling himself and spending the remainder of his days near me, moreover I even pledged myself that Soobrow would never interfere in public business. Thus having written, I requested the Resident to communicate the contents of my letter to the Government; but I am still ignorant whether he has done so or not. I think however he has not, because his expressions in person to me on this subject are equivocal and evasive. I trust however, My Lord, that Your Lordship will never permit any such injustice towards my old teacher and late Dewan, or any such infringements of my privilege and authority to be perpetrated.

"About a month after I had thus permitted Kristna Row temporarily to preside over the public affairs, the Resident importuned me to nominate him Head Dewan Peishcar, on a salary of Rs. 800 a month, with this also I complied with a view to a conciliation; but the evil consequences of this measure were soon apparent. Kristna Row elated by his success, began to consider me with the most marked and public disrespect; and by his dissolute conduct, low vulgar manners and arbitrary disposition has made himself universally detested, and to be considered a scourge to the country.

"The result is that petitions are frequently presented to me by many praying for redress from his unjust and oppressive acts, under an impression of the uselessness of addressing the Resident whose blind partiality to him is well-known.

"I take this opportunity to state to Your Lordship that I consider the observations of the Madras Government, and the Honourable Court of Directors, regarding the state of the finances of the Sirkar to be most judicious; and that I shall not fail to take proper steps in this matter, as soon as the agitations of my mind caused by the present untoward circumstances shall have subsided.

"Having now laid the statement of my grievance before Your Lordship, I beg to assure Your Lordship that as I consider I owe my country, honour, dignity and all privileges and earthly enjoyments, solely to the justice and protection of the British Government, I am fully aware of the great utility of being guided in all important matters by the advice of the Resident; and have always been so by that of all former Residents, but in the present case, as the interference of General Cullen amounts to an absolute annihilation of my authority, I beg Your Lordship to bestow a favourable attention to my case, and relieve me from my present state of anxiety, either by means of direct correspondence, or if practicable by sending to me one of your confidential officers, to whom I will personally disclose many other particulars relative to the present posture of affairs, and propose to

him such arrangements as I think conducive to the good Government of my country, so that he may by his explanation enable Your Lordship to form your judgment upon it, and to guide me by your judicious counsel."

This communication elicited a tremendous minute from the Madras Government taking the Resident to task and intimating that His Highness was at liberty to dispense with the services of Krishna Row just as he deemed fit.

General Cullen was much vexed at the treatment offered to his man which he took as one offered indirectly to himself, and waited for an opportunity to hit in return at one of His Highness' own men. The old retired Dewan Subba Row was the chosen victim, for he was the chief instrument in bringing about Krishna Row's retirement. The Resident wrote to the Madras Government recommending the removal of Subba Row from Trivandrum, as his stay there was specially injurious to the interests of the State. The Madras Government approved of his suggestion and Subba Row was compelled to leave Trivandrum for Tanjore. It should be remembered here that General Cullen's hostile attitude towards the Maharajah and the State remained unaltered until his protege Krishna Row was brought back and restored to favour by the Maharajah just before his reign closed.

The Maharajah leads a religious life. These unpleasant relations with the Resident and the extremely humiliating treatment accorded him by the British Government sorely affected His Highness. He therefore became indifferent to the administration of the State and devoted most of his time to religious observances. His Highness observed almost all the *Vritams* (fasts) and vows connected with Sri Padmanabhaswamy's temple and offered large sums of money as *Kanikkai* (or offering to the God). On one occasion the offering so made amounted to one lac of rupees. Shungoonny Menon thus describes this great *Kanikkai*:—

"On one occasion, the amount was one lakh of Surat rupees which was heaped in front of the idol of Sree Padmanabha Swamy and the Maharajah took the numerous bags containing the rupees, and poured the contents into the silver vessels which were kept there for the purpose. This work engaged His Highness about an hour, and he had the determination of mind to go through the labour even in his delicate state of health."

In addition to these money offerings, many precious jewels and silks, velvets &c., were purchased and offered to Sri Padmanabhaswamy.

His Highness became a recluse and as a rule did not give audience to his visitors. The interview with the Resident was entirely stopped and the hatred towards him was extended to other Europeans as well,

to whom also audience was refused. When Lord Hay, son of the Marquis of Tweedale, visited Travancore, it was with much difficulty that His Highness was prevailed upon to receive him. On one occasion when His Highness toured to South Travancore in 1019 M. E. (1844 A. D.), for performing some religious ceremonies in the celebrated temple of Suchindram, the people of Nanjanad who had enjoyed special rights and privileges from the Royal House and to whom audience could not be refused under any circumstance, sought permission to pay their respects to His Highness. But the Maharajah declined to see them, as he feared that they might refer to the interference of the Resident. Whenever His Highness alluded to the Resident, he used to call him *Vella* or *Sveta*. Such was his hatred that his servants dared not even to mention the Resident's name in his hearing. But General Cullen was a very different Resident in the next reign. With the amiable Maharajah Martanda Varma on the throne and his own protege Krishna Row as Dewan, General Cullen became the ideal British representative that Travancore could ever wish for. "He became", to use the words applied to another Political Agent of our own times in a first class Native State, "the man for the place."

"Ever willing to help in every possible way the ruler and the administration to which he was accredited, he has always refrained from needless interference and unnecessary advice: and it says much for the consistency of his policy that there has not been a single serious 'rub' between the ruler and the Resident during all these years. Nay he went further. He upheld the administration and the officers responsible for it with all their sins and short-comings against all possible critics."

Reddy Row resigns. In 1020 M. E. (1845 A. D.), the two sons of the Dewan Reddy Row were dismissed from service on the advice of the Madras Government. In the same year serious charges were brought against the Dewan who had fallen into evil ways and resorted to questionable means of enriching himself. His conduct in a certain boundary dispute was suspicious. While on circuit to the northern districts he halted at Quilon to hold an inquiry into the conduct of the Parur Tahsildar regarding certain charges brought against him, in which he is stated to have connived at his own subordinates taking bribes and was himself guilty of other irregularities which led to miscarriage of justice. On another occasion he accepted an invitation from Anantarama Iyer, son of the late Cochin Dewan Nunjappiah, and took from him many presents for himself and his followers. The Maharajah when he came to know of these proceedings insisted on his immediate resignation on pain of public inquiry into his conduct, and Reddy Row accordingly resigned his office.

On the retirement of Reddy Row, Srinivasa Row the First Judge of the Appeal Court was appointed Head Dewan Peishcar and put in charge of the administration; but he was not able to cope with the work as the country was then in a disturbed state. On one side there was the unsympathetic Resident unnecessarily interfering in every detail of administration, and on the other a sovereign who had become indifferent to State affairs and who had given himself up solely to religious and devotional occupations. The district officers who firmly believed in the return of Krishna Row to power were inactive and the collection of the revenue fell into arrears. The treasury was empty and the pay of the different establishments was overdue. Although Srinivasa Row succeeded in bringing the finance of the State to a satisfactory level, His Highness entertained serious doubts regarding his fitness, especially when he had the terrible opposition of the Resident against him.

Krishna Row re-appointed. So the Maharajah soon after his return from Quilon whither he had gone for a change of air, resolved to recall Krishna Row and appoint him Dewan Peishcar. Accordingly Krishna Row was summoned to the Royal presence (10th December 1846).

"Not knowing for what purpose he was so suddenly called to the palace, Krishna Row was frightened, but no sooner was he ushered into the presence of the Maharajah, than His Highness in a very unusual way smiled and said, 'here, Krishna Row (giving the 'Neet' or commission of appointment), accept your re-appointment into my service. I forgive and forget all what is past; from this day you are my man and not General Cullen's. Go, work honestly for the advancement of my country and render every possible assistance to Srinivasa Row.' Krishna Row became speechless, shed tears copiously, and all that he could say in his own Telugu tongue was, 'Maharaj! Maharaj! I am your Highness' slave and waiting boy, protect me, protect me.'" *

This was the last appointment made by His Highness.

Domestic events. On the 2nd Minam 1007 M. E. (1832 A. D.), Rugmini Bayi gave birth to Prince Rama Varma (*Ayilliam Tirunal*), and on the 12th Tulam 1011 M. E. (1835 A. D.) Ravi Varma (*Uttradam Tirunal*) was born. On the 8th Edavam 1012 M. E. (1837 A. D.) another Prince, *Visakham Tirunal*, was born. Rugmini Bayi died towards the close of 1012 M. E., and the Maharajah's father died in Dhanu 1020 M. E. (1845 A. D.)

Europeans and Eurasians. A great number of Europeans and East Indians were employed in the State and this formed a subject of correspondence between the Resident and the Dewan. The Court of Directors finally addressed the Travancore Government "not to increase

* Shungoonny Menon's History of Travancore. Page 437.

their number without the most urgent necessity". It was also decided that the acquisition of land by them could be made only after a regular report to the Huzur.

In 1837, in accordance with the Resident's memorandum dated 13th July, the Europeans residing in the State were informed "that it has been established as a rule by the British Government that Europeans residing in the territory of Travancore or any other Native State, not being servants of the British Government, must be held to be in all respects and in all cases civil and criminal subject to the laws of the country in which they reside". But as we shall see later on, the British Government have refused to recognise this right of the Travancore Government.

Demise of the Maharajah. Day by day His Highness' health declined and on the morning of the 12th Dhanu 1022 M. E. (25th December 1846), His Highness was unable to move out of his bed and go through his daily routine. At noon, the heir-apparent and His Highness' aunt found him very weak, and after taking a light supper at about 10 o'clock in the night he retired to bed but never to wake again. Towards the small hours of the morning of that gloomy day, the Maharajah was found dead in his favourite chamber.

The Maharajah was a staunch Hindu, a thorough disciplinarian and a man of very high character. He was a god-fearing ruler. He went through all the religious ceremonies prescribed for a Hindu king with scrupulous regard and attention. The *Tulapurushadanam* was performed in 1004 M. E., and *Hiranyagarbham* in 1009 M. E. He possessed a cultured mind and a strong will. It is said of him that he knew mesmerism and was an occultist. He was regarded by the people as an incarnation of Narasimha himself. He was known as *Saktan Rajah* (powerful king) in common parlance. He was a patron of literature. Many learned men from all parts of India flocked to his Court for the proud display of their learning. Many famous musicians from Tanjore, Mysore, Malabar, Tinnevelly and other places took service under him. Of the several distinguished medical men that visited His Highness from abroad, some were entertained in the palace as personal attendants. The Maharajah was fond of vocal music and possessed, as already stated, a critical knowledge of the native dance known as *Bharata Nattyam*. He had in his Court distinguished acrobats, magicians, athletes and a set of 'Hyderabad Pailwans' well skilled in wonderful feats. He had a great admiration for the Chinese nation. There were in his Court two Chinese jugglers and

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Golden Car Procession, Trivandrum.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

A Golden Car Procession, Tolvar Tiran

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz

their mode of eating gave His Highness special amusement. In addition to these, the Maharajah had in his Court representatives of all nationalities such as Arabs, Negroes, Turks, Malays, Japanese and Nepaulese. The Maharajah got a golden car built for his ceremonial processions and introduced several other fineries prevailing in other Native Courts, such as Tanjore and Mysore, to bring up his State to the level of oriental magnificence as recorded in the ancient Puranas.

The Rev. Mr. Abbs writes of the Maharajah in the following terms:—

"His character was that of a man of mild disposition, secluding himself after the custom of the Eastern monarchs, living in state and barbaric luxury, in ill-health, and devoting himself with bigoted attention to the rites, traditions and requirements of Hindooism." *

The missionary himself states that he was not acquainted with the Maharajah whom he had thus described. There is always an element of unconscious mis-statement in such writings. The accounts about Native sovereigns or for that matter even of high-caste Hindus as a rule, reach European missionaries through distorted media. It is not their fault so much as the fault of their surroundings. It is impossible for such people to get at correct information; they are so much out of touch with the persons and institutions they wish to describe, and the channels of information available for them are generally tainted. For instance in this case, the Maharajah was not a mild Hindu who took things easily but a ruler of stern disposition and iron will. He observed the strictest honesty in all his dealings and insisted on the highest rectitude in his officials. The so-called seclusion of which Mr. Abbs speaks was the result of a bitter misunderstanding between him and the Political Agent which caused him much pain and chagrin; and the sourness of temperament already noticed in the preceding pages of this history resulted from his repeated attempts to seek redress at the hands of the Supreme Government having failed. That the Maharajah paid scrupulous attention to the performance of all his religious duties as became an orthodox Hindu Prince goes without saying; but that does not mean bigotry or superstition in any sense. Even Lord Roberts with his forty-one years' intimate knowledge of the Indian races made the common mistake of believing that the late enlightened Maharajah of Travancore (*Visakham Tirunal*) was steeped in superstition and Brahminical ceremonies. This is what he writes:—

* Twenty-two Years' Missionary Experience in Travancore. Page 87.

"The late Maharaja of Travancore was an unusually enlightened Native. He spoke and wrote English fluently; his appearance was distinguished, and his manners those of a well-bred courteous English gentleman of the old school. His speech on proposing the Queen's health was a model of fine feeling and fine expression, and yet this man was steeped in superstition. His Highness only slightly retired from the table, between my wife and myself while dinner was going on; he partook of no food or wine, but his close contact with us (he led my wife in to dinner and took her out on his arm) necessitated his undergoing a severe course of purification at the hands of the Brahmins as soon as the entertainment was over; he dared do nothing without the sanction of the priests, and he spent enormous sums in propitiating them." *

From close personal acquaintance the present writer can say that the reference to the late Maharajah "as a man steeped in superstition" is wholly wrong.

Even Sir William Denison, a former Governor of Madras, whose opportunities of knowing the people and their institutions should be infinitely better, falls into a similar mistake. In his *Varieties of Vice-Regal Life*, he writes on 14th October 1862:—"Last year a Rajah came down as a pilgrim, went to bathe at the end of the island (Ramesvaram), and was beset, on coming out of the water, by a herd of Brahmins, who got Rs. 5,000 out of him in exchange for a few rings made of grass." There is very little excuse for the Governor of an Indian Province to fall into so egregious a blunder as to believe that the Brahmins got Rs. 5,000 from a Rajah in exchange for a few rings made of grass (*Darbha*); for he forgets that the Rajah must himself as a high-caste Hindu have had a deep-seated desire to make *Danoms and Dakshinas* to Brahmins on the occasion of a holy pilgrimage to Ramesvaram. Mr Abbs' error is thus under the circumstances excusable.

As the eminent historian Mountstuart Elphinstone said:—

"Englishmen in India have less opportunity than might be expected of forming opinions of the Native character. Even in England few know much of the people beyond their own class and what they do know they learn from newspapers and publications of a description which does not exist in India. In that country also, religions and manners put bars to our intimacy with the Natives and limit the number of transactions as well as the free communication of opinions. We know nothing of the interior of families but by report, and have no share in those numerous occurernces of life in which the amiable parts of character are most exhibited. Missionaries of a different religion, Judges, Police Magistrates, Officers of Revenue or Customs, and even diplomatists, do not see the most virtuous portion of a nation."

Another European missionary of fair experience in the country told me some years ago that it was a well-understood thing in Travancore that as soon as a Maharajah weighed himself against gold, the Brahmins got

* Forty-one Years in India, Vol. II. Page 388.

rid of him, meaning, of course, by foul means, that owing to this circumstance the penultimate Maharajah (*Ayilliam Tirunal*) put off weighing himself against gold to the latest possible date, which by implication meant that, when he did agree to the weighing against gold, he himself willingly acquiesced in being disposed of in the manner alleged. I told him that this was a story which beats Anderson's Fairy Tales and that it was impossible for me to believe how the learned European missionaries could swallow such rubbish. He assured me that I was quite mistaken in my opinion and that he had satisfied himself thoroughly of the accuracy of his information by careful and patient enquiry. The love of the marvellous, I thought, must largely account for such beliefs. In the first place that Maharajah lived full ten years after weighing himself against gold. But he did not wish to perform so costly a ceremony until the public finances had reached a state of stable equilibrium. The Dewan, Sir Madava Row explained the circumstance thus:—

"The second ceremony was the *Thoolabharam*, which also partakes largely the character of a religious rite, and is a sort of coronation performed once in a reign. It is in the course of this ceremony that the Maha Rajah for the time being, distributes among some thirty thousand Brahmins, a quantity of gold equal to his own weight. The rite ought, according to ancient custom, to have been performed much earlier, but His Highness the Maha Rajah had postponed it from considerations of economy. It was undertaken in the period under report in reference to the healthy state of the finances, calculated to bear the strain of the additional expenditure without impeding the course of general improvement."*

And in the second place, the Maharajah performed two years later another ceremony called *Padmagarbham*, in which also a large quantity of gold was distributed amongst Brahmins. According to the Puranas, some kings have weighed themselves against gems which were likewise distributed among the learned and pious Brahmins. Anyway the longer a Maharajah lived, the better it was for the State and the Brahmins. I fear there must be a great many more stories of the kind created and circulated in the land. It is needless to add that Mr. Abbs' estimate of the next sovereign was equally faulty in some respects.

* Report on the Administration of Travancore for 1045 M. E. (1869-70 A. D.).

MARTANDA VARMA (*Uttram Tirunal*) $\frac{1022—1036 \text{ M. E.}}{1847—1860 \text{ A. D.}}$

Martanda Varma was only thirty-two when he was called upon to succeed his talented brother whose premature demise plunged the whole country into deep mourning. His Highness was installed on the throne in Public Durbar by General Cullen on the 16th Kumbham 1022 M. E. (26th February 1847), two full months after *Swati Tirunal's* demise, there having been some unusual delay in the communication of sanction from the Madras Government for the installation.

Early education and attainments. As already stated, this Maharajah and his late brother both received their English education under Subba Row. He had thus attained proficiency in English, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Marathi, Malayalam and Tamil before he came to the throne. Though he was not a gifted Prince like his brother, yet in the social amenities of life and knowledge of current politics, he was much his superior. The Residency surgeon Doctor Broun, with whom His Highness moved on very intimate terms, improved his English pronunciation and gave him lessons in general science and anatomy. The Prince took a great liking to scientific studies so that even after the surgeon left India he continued them with zeal and diligence. Mr. Caldecott, the Commercial Agent, gave him some help in these studies, especially in chemistry. A laboratory was got up with the necessary apparatus and chemicals. His Highness applied himself to the science of medicine and surgery also. He had a small dispensary of his own stocked with the latest medicines of all kinds, which he dispensed with a liberal hand to all who came within the sphere of his influence, irrespective of position or status. He soon became a clever physician himself and was able to treat several cases successfully. His Highness was the sole medical attendant on his brother the late Maharajah, when once he suffered from a severe attack of diarrhœa and he got him through. He also became a skilled surgeon and performed surgical operations himself. He studied the art of vaccination and conferred the boon first on his own personal attendants. His Highness' natural sweetness of temper, kindliness of disposition and warmth of heart, and equal consideration to all, made him the idol of the people's affections; whether as sovereign or master or friend, he endeared himself to all. The present writer has only a faint recollection of His Highness' happy face as seen forty-five years

ago, but during this long interval he has never heard an ill word spoken of the Maharajah by any person in the country.

The happiest period of his life was as *Elaya Rajah* or heir-apparent, of which Rev. Abbs writes:—

"Martanda Varma, while Elliah Rajan or heir apparent, succeeded in gaining the affections of the common people, and forming friendships with several Europeans. His appearance at a distance, as he entered your bangalow with bare feet, or advanced towards you in a gaudy long tunic from the farther part of his palace, was not prepossessing. As he drew near sufficiently to cast his eagle eye upon you, and display his dark, shining, intelligent countenance, you felt that you stood in the presence of royalty; and when, after placing his hands on his forehead, he held it out and addressed you in English, you were instantly charmed by his benignant gracefulness. He was an intelligent man, well acquainted both with language and science; while many pious persons who have visited him have thought that, if not a secret disciple, he was not far from the kingdom of God." *

Martanda Varma was more at home with Europeans than his illustrious brother who was proud and reserved and naturally of a shy temperament. He was frank and genial in his intercourse with them. He went into their feelings and sympathised with their aims and objects more readily. He was better educated in English and his manner was extremely agreeable to all, friends or strangers. Every inch of him, he was a Prince. There was a ring of unaffected simplicity and frankness about him which delighted all who came to know him. Lord Harris himself (Governor of Madras) whose visit will be referred to later on, was quite taken up with the Maharajah when he went on board the steamer in which His Excellency came and inspected it to study its construction and working. My informant tells me that His Highness then threw off all reserve, put his turban away and called for his chew and engaged himself in a pleasant chat with Lord Harris, chewing and talking in a quite-at-home fashion all the time. It was this quite-at-homeness, if I may use the expression, my informant believes, that charmed Lord Harris so much and produced a deep impression on his mind. I may also point out here that Mr. Abbs has quite misunderstood the Maharajah's religious proclivities. He was no 'secret disciple' at all. On the other hand he was a devout Hindu and most orthodox in his ways, though less showy than his Royal brother and more tolerant to the beliefs and tenets of others. It was entirely a mistake of Mr. Abbs' that he should have judged of the Maharajah from a Christian stand-point.

Srinivasa Row's administration. The financial condition of the country was far from being prosperous, and various causes contributed

* Twenty-two Years' Missionary Experience in Travancore. Page 88.

to the falling off in the revenue. Dewan Peishcar Srinivasa Row who was in charge of the administration was too weak to cope with the difficulties and was besides in disfavour with General Cullen, the British Resident. The Resident in a letter, dated 30th November 1846, addressed him :—

"After the long interval of one and a half years that the Peishcar was in charge of the affairs, instead of there having been the slightest improvement, he has to observe with regret that the deterioration of the finances and imperfect management of the administration has never been at any time more conspicuous and that after six years he has been in Travancore, it is with pain that he feels himself compelled to make such a declaration."

The meaning of this was very clear. Srinivasa Row's acting administration was declared worthless in order to pave the way for the appointment of the Resident's protege, Krishna Row, who was waiting for the Dewan's place. The Maharajah himself echoed these sentiments in his letter on the state of Travancore affairs to the Marquis of Tweedale, Governor of Madras, where he observed that he was "deeply impressed with the embarrassed state of the finances and the irregularities which existed in all the departments of the State, as well as the laborious task of correcting those evils". It should be remembered that the Maharajah and the Resident were on terms of the closest friendship, His Highness addressing General Cullen as *ammavan* or uncle whenever he referred to him in conversation. His Highness' illustrious brother had among other things advised him on his death-bed that he was on no account to quarrel with the 'White man' (Resident), as he himself had done, that he was no match for him and that it was safest therefore for him to appoint the 'White man's' protege, Krishna Row, at once, as Dewan. This advice Martanda Varma sacredly followed.

The new Dewan. Immediately after his accession, the Maharajah on the advice of the British Resident relegated Dewan Peishcar Srinivasa Row to his original post of Chief Judge of the Appeal Court and appointed Peishcar Krishna Row as Acting Dewan. In communicating the sanction of the Madras Government, the Resident observed :—

"The Most Noble the Governor in Council is fully aware of the financial embarrassment of the Sirkar, as well as the disorganized state of the Cutcherry, and desires it may be strongly impressed on your mind, that in entering on the duties of your high office your *best energies and constant application to business* will be required to surmount the difficulties which surround you."

The new Dewan set himself to work heart and soul for the improvement of the administration in all its branches. Officers of ability and experience were placed at the head of the various departments and the

general service was strengthened and rendered efficient for the satisfactory discharge of the work of administration. The Dewan submitted to His Highness a detailed report on the financial condition of the kingdom. In the Huzur Treasury there was a balance of only Rs. 99,000, while the large sum of nearly six lacs of rupees was due as arrears of salary to the different departments of the State and on account of the purchase of tobacco, salt &c., as also on account of Devaswam and Palace expenses; and the arrears of revenue yet to be collected amounted to a like sum or even more. The Dewan exerted his utmost to improve the finances, and in his endeavours in that direction he was heartily supported by the Maharajah and the Resident, with the result that the financial statement for 1022 M. E., (1846-1847 A. D.) was very satisfactory. In his letter to the Resident dated 14th February 1848, the Dewan wrote:—

"The particulars of the receipts under the various heads are given in my report No. 238 under this date, and I beg to afford the following explanation respecting the considerable reductions in the several branches of the expenditure which I have happily been enabled to effect by the most gracious encouragement and support of His Highness the Rajah, but for which, indeed, my exertions, great and unremitting they may have been, would have been unavailing. Here I may be permitted to state that most of the retrenchments that have taken place in some of the principal departments since I assumed charge of the administration in March 1847, are such as were proposed by me on my re-appointment as Dewan Peishcar in 1846 when I was placed over those departments. You will perceive from the comparative statement marked B that a saving of Rs. 17,513 has been effected in the Devaswam Department and a decrease of Rs. 51,086 in the department of public works, and I beg leave to state that the reductions in the above-mentioned departments have been made with due care and circumspection so that even the smallest item of a really necessary charge has not been lost sight of. It will also be observed that a sum of Rs. 463,831 in 1021 M. E. (1845-1846 A. D.) has been reduced in 1022, a result of the strict personal economy which I feel really gratified to inform you has been introduced in the palace expenditure by His Highness, who has been pleased to give the most positive orders for its reduction as much as possible, and it is satisfactory to know that the expenses under this head have not stood upon so small a scale for the last ten years."

The Madras Government in their Minutes of Consultation on the Financial Statement for 1022 M. E., observed:—

"The Governor in Council has noticed with great satisfaction the example of economy which His Highness has set in his own person and which cannot but be attended with the very best effects. The Government have also noticed the Dewan's own exertions to improve the efficiency of the adminstration."

Krishna Row was confirmed in his appointment on the 8th March 1848. In the same year the Maharajah was pleased to issue a Proclamation remitting all the accumulated arrears and other dues to the Sirkar by the ryots. This munificent act was a great relief to the poor ryots at the time.

Madava Row appointed tutor. The Maharajah took great interest in the education of his nephews, four in all, and entrusted them to the care of the late Dewan Subba Row. But subsequently one Sankara Menon, a native of Travancore trained in the earlier days of the Kottayam College, was appointed tutor. The Princes made satisfactory progress under his tuition but "English education had made such strides since his school days that he had become too antiquated for practical purposes". His Highness therefore, with a view to place the education of the Princes on a sounder footing, appointed T. Madava Row, son of the late Acting Dewan Runga Row, and the first of that distinguished batch of Proficients from the Madras High School, as their tutor in August 1849 A. D. Madava Row continued to discharge his duties for four years and a half *i. e.*, till April 1853, when he was appointed to a responsible office in the general administration of the State.

Amelioration of slaves. In 1843 the Government of India passed an Act declaring that no public officer should enforce any decree or demand of rent or revenue by the sale of slaves, that slaves could acquire and possess property and were not to be dispossessed of such on the plea that they were slaves, and that acts considered penal offences to a free man should be applicable in the case of slaves also.

Encouraged by this Act, the several Mission Societies in Travancore presented in March 1847 an address to the Maharajah through the Resident, proposing the entire and immediate emancipation of all slaves in Travancore. The Dewan on behalf of the Maharajah replied:—

"I am directed to request you will be so good as to intimate to these gentlemen that His Highness fully appreciates the feelings which prompted that address; that His Highness cannot but feel deeply interested in the welfare of every class of his subjects, however low may be their condition, and that His Highness will ever be disposed to ameliorate as far as may be practicable the condition of the class referred to by the Reverend Gentlemen by the introduction from time to time of improved regulations for their treatment. Emancipation His Highness considers to be too important a question to be considered at present, especially as no such measure has yet been introduced even in the Honourable Company's territories, but the amelioration of the condition of the unfortunate class of the population, is a subject which will never fail to engage His Highness' consideration."

On the question having again been agitated by the missionaries, the Resident in his memorandum, dated 12th March 1849, urged on the Dewan the improvement of the condition of the slaves as far as it could be done without affecting the interests of private proprietors of slaves. He proposed,

(1) that Government should publicly disconnect itself with the perpetuation of slavery.

(2) that Government should take measures for the future emancipation of slaves by declaring that all children born of Sirkar slaves should be free, and that while the Sirkar should receive no slaves on their own account they should exact a like stipulation as to the emancipation of all children of slaves whom the Sirkar might restore to claimants as distant heirs along with their escheated estates, and

(3) that more stringent regulations should be established with regard to the treatment of slaves; they should be given food, clothing and wages on a tolerably good scale.

These suggestions were generally approved of by the Maharajah and the Madras Government, but it was only about September 1853 that a Royal Proclamation was issued declaring that all future children of Government slaves should be free, and making provision for the improvement of the other slaves. The measure was gladly received by the Resident and the Madras Government. The former wrote, "I beg to offer His Highness the Rajah my warmest congratulation on a measure which I feel satisfied will afford infinite gratification to the British Government, while it cannot fail to add to His Highness' reputation for beneficence and liberal policy". This beneficent policy was soon followed by the total abolition of slavery in Travancore by the Royal Proclamation of 24th June 1855.

The London Exhibition of 1851. In the year 1849, a communication was received from the Madras Government with regard to the holding of the London Exhibition of 1851, requesting the aid of His Highness' Government in contributing to the grand show by sending local articles of skilful workmanship and rare excellence. Arrangements were accordingly made for collecting all the rare products and manufactures of Travancore. The Maharajah suggested that the ivory throne (chair) then under construction for his own use might be sent to the exhibition as a fit specimen of Travancore ivory carving. The Resident and the Madras Government having approved of the idea, the chair along with the other collections was despatched to England with an autograph letter of His Highness to Her Majesty Queen Victoria. The chair occupied a very prominent position amongst the wonderful works of art collected for the exhibition, and the workmanship of the native artizans of Travancore received its due commendation from a vast multitude of spectators. This chair along with some other valuable works of art comprising the Jubilee presents of Queen Victoria recently adorned the World's Fair at Lousiana, America. The following description of the chair appeared in a recent issue of the *Scientific American*:—

"Among the priceless treasures comprising the Jubilee presents of Queen Victoria, which have been sent to America by King Edward of England for exhibition at the world's fair is a wonderful ivory chair and foot-stool. These were presented to the late Queen by the Maharajah of Travancore. The carving on the chair and foot-stool is a revelation of possibilities of art. The feet are in the form of lions' paws, and the arms terminate in lions' heads. The back is in the form of a shell, supported by elephants rampant. The seat is of alabaster, and the chair has a gold and silver tissue draper around the underside of the frame, finished with tassels and richly chased ormolu ornaments. The cushions are of green velvet embroidered in gold and silver thread. Every outside path of the chair is covered with delicately carved figures of men and animals."

About the close of 1851 A. D., a reply was received by the British Resident through the Madras Government from Queen Victoria under Her Sign Manual, acknowledging the ivory chair of State sent for the exhibition. To mark the occasion with due importance, a grand Durbar was held. The letter was carried by the Assistant Resident, Major Drury, mounted on a richly caparisoned elephant and read publicly by Dewan Krishna Row. The usual salutes were fired and the band played the National Anthem. Mr. Lewis, the great European artist, who had come to India about this time and was specially invited by the Maharajah to his capital, prepared a sketch of the Durbar, which was subsequently enlarged and painted by him and taken to England where he had it engraved and printed. This painting now adorns the walls of the Library attached to the local Museum.

Tinnevelly—Travancore boundary. In December 1851, the boundary between Tinnevelly and Travancore on the Shencottah side was clearly defined as proposed by General Cullen so early as 1846, and the adjustment of the boundary was agreed to by the Maharajah and finally sanctioned by the Madras Government. General Cullen's suggestions were briefly these:—

1. The existing line from the Shanar Ghaut to Shencottah should be maintained.

2. From Shencottah the line should go straight across the south-east angle of the Sivanallur Maniam and then continuing along the boundary of the Maniam and by Achanputur to the Peak.

3. Pumblipatam, Puliyara and all other lands possessed by the Company within or west of the above lines to be ceded to Travancore and the Klangad and Sabrwareen Kara Maniams ceded to the Company, thus giving to Travancore a compact district completely protecting and covering all the approaches to the passes into Travancore.

4. Malayankulam and the lands east of the Travancore lines south

of Panagudi, being of no particular value to Travancore, to be ceded to the Company on an equivalent reduction in the annual subsidy.

Financial strain—Demise of Parvathi Bayi. While Travancore affairs were getting on thus satisfactorily, certain unforeseen calamities befell the country. In 1028 M. E. (1852 A. D.), the whole country suffered by the total failure of crops caused by the floods in the northern Taluqs and drought in the southern. The ryots were so completely ruined that they had not the wherewithal to begin cultivation for the next year. The Sirkar was consequently put to the necessity of remitting the tax on lands which had entirely failed and of suspending its collection on those which partially suffered. As paddy and provisions were sold at famine rates, the Government had to purchase large quantities of paddy and rice from foreign markets to relieve the existing pressure. This naturally affected the State finances rather seriously. Just about this time the British Government abolished their monopoly on tobacco, in consequence of which large quantities of the article were imported to British Cochin and thence smuggled under cover of night into Travancore in exchange for pepper and other monopoly articles similarly conveyed hence to that place. Thus a double system of contraband trade was in operation and a twofold loss resulted to the Travancore Government.

These financial embarrassments taxed Dewan Krishna Row to the utmost, and while he tried to set matters right, the good Rani Parvathi Bayi suddenly passed away after a short illness. This unexpected and melancholy event plunged the country and the Royal family into mourning. The Maharajah felt the loss most keenly as she was to him more than a mother, his own mother having died within three months of his birth. It also caused additional expenditure which admitted of no delay. The Dewan however surmounted all difficulties and managed everything to His Highness' satisfaction.

Administrative divisions. To relieve the Dewan somewhat from pressure of heavy work, the Resident on the 25th August 1855 suggested the appointment of two Division Peishcars, one to have supervision over most of the districts to the north from Parur to Ampalapuzha and Changanachery, and the other over all the districts south of Neyyattinkara together with the superintendence of the salt department, the Dewan as heretofore having charge of the intervening districts. This proposal was sanctioned by the Maharajah in the early part of 1856. The Peishcars were given sole charge of the districts under them and were vested with more definite control in matters relating to the Revenue

and Police within their respective jurisdictions. Peishcar Raman Menon was appointed to the northern districts comprising the Taluqs of Parur, Alangad, Kunnatnad, Todupuzha, Muvattupuzha, Minachil, Changanachery, Kottayam, Yettumanur, Vaikam and Shertallay, and T. Madava Row, who had by this time won golden opinions at the Palace as Tutor and in the Huzur Cutchery as Deputy Peishcar, was appointed to the southern districts comprising the Taluqs of Tovala, Agastisvaram, Eraniel, Kalkulam and Vilavankod, together with the superintendence of irrigation works and salt manufacture.

Attacks on the Administration. Meanwhile Krishna Row had incurred the displeasure of the missionaries and other Europeans in the State to whom he paid little or no attention. A series of articles appeared in the *Madras Athenæum*, then the leading English newspaper of the Presidency, against him and the British Resident, alleging that the two colluded together and connived at several acts of oppression and torture. The Dewan, it would appear, exercised his authority like a Munro or a Velu Tampi using the whip and rattan against petty officers of Government for the correction of evils, forgetting that the times had completely changed since then. The Maharajah warned the Dewan to be careful not to give room for such complaints and the Dewan thereupon instituted searching and rigorous inquiries into acts of oppression and dealt to the miscreants exemplary punishments. This, however, instead of quieting matters only increased the storm and more articles began to appear in the *Athenæum*. They were strong and sometimes vehement, but were all written by well-informed critics and were solely intended for the public good. There was no personal animosity or scurrility about them. The peculiarity about them was that they attacked the Dewan and the Resident together in the same virulent fashion, a state of things unknown to later history, though newspapers have multiplied to an unexampled extent and have given themselves the utmost license without measure or moderation.

While public attention was thus directed to Travancore and the abuses in its administration by Newspaper articles, the London Missionaries in the State joined together and presented in July 1855 several memorials to the Madras Government on behalf of the Native Christian converts who, they said, had of late suffered heavily having entirely failed to get any redress to their grievances. They also set forth in bold terms that corruption, oppression and extortion were openly practised by the Government officials with the connivance of the Resident (General

Cullen), and that inefficiency and maladministration were the order of the day. The police were said to be a tremendous engine for iniquity and oppression. Prisoners were confined for indefinite terms without investigation, and regulations were systematically set aside. The most barbarous treatment in prison prevailed; torture was practised and robbery was rampant. The character of high officials was disgraceful. Convicted criminals and notoriously incompetent men were appointed to high offices. The pay of the Sirkar officers was long left in arrears. The Appeal Court was packed and the whole channel of justice was corrupt. The forced labour system existed to a great extent. Immeasurable evils arose from the pepper, salt and other monopolies which impoverished the people without increasing the revenue and demoralised the inhabitants. The memorialists concluded with a request for the appointment of a commission of well-qualified Europeans to enquire into the whole affairs of Travancore. Matters could not be presented in a worse light, and the Madras Government immediately called upon General Cullen to fully investigate and report on the various allegations set forth in the memorials. He thereupon submitted an elaborate report disproving all of them and supporting the Dewan and his administration. The Government of Madras were not satisfied, and on the Missionaries again pressing their case upon them desired further explanations from the Resident. While matters stood thus, the Madras Government received numerous petitions from the native inhabitants also, corroborating the grave charges already brought against the administration. They therefore wished to investigate the charges by means of a Commission and accordingly wrote to the Government of India recommending the same. But the Governor-General Lord Dalhousie disapproved of the proposal for an enquiry as being opposed to the tenor of the Treaty of 1805 and instructed the Government of Madras under the ninth article of the Treaty to give to the Rajah "a formal and forcible expression of the sentiments of the British Government on the abuses which appeared to prevail with suitable advice and warning". A letter of warning was accordingly issued by Lord Harris on the 21st November 1855, calling the serious attention of His Highness to the manifold abuses then prevalent in Travancore and advising him to avert the impending calamity by an enlightened policy and timely and judicious reforms. His Excellency's letter to His Highness the Maharajah said:—

"1. It is with deep concern that I feel myself compelled to address Your Highness upon the present state of Travancore Territory.

"2. From the repeated complaints, which have for a considerable time past, been forwarded to Government by various parties of Your Highness'

subjects or residing within your territory; from the diaries and reports of my Resident at your Court, and information derived from other sources, I have been forced to the conclusion that grave abuses prevail in Your Highness' administration and pervade nearly every branch of it.

"3. These abuses have of late formed the subject of much correspondence between the Government and the Resident, and the Resident has no doubt made known to you through the Dewan, the views of Government. There is too much reason to fear that your Police is inefficient and corrupt, that notorious offenders escape apprehension and punishment, while others on the mere suspicion of crime are arrested and confined for months without being brought to trial.

"4. It is stated that your Tribunals, civil and criminal, are venal and in no degree enjoy or deserve the confidence of the people and that no endeavour is made to raise the character of the country by the appointment of men of integrity and reputation.

"5. Reports which have been made to my Government show that the Sircar servants, Revenue, Police and Judicial, throughout Travancore, are not punctually paid their salaries and it is to be feared that in consequence of this irregularity they are per force driven to prey upon the people.

"6. Grave complaints have been preferred to this Government on the part of the Native Christians, who, it is represented, are maltreated by their masters and others in consequence of their performing the duties of their religion, although complete toleration was guaranteed by Your Highness' proclamation. Their applications to the Courts and Police authorities are stated to be disregarded and wholly to fail in obtaining redress.

"7. The Revenue system followed by Your Highness is in a large degree made up of monopolies; the chief of these are the Tobacco monopoly, the Pepper monopoly and the monopoly of cardamoms. These sources of revenue appear to be productive of much oppression and crime. The price of the Pepper is allowed in many cases to remain for a length of time unpaid. In many cases it is understood that it is not paid in money, but in Tobacco of the worst kind. Hence the ryots are irresistibly tempted and in a manner compelled to dispose of their produce clandestinely. Grave affrays ensue between the Sircar officers and the ryots attempting to secrete their produce or smuggle it by land or sea out of the country. The public peace is endangered and the people demoralised.

"8. The Public Works throughout Travancore are neglected. The amount spent on this head, as the Government have had frequently to notice in their reviews of the Reports on the outturn of your Revenue, yearly laid before them by the Resident, is insignificant compared with that lavished on expensive spectacles or ceremonies; and even of the amount professedly devoted to Public Works, but a small part is applied to those which properly deserve that character. Roads, bridges, canals, are the works befitting an enlightened Government and benefiting alike the State and its subjects, and these are little known in Travancore.

"9. The complaints of the misgovernment that prevails in Your Highness' State, have not been preferred to myself only; they have also reached the ear of the Most Noble the Governor-General during his late residence on the Neilgherries. I have also felt it incumbent on me to bring the existing state of things to his notice.

"10. Lord Dalhousie has remarked that, under Article IX of the Treaty, the Rajah has promised to pay at all times the utmost attention to such advice

as the English Government shall occasionally judge it necessary to offer to him with a view to the economy of his finances, the better collection of his revenues, the administration of justice, the extension of commerce, the encouragement of trade, agriculture and industry, or any other objects connected with the advancement of His Highness' interests, the happiness of his people, and the mutual welfare of both states. His Lordship the Governor-General has therefore requested that a formal and forcible expression of the sentiments of the British Government, on the abuses which there is reason to believe prevail in Travancore with suitable advice and warning may, under the provision of the Treaty above cited, be addressed to Your Highness by the Government of Madras.

"11. It has therefore become my duty in the most earnest manner to call your attention to the abuses which prevail in your dominions, whether in the administration of the Revenue, the dispensation of Civil or Criminal justice, the Police or in the other department of your Government, and strongly to urge upon you in concert with the Resident prompt and effective measures of improvement. I would point out to Your Highness that the present state of your country is critical, and such as should lead you to serious reflection. It is not to be supposed that the Honourable the Court of Directors to whom all these proceedings will have to be reported will permit their continuance. For some years past your revenue has barely met your expenditure and in some it has fallen short of it. The receipts from the Tobacco monopoly, which at present constitutes so large a portion in your resources, have declined and may be expected eventually to fail altogether and no attempt has yet been made by Your Highness by the adoption of an enlightened policy to meet the unavoidable deficiency. The Resident has already brought under the consideration of the Government the declining state of your revenue and suggested a temporary reduction of your Pashcush to which this Government has been unable to accede, and it is much to be feared that the contingency against which article 5th of the Treaty is directed is not far distant unless averted by timely and judicious reforms. The Government is aware that the Resident has been endeavouring to impress upon you one great improvement in the fiscal management of Travancore by the substitution of an export duty for your Pepper monopoly; that officer will be no less ready and anxious to assist you in all other needful reforms in the several departments of your administration, and I sincerely hope that you will profit by his advice and by the counsel, which in accordance with the wishes of the Most Noble the Governor-General and my own anxious desire for your welfare, I have to offer to you."

This thunderbolt from the blue filled the Maharajah and his advisers with dismay. The Maharajah at once took steps to mend the administration thoroughly. His Highness called upon the Dewan for a detailed report on the various points referred to in the above severe warning tendered by the Madras Government. The Dewan accordingly submitted a report in February 1856, on the basis of which and after a long and careful consideration of the whole subject in consultation with the First Prince, the Dewan and other responsible officers of the State, His Highness despatched a reply to Lord Harris on the 21st April. His Highness began by admitting that there were some just grounds of complaint against the administration but that they were much exaggerated. He urged unforeseen failure in the grain crops as the reason of the undischarged pepper arrears and referred to the loan of five lacs of rupees recently

taken from the temple funds to meet the dues to the ryots for their pepper and the arrears to the public establishments. He admitted the expenses in connection with religious ceremonies the proper performance of which custom had rendered compulsory; acknowledged the evils of the monopolies but explained the impossibility of their sudden abolition; declared that the ryots had never been paid in tobacco for their pepper, and referred to the institution of a revenue survey, the issuing of orders to the Judges of the Appeal Court and the Dewan for the better management of the judicial and revenue departments of the State, and to the deputation of two of the high officers of the Cutchery to dispose of business, both revenue and police, in the provinces. The letter further stated that a report of all the Sirkar establishments had been made out with a view to the curtailment of the expenditure, that the complaints of the Native Christians had caused him much uneasiness and that the missionaries had some causes of complaint, but that the increase in their number and their dispersion all over the country had led to disputes which had tended in some degree to impair the control exercised by the Government on its Hindu subjects. It concluded by observing that the British Resident had always been consulted of all subjects of importance connected with the administration and thanking the Government for their advice and warning. A more sensible or earnestly worded reply could not have been conceived.

This reply was however allowed to lie over owing to Lord Dalhousie's departure from India and to the troubles of the mutiny as soon as Lord Canning took charge. Meanwhile the Government of India received despatches from the Court of Directors directing that a Commission should be appointed to investigate and report on the condition of the Travancore State. The death of Dewan Krishna Row at this juncture was very opportune to the State as it paved the way for the easy introduction of improvements which soon followed.

Miscellaneous items. In November 1853 a communication was received from the Madras Government conveying the gratifying information that the Government of England had resolved that "Travancore and Cochin shall be treated in every respect in regard to its trade on the same terms as are applicable to British India".

In 1851 a Census was taken which showed a total of 1,262,647 inhabitants for the whole State.

Towards the close of 1856 the treasury became empty and there remained unpaid the arrears of salary of the various establishments for

several months and the dues to the several contractors who supplied pepper, salt and other articles to the Sirkar. To meet these charges, a loan of five lacs of rupees was taken from the Padmanabhaswamy Pagoda and the Maharajah stipulated to replace the sum *plus* 50 per cent in the way of lump interest, in equal monthly instalments, in the course of five years.

In 1857 the Circuit Sessions for criminal trials which were introduced in 1835 were abolished and a new Regulation was passed appointing Sessions Judges on the system prevailing in British India.

When the Sepoy Mutiny broke out in 1857, the Maharajah gave instructions to render every assistance to the British Government and liberally contributed to the aid of the families that suffered from the mutiny. We stood firm and faithful allies to the British Government at that dark hour of trial. The present writer distinctly remembers the tremor that passed through the whole country at the time even at this extreme south of the Peninsula.

The Maharajah was a warm patron of education and literature and the progress of the Free School at Trivandrum engaged his earnest attention. Successful students in the school examinations were liberally encouraged by prizes and by the offer of good appointments in the Sirkar service.

Tribute to the Nawab. Ever since the treaty of alliance with the Nawab of the Carnatic in 1766 A. D., the Travancore Government had been paying an annual Peishcush of Rs. 6,000 and a quinquennial tribute of five elephants. Subsequent to the overthrow of the Nawab's dynasty, the British Government had taken to themselves four-fifths of the tribute leaving to the Nawab only the remaining one-fifth part. In April 1857 it was resolved that "the Peishcush hitherto in part allotted to the Sirkar will now be carried in full to the credit of the Honourable Company. The tribute of elephants will be similarly sent to Government with any necessary modification of the latter accompanying them". The Travancore Government now pay to the British Indian Government a sum of Rs. 13,319-8-0, being the equivalent of the Peishcush and Nazarana above referred to, exclusive of the eight lacs agreed upon by the Treaty of 1805. The Maharajah's letter to the Nawab soon after his accession to the throne may be given here as a very interesting relic of past history showing the relations between Travancore and the Carnatic in the pre-British days. The letter (in Persian) runs *:—

* Huzur Records of Trivandrum.

"In consequence of the demise of my elder brother, the Honourable British Government, which recognises the legal rights and privileges of all the Indian States, having been pleased to permit me by Your Highness' favour to ascend the throne of my Ancestors, and assume the Government of this State on the 26th February 1847, corresponding with the 10th day of Rabuluval of the Hejira year 1263, it is my ardent desire that the friendship and allegiance that has happily subsisted between Your Highness' Government and my Ancestors may continue firm and uninterrupted, for happy are those who seek for your support and friendship, and as it is characteristic of the great and noble-hearted to extend their friendship and protection to their allies and dependents, I would fain hope that you will kindly extend towards me and my family as one of the most faithful allies and dependents of Your Highness, the same support that my Ancestors had experienced from your Noble Government.

"In conclusion I beg leave to entertain the hope that Your Highness will be pleased to consider me worthy of your friendship, like my Ancestors, and kindly do me the favour of continuing your valuable correspondence with me, and I pray to God to grant Your Highness and your illustrious family long life and happiness. What more?"

The Pepper monopoly. The country was at this time subject to several vexatious taxes and restrictions to free commercial intercourse on account of the oppressive monopolies, the chief of which was that on Pepper. The Sirkar bought up the whole pepper grown in the country; the ryots who cultivated it took it to the Sirkar depots where they were paid at a uniform rate, of course far below the market value. As there were several objections to this system in that it pressed heavily on the ryots and encouraged smuggling into the British tracts, without much benefiting the public revenue, General Cullen recommended, on the 20th of August 1855, the expediency of abolishing the Pepper monopoly altogether and substituting an export duty in its place. Referring to the objections to the system of monopoly, he wrote:—

"Even when the ryots were paid immediately for their pepper, they never I believed, received the full value, the Sirkar do not even now pay what was considered a few years ago only as a fair price, *i. e.*, ten fanams per Thulam. This price was, it is true, reduced with my concurrence, but at a moment when the Sirkar were in difficulty and when the sale price at Alleppey hardly covered the Sirkar charges, but for the last two or three years the selling price at Alleppey has nearly doubled, yet neither has the originally fixed price to the ryots been restored, nor have the arrears of past seasons been made good to them. It is to these circumstances that is to be attributed the extensive smuggling into the British port of Cochin."

On the 11th December 1855 the Government of India wrote to the Government of Madras about the several impediments that existed to the free commercial intercourse between Travancore and other countries on account of the Pepper regulations, "expressing a hope that the Government of Madras would persuade the Rajah to remove the restrictions by adopting a policy based on sound principles." They however added:—

"The Government has no power to compel the Rajah of Travancore to adopt a particular commercial policy, nor is it desirous of exercising an unnecessary interference with the Rajah in the internal administration of his State, but it has every right to advise and to urge that advice with authority. I am accordingly directed by His Lordship in Council to request that the Right Honourable the Governor in Council will be pleased to instruct the Resident at Travancore to induce the Rajah to adopt a more rational and politic system of commerce than that of which merchants justly complain, and which it is to be presumed must be more injurious to his own subjects and consequently to his own revenues than they can be to the merchants of any other place."

The above having been communicated to the Maharajah and the Dewan, the latter replied on the 8th March 1856:—

"I would say that the present system connected with the Pepper monopoly has obtained for upwards of a century without any well-grounded or material complaint on the part of the inhabitants, who, I would venture to assert from the recorded opinions of my predecessors and my own observations, would much rather deliver to the Sirkar at even the lower rate of valuation *i. e.*, 8 fanams per Thulam, than sell it at very uncertain and fluctuating prices to merchants who from motives of profit would even seek to depreciate the value of the article."

He therefore proposed that in the interests of the Sirkar and the inhabitants, "the Sirkar revert to the former rate of price payable to the cultivators, *viz.*, 10 fanams per Thulam, and as all arrears for past years are with all other existing liabilities now being discharged in full, the enhanced rate of price will henceforth be punctually paid in advance so that there would be no inducement to smuggle out the pepper". But the Government of India accepted this proposal only as a temporary measure and distinctly expressed themselves that they would be satisfied "with nothing less than the abolition of the monopolies and the adoption of a less objectionable system which might certainly be introduced without difficulty and with equal advantage to the agriculture, commerce and revenues of the State of Travancore".

Finally after a good deal of correspondence on the subject, the Resident Mr. Maltby discussed with the Maharajah on several occasions and on his recommendation the following order was passed by the Madras Government on the 26th March 1860:—

"The Government fully approve of the plan proposed by the Resident for the abolition of the Pepper monopoly and for the substitution of an export duty of Rs. 15 per candy or 20 *per cent ad valorem* on a valuation of Rs. 75 per candy on all pepper exported from the Sirkar territories by sea or land. To make this plan effectual, it will, however, as shown by Mr. Maltby, be necessary to extend the levy of duty at the same rate on behalf of the Sirkar to all pepper exported from the British port of Cochin."

The measure which in the words of the Resident "will be an act of benevolence to his subjects, which will substitute a sound and enlightened

system of finance and will be gratifying to the Government of India and Her Majesty's Home Government," was sanctioned by the Maharajah. But it was not till November 1860 *i. e.*, at the beginning of the next reign, that the Travancore Government issued a Proclamation abolishing the Pepper monopoly and substituting an export duty.

Adoption. On the 22nd Kanni 1033 M. E. (October 1857 A. D.), Her Highness Rani Lakshmi Bayi, the only surviving female member of the Royal family, died at the early age of twenty-eight, a few days after having given birth to her second son (His Highness the present Maharajah). This unexpected death of the Rani, the only hope of the Royal family, cast a gloom over the whole State and the policy of annexation so vigorously carried out by Lord Dalhousie made the Maharajah extremely anxious about the future of his kingdom. The Maharajah determined upon having recourse to adoption. Regarding the necessity for the step proposed to be taken and the importance of the presence of female members in the Royal family, His Highness wrote to General Cullen:—

"You are well aware, I believe, of the peculiar importance of the position held by the Ranees in our family and indeed in the whole policy of the country, religious as well as social. Their presence is absolutely and indispensably necessary to the performance of all religious ceremonies both in our family and in the principal Pagodas. In that female line is vested also, as is further well known to you, the right of inheritance and succession in our own family as well as in the great bulk of our subjects.

"In 923 M. E (1747 A. D.), and again in 964 M. E. (1788 A. D.), in the absence of direct female issue proceeding from the Ranees, female members from among our near relations at Kartigapally and Mavelikaray (in the former instance four and in the latter two females at a time) were respectively selected as successors to the Ranees and duly installed in the Sree Padam Palace, the residence exclusively assigned to the female members of the family. Of one of these Ranees (no female issue having survived the other), myself and my predecessors on the musnud, have been the direct offspring.

"I deem it proper now to apprise you that in strict conformity with the same usage and precedents, I now propose to bring in two, the most eligible female members from among our relations before mentioned, as Senior and Junior Ranees. As the present is a matter of the deepest concern to me, in every point of view, involving as it does the interests of my family, religion and country, and I may add my own peace of mind, the measure cannot be delayed, more especially as some important religious rites are fast approaching, which can neither be postponed, nor performed without the presence of female members in our family."

The adoption was duly sanctioned by the Madras Government on the 7th November 1857, and two Princesses of eight and six years of age respectively were adopted from the allied Mavelikara family on the 27th December following. "Lord Dalhousie had shown in many instances a

Z. D'Cruz.

Lekshmi Bai, C.I., Late Senior Rani.

Parvati Bai, Late Junior Rani.

Photo by Z. D'Cruz.

M. E. PRESS.

strikingly unwise regard of the principle of adoption", which the historian of our own times (Mr. Justin McCarthy) believes, caused much discontent and ultimately led to the mutiny of 1857. It was a time of great anxiety, therefore, with the Maharajah and he scrupulously fulfilled many vows which he had undertaken to his tutelary deity, when he got the much coveted sanction of the Government for the adoption in his family. The Maharajah felt unbounded gratification at the Government having so readily and courteously met His Highness' wishes in a matter so deeply affecting the interests equally of His Highness and his family and of the whole population of Travancore, and he expressed his grateful feelings in warm terms to General Cullen in these words:—

"Your name is associated in our memory with many important and interesting events, the most conspicuous of which is the permission made through your powerful intercession for the continuance of the line of succession to the musnud of Travancore, an event which nothing can erase from the memory of myself, family and the whole country, and for which we cannot adequately feel grateful."

It is however the painful duty of the historian to record that this adoption so devoutly wished for was wholly barren of results, leaving no issue either male or female to continue the Royal line, at the time this narrative is being written, though one of the Ranis so adopted lived to the age of fifty-three, and the other Rani, her younger sister who predeceased her, had brought forth several children.

Death of Dewan Krishna Row. About the close of 1857, the *Murajapam* ceremony came off for which the Dewan was able to set apart a large sum, besides paying off the salaries of Sirkar servants then several months in arrears, moneys due to contractors and part of the loan taken from Padmanabha's temple fund. Soon after, he fell ill and died in December 1857. Patrick McGuire, the biographer of His Highness the late Maharajah *(Visakham Tirunal)*, thus refers to the death of Dewan Krishna Row:—

"General Cullen had been a thorough supporter of his protege Krishna Row and shielded him against all comers, newspaper correspondents, missionaries, petitioners, sober wellwishers of the State, and even the Madras Government itself. But things had gone on under that effete minister to the very climax of maladministration and financial insolvency, till at last the eyes of the Government of Lord Dalhousie were opened and under the inspiration of that great Proconsul, Lord Harris, then Governor of Madras, addressed a serious and emphatic warning to the Maharajah. Krishna Row survived this for two years but had allowed matters to reach the last stage of deterioration, and General Cullen supported him the more. The minister's death was therefore opportune and fortunate to the State."

The above picture is of course overdrawn. The present writer himself must have seen Dewan Krishna Row though he can claim only a very faint recollection of the genial and good-natured man, burly and big, who through good and evil report managed the troublesome affairs of the State for nearly twelve years faithfully and loyally to his sovereign and to the best of his lights. But there are scores of people in Trivandrum still living, who moved closely with him and knew him intimately, and who could therefore speak of him in his public and private capacities with authority. Their unanimous testimony goes to show that Dewan Krishna Row was a plain, good-natured, straightforward man, an intelligent and energetic officer who worked with zeal and devotion to the country's interests and who dealt with his official colleagues with sincerity and frankess, and was besides most devoted to his sovereign and to the welfare of his people. As a private gentleman he dispensed hospitality and charity with a lavish hand to those who sought his help. Whole families lived upon his bounty. He did not know what stint meant. That he was honest will be admitted by all who know the fact that when he died after twelve years' Dewanship carrying a salary of Rs. 2,000 a month, he left property worth only Rs. 40,000 (about £. 2,700) to be divided among six brothers. His widow who lived to a good old age in Trivandrum owned a house and enjoyed a small pension from the State which kept her just above want—for she too lived beyond her means being like her husband a most liberal-hearted and charitably disposed lady. Every Saturday about two thousand people breakfasted with Krishna Row at *Padmavilasam* * ; and to his needy relatives and dependents who came to seek his aid from his native district (Northern Circars), he gave largesses with a liberal hand. The Maharajah, his Royal master, visited him on his deathbed, when Krishna Row begged of him to overlook all his faults of commission and omission during a life-long service under His Highness' Government in several capacities. His Highness said there was nothing to overlook, that he was quite satisfied with Krishna Row's fidelity and zeal to the State and to the Royal house, and added that he was under obligations to him for the earnestness with which he had worked and brought about the adoption of the two Princesses into his family. This Royal assurance gave peace and satisfaction to the dying man and in a few minutes after the Maharajah left, Dewan Krishna Row expired, surrounded by a host of relatives, friends and dependents all devotedly attached to him. He continued in harness to the day of his death Krishna Row was a

* This is the Dewan's official residence within the Trivandrum Fort. An additional official residence known as *Bhaktivilasam* has been recently provided outside the Fort.

most popular official. His directness of dealing and simplicity of character endeared him to all those who came in contact with him, and if we judge of him by the standard which according to our late Viceroy (Lord Curzon) is the only true standard *viz.*, that "the aim and ambition of native administration is to fit them to rule native populations successfully", then Krishna Row's administration may undoubtedly be said to be a successful one.

Madava Row appointed Dewan (1858-1872 A. D.) When Krishna Row died, the Maharajah was in a dilemma as to who should be appointed to succeed him. There was Raman Menon, the Senior Dewan Peishcar, a man of considerable revenue experience and energy, and there was T. Madava Row, a young officer of character and ability and possessed of high educational qualifications, who had already established his name by the successful administration of the Southern Division. In the words of the late John Bruce Norton,

"Within the short space of a year, Madava Row has called forth order out of disorder; has distributed justice between man and man without fear or favour; has expelled dacoits; has raised the revenues; and his minutes and State papers show the liberality, the soundness and the statesmanship of his views and principles. He has received the thanks of his Sovereign; he has obtained the voluntary admiring testimony of some of the very missionaries who memorialised, to the excellence of his administration. Now, here is a man raised up, as it were, amid the anarchy and confusion of his country, to save it from destruction. Annexation, looming in the not far distant future, would be banished into the shades of night if such an administration as he has introduced into two of the districts were given to the whole kingdom, by his advancement to the post of Prime Minister. He is indeed a splendid example of what education may do for the Native."

The Maharajah in consultation with his nephew, Prince *Ayilliam Tirunal*, decided to appoint Madava Row in succession to Krishna Row. He was first appointed Acting Dewan on the 2nd Makaram 1033 M. E. (January 1858). Madava Row was only thirty when he was appointed to this high office. The Resident Lieut-General Cullen reporting his appointment to the Madras Government wrote thus on the 25th January 1858:—

"I have the honour to report that immediately on the death of the late Dewan of Travancore, His Highness the Rajah proposed to me to send for the Dewan Peishcar Madava Row who was then in the Southern Districts and close at hand for the purpose of taking temporary charge of the Cutcherry. He was the junior of the two Dewan Peishcars, but the Senior one Raman Menoven was in the north of Travancore and being a Soodra could not have conducted the great religious festival then celebrating at Trivandrum. His Highness has since proposed to me that Madava Row should for the present be placed in charge of the administration as Acting Dewan—an arrangement in which I have expressed my concurrence and which I hope may be approved of by His Lordship in Council. Madava Row's correct principles, his character for intelligence and energy, his

perfect knowledge of English, and the considerable experience he has already acquired in the administration of the laws of Travancore together with a well-grounded knowledge of the Company's Regulations, all point him out for the office. The other Dewan Peishcar Raman Menoven, formerly Sheristadar in Malabar, is a very old Company's servant and of great experience and energy; but he does not understand English and there are other objections to his nomination; he was unwilling to serve under one so much his junior, and he has been allowed by His Highness to resign on a moderate pension."

Dewan Madava Row first directed his attention to the improvement of the internal affairs of the country. At the same time he strengthened the relations of Travancore with the Madras Government. The first few years of his administration were devoted to fiscal reforms. He represented to the authorities and to the leading men of Southern India the true state of affairs in Travancore and disabused their minds of the grossly wrong impressions formed of oppression and misrule here. The Madras Government were satisfied with the new turn the administration had taken since his assumption of office.

Visit of Lord Harris. In September 1858, the Maharajah of Travancore invited Lord Harris, Governor of Madras, to honour him with a visit. The request was at once complied with. Grand preparations were made to give the Governor and his suite a fitting reception. The Eastern Fort gate at the capital which was rebuilding was completed expeditiously and fort walls on either side of the gate were newly constructed. The southern side of the old Durbar Hall was converted into a spacious maidan and the streets were all improved. Similar repairs were effected at Quilon and Alleppey. His Lordship and party arrived at Pelghatty on the 24th November and were received by General Cullen, the Dewan of Cochin and a representative of the Travancore Maharajah. Madava Row who was already confirmed as Dewan, welcomed the gubernatorial party at Quilon and took them to Trivandrum, which they reached early on the morning of the 30th November. There were the usual State Visits, the Levee, the Durbar and a State Banquet concluding with an effective illumination and display of fire-works. On the morning of the 4th December, His Excellency and party left Trivandrum and embarked on board the Steamer (Feroze) at the Valiatora port (Trivandrum). The Maharajah and the Princes bade farewell to His Excellency at the beach. At 1 P. M., His Highness and the Princes started on a visit to the steamer which was to take the Governor's party, and were heartily received by His Excellency amidst a salute of guns. The Maharajah inspected the several parts of the steamer leisurely and with great interest and in order that he might witness the working of the engine, the vessel was made to go a few miles northward and come back to the

anchorage. His Highness and party took leave of His Excellency and returned quite pleased.

This visit to Trivandrum left a very favourable impression on Lord Harris' mind regarding the Maharajah and the administration of the State under the new Dewan. In his minute drawn up soon after his return from Travancore, His Excellency observed:—

"I have been rejoiced to find that considerable improvement has taken place in the management of the finances of the Travancore State, under Madava Row, the Dewan. Salaries are now regularly paid, instead of being, as formerly, many months in arrears; and there appears to be generally much greater contentment and satisfaction than formerly."

The Madras Government also informed the Court of Directors,

"Since the appointment of Madava Row, petitions from Travancore have much abated both in number and tone, affording good grounds to hope that the administration is by his exertions being placed on an improved footing."

Shanar converts and Hindus—Disturbances in South Travancore. Reference has already been made to the establishment of the London Mission Society in South Travancore and the great toleration afforded to the Christian Missions by the Travancore Government, that led to the rapid spread of Christianity in Nanjanad. The result was that the Shanar converts (it may be observed here that the Mission work of conversion was mostly if not exclusively confined to the Shanars, Pariahs and other low-caste people), who were looked down upon by the high-caste Hindus, relying on the support of the missionaries, caused great annoyance to them. The *casus belli* in this case arose from the Shanar Christian females assuming the costume of high-caste women. By long-standing custom, the inferior classes of the population were forbidden to wear an upper cloth of the kind used by the higher classes. During the administration of Col. Munro, a Circular order was issued permitting the women referred to, to cover their bodies with jackets (*kuppayam*) like the women of Syrian Christians, Moplas, and such others, but the Native Christian females would not have anything less than the apparel of the highest castes. So they took the liberty of appearing in public not only with the *kuppayam* already sanctioned, but with an additional cloth or scarf over the shoulders as worn by the women of the higher castes. These pretensions of the Shanar convert women were resented by the high-caste Nayars and other Sudras who took the law into their own hands and used violence to those who infringed long-standing custom and caste distinctions. Both the rival factions took their stand upon the Queen's gracious Proclamation of November 1858. As the Calcutta Reviewer on the career of Sir Madava Row in Travancore wrote:—

"Certain castes were restricted to certain modes of wearing their clothes; and deviations from the prescribed modes were jealously watched and opposed by other castes. The women of the Shanars or toddy-drawers who abound in South Travancore and from among whom the Protestant Missionaries have for the last sixty years reaped the richest harvest, had been prevented from covering the upper part of their person. Acting upon the advice of Col. Morrison, then Resident, the Rani Regent had so far modified this restriction as to permit the wearing by Christian Shanar women of the Kuppayam (a sort of shirt). The mutual jealousies between the Shanars and the Sudras were dormant for some time, but the Queen's Proclamation of November 1858 on the assumption of the direct Government of India renovated these feelings. The Shanars imagined that it permitted them to infringe existing rules; while the Sudras equally considered it as sanctioning their taking the law into their own hands to repress what they took as an aggression into their caste domains. Serious affrays ensued, and these were aggravated by the gratuitous interference of petty Sirkar officials whose general standard of capacity and moral worth we have already alluded to. Public peace was imperilled." *

Serious breaches of the peace occurred in the Taluqs of Vilavankod, Kalkulam, Eraniel, Agastisvaram and Tovala, and the Sirkar was forced to interfere and legislate on the matter. The Proclamation of 1829 clearly permitted the female Shanar converts to cover their bosoms with a jacket as decency required but strictly prohibited their adopting high-caste costume. But the Shanars still persisted in setting at defiance the high-caste Hindus and made themselves odious to them. In this they were encouraged by the missionaries who represented that complaints against the Shanar converts to the Resident were 'partial, unprincipled and corrupt,' and people outside Travancore were made to believe that the low castes here were being persecuted by the higher castes and by Government. In December 1858 A. D., the two communities had assumed hostile positions against each other and troubles of a serious nature broke out. The Sudras openly attacked the Shanar women who dared to appear in public in high-caste costume, and the Shanars duly retaliated.

Dewan Madava Row grappled with the situation with his characteristic energy and thoroughness, and in this he was cordially aided by Deputy Peishcar Shungoonny Menon, an officer of considerable experience and capacity then in charge of the Southern Division. The military were called out and a large auxiliary police force was entertained. But the Christians were not satisfied with the cautious and careful action the Dewan adopted, and therefore viewed his proceedings with distrust. The Dewan personally inspected the disaffected parts of the country and impressed on all the necessity for implicit obedience to

* The Calcutta Review for October 1872,—"A Native Statesman."

the authority of the State and conformity to the existing law. To quote his own words,

"The Deputy Peishcar in charge of the Southern Division too thought it desirable that some kind of public warning was necessary. It is obvious that as long as the Proclamation of 1829 is in force, the Shanars, both Hindu and Christian, are bound to conform to its provisions; that no section of the subjects can be permitted to infringe a law affecting the great majority of the people, on the ground, that in their opinion, the law ought to be changed; that the only legitimate course open to them is to continue to submit to it and formally to apply to the Sirkar for a change with such facts and arguments as they may have to urge in their favour. On these considerations a public warning was given on the 27th December last to the effect that existing rules and usages should be respected; that if any class of people desired a change, they should represent the case to the Sirkar and await its decision; that on the other hand, on no account should breaches of the peace be caused."

This of course did not satisfy the missionaries who considered the Dewan's action as a proof of his 'gross and unconcealed partiality' to the high-caste Hindus. They then petitioned first the Maharajah, and then the Government of Madras, to cancel this and the previous Proclamation and substitute a more decidedly favourable and liberal one.

By this time Lord Harris had been succeeded by Sir Charles Trevelyan, as Governor of Madras. His Excellency from the very moment he took up the subject seems to have been prejudiced and wrote to the Resident in these strong terms:—

"I have seldom met with a case, in which not only truth and justice, but every feeling of our common humanity are so entirely on one side. The whole civilised world would cry shame upon us, if we did not make a firm stand on such an occasion. If any thing could make this line of conduct more incumbent on us, it would be the extraordinary fact that persecution of a singularly personal and delicate kind is attempted to be justified by a Royal Proclamation, the special object of which was to assure to Her Majesty's Indian subjects, liberty of thought and action, so long as they did not interfere with the just rights of others. I should fail in respect to Her Majesty, if I attempted to describe the feelings with which she must regard the use made against her own sex, of the promises of protection so graciously accorded by her. It will be your duty to impress these views on His Highness the Rajah, and to point out to him that such prohibitions as those conveyed in the Circular Order of May 1814 or in the Proclamation of the 3rd February 1829, are unsuited to the present age and unworthy of an enlightened Prince."

This powerful minute was evidently written under the impression that the privilege of covering the bosom had been entirely denied to the Shanar convert females. Such however was not the case. The demands of decency had already been met, but the disturbance arose from the attempt of Shanar women, Hindu as well as convert, to assume the costume of the women of the higher castes. This became the inflammable material connected with religion and caste which nearly caused a general

conflagration in Travancore. The mischief was however arrested by the thoughtful action promptly taken by Dewan Madava Row, the correctness of which action was upheld by the Madras Government and by the Secretary of State later on. Mr. Madava Row sent up a report on the 12th February 1859, in which he gave a clear and concise account of the origin, development and suppression of the disturbances. He stated the case between the rival factions in the fairest and most dispassionate terms. The letter itself is eloquent besides being weighty and statesmanlike, and appears to the historian of to-day a masterpiece of patient enquiry, thought and judgment, containing an exposition of general administrative principles which hold good for all time. Every line in it bears the impress of a master mind. And in the light of the fact that it was written half a century ago by a young and untried official barely thirty years old, in defence of custom and conservative institutions which are always at a discount in a democratic age and by the side of a more prosaic though powerful civilisation, where cheap fame could be earned by a denunciation of ancient usages and cherished privileges in order to satisfy a morbid craving for change and new forms, however opposed they may be to the genius of the nation or the needs of the times, the document may take rank among the first class State papers on record, and as such will be reproduced here, in most part, to better elucidate the subsequent events that led to Travancore being recognised as 'the Model Native State' of India. The letter runs:—

"I have the honor to submit to you a concise report of the origin, progress, and suppression of the recent disturbances in South Travancore, adding a few observations, which the subject suggests.

"You are aware that in the Malabar year 1004, corresponding with 1829 Christian Era, Her Highness the Ranee, with the concurrence of the British Resident, issued a Proclamation permitting the use of a jacket called Coopayam on the part of Christian Shanar women and prohibiting the use of the upper cloth on the part of Hindu Shanar females. In contravention of the provisions of this Proclamation, the Shanar women, particularly those of converts to Christianity had, it appears, begun, though not prominently, to wear a dress similar to that worn by Soodra and Brahmin females, and this you are aware, occasionally gave rise to troubles ere this. About the time of the appearance of Her Majesty's Proclamation, either the practice became more general and conspicuous or the Soodras felt more encouraged to resist it, or what was perhaps more likely both the causes operated together. Both parties become equally determined. The Shanars, probably influenced in a measure by the recent events in the contiguous District of Tinnevelly, would by all means bring the upper cloth into use. The Christian Shanars appear to have taken the lead, though they had less cause for complaint, the Proclamation in question permitting their women to use jackets, which have been on all hands acknowledged as a more decent covering than the upper cloth. But they probably desired a total abolition of all restrictions as to dress, and calculated upon the sympathies and support of the European Missionaries residing

among them. The Soodras forming the majority of the population under the influence of caste feelings, which you know have least relaxed in force in Travancore, and feeling that they had the Proclamation of the Sirkar on their side, and probably interpreting Her Majesty's Proclamation too much in their favour, equally resolved to put down the innovations attempted by the Shanars. From this state of feeling the steps to open disturbances were not many.

"As the Shanars took it upon themselves to infringe the Proclamation of 1004 M. E., so the Soodras took it upon themselves to punish such infringement. The Shanar women were attacked when they openly appeared with what was considered the high caste costume. The Shanars on the other hand did not confine themselves to a bare defence. They too retaliated the outrages on Soodra women. Hostile feelings gathered strength. A chapel had been burnt down in Maycode on the 27th December last; an affray occurred in the Kotar bazaar on the 30th idem. A more serious one, assuming the dimensions of a riot, also followed at the great market of Erneel on the 10th ultimo. The panic, it seems, was great, and men on both sides were said to have been severely ill-treated, and some wounded, though only a few appeared before the Cutcherry with formal complaints, the others having probably been deterred by the consciousness of misconduct. On the same night, another chapel and the Residency Bungalow at Nagercoil were destroyed by fire evidently at the hands of incendiaries. Between the 11th and 16th two more chapels at different places shared the same fate; two mission schools were similarly destroyed; a mob of Soodras assaulted a Shanar and his wife at Thittoovellay and his house and twenty-seven houses adjoining it were burnt down. Other houses and chapels were said to have been openly threatened. It was reported that the Shanars of the Agasteeswarom district were raising men and money, and proposed combined and systematic resistance to Sirkar authority, and the plunder of the villages of towns. It was also clear that they had solicited the co-operation of the Shanars residing in the district of Tinnevelly in the vicinity of our frontier.

"The first intimation I had of the existence of unsatisfactory feelings was when I happened to be at Padmanabhapooram about the end of December last. Numbers of Shanars, and Soodras with Lubbays waited on me and complained against each other, on the subject of the upper cloth. The Police officer of Erneel also wrote to me on the subject. The Deputy Peishcar in charge of the Southern Division, too, thought it desirable that some kind of public warning was necessary. It is obvious that as long as the Proclamation of 1829 is in force, the Shanars, both Hindu and Christian, are bound to conform to its provisions; that no section of subjects can be permitted to infringe a law affecting the great majority of the people, on the ground, that in their opinion, the law ought to be changed; that the only legitimate course open to them is, to continue to submit to it and formally to apply to the Sirkar for a change with such facts and arguments as they may have to urge in their favour. On these considerations a public warning was given on the 27th December last, to the effect that existing rules and usages should be respected; that if any class of people desired a change, they should represent the case to the Sirkar and await its decision; that on the other hand, on no account should breaches of the peace be caused. For a short while there was an appearance of quiet. But soon after the Peishcar in the South reported the Kotar affray and suggested that the Police should be strengthened, and that a detachment of sepoys should be sent down to overawe. Orders were forthwith given accordingly and a detachment of the Nair Brigade consisting of 100 rank and file with the usual complement of commissioned and noncommissioned officers were sent at once. Some numbers of the London Mission residing in the South arrived at Trevandrum and personally represented to yourself

and to me the state of matters then. I had the permission of His Highness and yourself to go to the scene of disturbances. ... ...

"The troops were moved where mischief was apprehended. The Police was further strengthened in different places. Auxiliary Police officers were appointed to keep the peace, and speedily enquire into and dispose of Police cases which were of course expected to be numerous at the time. Some minor Sirkar officials who appeared to have acted improperly were suspended from employment. Some of the leaders of both parties concerned in these disturbances were apprehended. Other measures too were taken with a view to preserve order. The determination of the Sirkar to exact implicit obedience to its authority from all classes of its subjects soon became known. And I am happy to add that without the necessity of resorting to extreme measures having arisen, tranquillity has been restored. I have the pleasure to acknowledge here the zealous exertion of the Deputy Peishcar Shungoonny Menon on this occasion. ... ...

"Though matters had assumed a very serious aspect, I am glad to be able to state that the mischief already done is far from being very considerable... ... No loss of life or limb has occurred anywhere. The authority of the Sirkar having been vindicated, it may perhaps be desirable to take an early opportunity to consider what modifications should be made in the Proclamation of 1004, so as to suit the requirements of altered times and circumstances and satisfy all parties as far as it may be possible to do so."

The Madras Government observed in their Minutes of Consultation dated 12th March 1859, "The (Dewan's) Report appears to Government to be a temperate and a fair statement, and they hope that no further disturbances or breaches of the peace need now be apprehended." They also added:—

"The Government will hope to learn, at an early date, what arrangement has been made by the Dewan. The principle on which it should proceed has already been laid down by Government in the last para of Extract Minutes of Consultation, 27th January 1859. General Cullen will inform Government what communication he has held with His Highness the Rajah in furtherance of the instructions then conveyed to him. The degree of interference which for many years past has been exercised by the representative of the British Government in the Affairs of Travancore is so large, and his intervention so general, that the credit or discredit of the administration greatly rests with the British Government and it has thereby become their duty to insist upon the observance of a system of toleration, in a more decided manner, than they would be at liberty to adopt, if they had merely to bring their influence to bear on an independent State."

The whole correspondence having been laid before His Highness the Maharajah, the Dewan again wrote to the Resident on the 17th May 1859 thus:—

"The whole subject has had careful consideration. His Highness certainly feels that the provisions of the Proclamation of 1004 M. E., on the subject of the dress of the inferior castes require to be greatly modified. His Highness now proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency any way they may deem proper, with the simple restriction

that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes.

"His Highness desires to observe that anxious as he is to meet the wishes of the Government, to the utmost of his power, and to give free scope for the improvement of the moral and social condition of his subjects of all classes, His Highness would not have made even this small reservation, were it not for the fear, that the sudden and total abolition of all distinctions of dress, which have from time immemorial distinguished one caste from another, may produce most undesirable impressions on the minds of the larger portion of his subjects and cause their serious discontent. Still, I am to observe that by the present concession, the demands of decency have been fully answered, without needlessly offending the feelings peculiar to the other castes.

"It is of course needless to remind you of those many circumstances, which would make the introduction of decisive reforms, especially in matters of caste and religion, much more difficult in Travancore, than in Her Majesty's territories. While therefore the progress of education among the people in general may be expected to pave the way for much greater changes, His Highness hopes that the arrangement now proposed, the only one which seems to be calculated to answer the object in view without the probability of disturbing the peace of the country, would meet with your approval and that of the Madras Government."

A Royal Proclamation was accordingly issued on the 26th July 1859 abolishing all restrictions in the matter of the covering of the upper parts of Shanar women and granting them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency any way they might deem proper with the simple reservation, however, that they should not imitate the dress of the women of high castes. The Secretary of State for India approved of this action of the Travancore Sirkar in his despatch to the Madras Government, dated 19th August 1859, thus:—

"It is unnecessary to recapitulate the circumstances attending the outbreak occasioned by the assumption on the part of certain Shanar women of the garment known as the 'Upper Cloth'. Public tranquillity has now been restored and it is hoped that the measures adopted by the Travancore State will prevent the recurrence of these painful disputes and embarrassing disturbances.

"From the enclosures to your letter of the 7th June, I learn that the Rajah proposes to abolish all rules prohibiting the covering of the upper parts of the persons of Shanar women and to grant them perfect liberty to meet the requirements of decency in any way they may deem proper with the simple restriction that they do not imitate the same mode of dress that appertains to the higher castes. With this concession, though it falls short of what you originally contemplated, you deem it expedient, under the circumstances stated, to be satisfied, and I am of opinion that you are right in accepting the proposed concession and earnestly hope that it will have the desired effect."

Retirement and death of General Cullen. General Cullen who had been Resident at the Court of Travancore for over twenty years retired in the early part of 1860, greatly to the regret of the whole country. "To His Highness, General Cullen was the kindest of friends, to the officials he was a benevolent patron, and to the inhabitants he was an

affectionate and judicious protector." He wrote a warm eulogium on the Dewan as well as on the Native Government just before his retirement (31st December 1859):—

"I cannot allow my residence at the Court of His Highness the Rajah of Travancore to close without expressing to yourself and to all the high officers of Government in its several branches, the sense I entertain of their valuable services.

"Yourself originally selected for your conspicuous talents and acquirements for the confidential post of Tutor to the Young Princes of His Highness the Rajah's family, you have since gradually attained to the high and important office of Dewan, a promotion justified by your previous services in the subordinate grades and the character which you have uniformly continued to maintain for high principles and ability. I have no doubt that your administration, which is already affording indications of substantial improvement, will be ultimately attended with the most satisfactory results. .. ... Ardently desiring the increasing prosperity of this beautiful country and lengthened rule of its present enlightened and benevolent Sovereign, I have the honour, &c."

And yet this same Resident who called Martanda Varma "an enlightened and benevolent Sovereign" broke the heart of his talented brother the late Maharajah, by his unsympathetic, nay hostile, attitude towards him when twenty years earlier he was himself new to the State which he now realized to be "a beautiful country" and for which he so ardently desired "increasing prosperity."

General Cullen died at Alleppey in 1862. His long residence in the Indian climate had unfitted him to return to his old country. Travancore he therefore made his home. He had lived there for more than twenty years as Resident. He was on terms of the closest friendship with the Maharajah, the Dewan and the chief officials, most of whom owed their appointments to him. To the people he was a friend and benefactor. His private munificence had made him the idol of their affections. He gave out of his pocket without stint or measure. He was a rich man himself by long and distinguished service under the East India Company and had inherited a big legacy from his own people. He was not a married man and had no cares of family. He lived in a princely style. At dinner, covers were always laid for six to twelve guests though no visitor was expected or had been invited. Stories are still current of his munificent gifts. A Racket-court was to be opened in a neighbouring military station and a subscription list was brought to him. He asked what it would cost. Somebody present told him it might cost Rs. 3,000, and he thereupon wrote his name and put down Rs. 3,000 against it. The chief clerk of his office wanted a loan of Rs. 1,500, to build a house and promised to pay back the debt in regular instalments. General Cullen only

cared to note whether the clerk was true and kept his word. If he paid back the instalments as promised, he watched him closely to see whether the keeping of the promise was a drain on the poor clerk's resources and whether it did not put him and his family on half rations. When he had been paid back a half or a third of the whole debt and felt satisfied of the clerk's honesty, he excused the repayment of the remainder. To the school-boys he was a true friend and patron. He gave them their school fees and their school books most liberally. He was a grand-looking good old man, and in his later years he was universally loved and respected by the native population. The local Europeans, however, looked upon him with very different feelings. The Madras Government just endured him on account of his brilliant military services to the old Company. The Calcutta Reviewer, already referred to, observed :—

"Any Governor would have taken serious notice of these; but Sir C. Trevelyan was one whose spirit soon burst all bonds of patience. It was also about this time that the Government of India replied to the several references from the Madras Government, recommending an enquiry by Commission into the affairs of Travancore, which had not received attention during the mutiny. They objected to a commission but advised the suspension of the Resident and the appointment of an Officiating Resident. The Madras Government while conscious of their power to take this step did not see sufficient grounds to do so and said that one of the main objects of the proposed commission was to ascertain the necessity for so doing. Thus there was an ellipsis of argument, the Government of India deeming the suspension of the Resident a necessary preliminary to all enquiry; and the Madras Government considering that an enquiry alone could show whether suspension was necessary. Sir C. Trevelyan was convinced of the unfitness of General Cullen; and the Indian Government had pointed to the necessity of appointing in his stead 'a person of tried and known sound judgment, and one who may be expected to obtain the confidence of all parties'. To effect this Sir Charles thought it best to use moral persuasion: He wrote to the Resident on the 16th May:—'It is my earnest desire to support the just authority of the Maharajah in his ancient dominions and I know what is due to yourself as an old and deserving officer of this Government; but the case now before me is one on which the claims of public duty are of the most imperative kind, and I must therefore desire that you will, without further delay, yield obedience to the repeated orders which have been conveyed to you, and report in detail what you have done in consequence of the resolution of this Government communicated to you on the 27th January and on the 14th March last, and what the Maharajah has done in consequence.'"

The difficulty was solved by General Cullen's immediate retirement. Revd. Abbs writing of him says:—

"As both the Rajah (or sovereign) of that time, and the heir apparent were peaceable men, partially enlightened, and favourable to Europeans, I do not suppose we should have found difficulty, had not both been guided in their public movements by a Dewan or native Prime Minister, and a British Resident, or political representative of England. Both of these were hostile to Christianity, the former as a bigoted heathen, the latter as a worldly statesman, and

both for want of acquaintance with its nature. ... ... We soon discovered that the agent of our own Christian land, although a Scotchman attached as he said to the Church of England and her services, was much opposed to missionary effort, and more fearful than were the Brahmins respecting the effects of evangelical religion. ... ... He was a General in the Artillery, and must have left home at a very early age, as, although not a very old man, he had served nearly forty years in the Indian army. To say that he was profoundly ignorant of spiritual religion would be only saying that he was like most of the East India officers of that time, although it is probable that not having seen much of missionary operations, and having been (as I was afterwards) more associated with what he called 'native friends' than with European society, his ideas concerning our character and intentions were more alarming, absurd and exaggerated, than were those of others who had come into contact with our institutions." *

General Cullen had visited every nook and corner of Travancore and Cochin. He knew the coast most thoroughly. No native knew it anything so well. The late Maharajah (*Visakham Tirunal*) and Dewan Sir Madava Row may be said to have emulated his example to some extent in the study of the agricultural and economic conditions of the country, but his scientific tastes gave him an additional zest for travel. General Cullen had completely identified himself with the interests of the people and the State. The Maharajah instituted a scholarship in his name known as the Cullen's Scholarship in the Madras High School in recognition of the General's distinguished services to Travancore. This scholarship has since been converted into a 'Cullen's Prize' when the Trivandrum High School was raised to a First Grade College.

Mr. Maltby Resident. Mr. Maltby succeeded General Cullen as Resident. He was a very capable officer and heartily took upon himself the task of improving the country in co-operation with Dewan Madava Row.

"The new year brought with it a new Resident. The Madras Presidency affords little or no field for the development of diplomatic talents; and its services both civil and military, have seldom been adorned by men of distinction in this line. But this general void only made Mr. Francis Maltby shine all the more. He was every way fit to represent the British Government in a Native Court. His great official experience, his eminent talents, his excellent literary powers, his warm and generous heart, his humane sympathies, his keen sense of humour, his love of truth and justice, his abhorrence of all that was mean and morally sinuous, and his polished and persuasive manners, formed a happy combination rarely seen. A deep and self-humiliating, but unobtrusive, religious faith ran through every vein of his moral frame. His commanding person, his noble mien, his rare but mild and sincere smile, his well-weighed and self-flowing speech, and the deep bass voice, were externals which immensely added to the dignity and effect of the whole character. It was on him that Sir Charles Trevelyan's choice worthily fell." †

* Twenty-two Years' Missionary Experience in Travancore. Page 82.

† The Calcutta Review for October 1872—"A Native Statesman".

In their united endeavours they were supported by Prince *Visakham Tirunal* who proved to them an able adviser and friendly critic. There used to appear in almost every issue of the *Indian Statesman*, then edited by John Bruce Norton of Madras, stirring letters entitled "Topics for Mr. F. N. Maltby" under the *nom de plume* of Brutus. These letters created a sensation at the time and were gladly welcomed by the Resident himself.

Other Events. The presents graciously promised by Her Majesty Queen Victoria in return for His Highness' contribution for the London Exhibition reached the British Resident towards the end of April 1860. A Public Durbar was accordingly arranged to receive them. The Resident delivered a letter from Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, along with a beautiful case containing the presents. These consisted of an ornamental belt with gold embroidery and a buckle set with brilliants, the centre of the belt containing a gold watch with the monogram of the Queen on the one side and that of the Maharajah on the other. The Resident girdled the Maharajah with the new belt, and the Durbar was concluded with the usual military honours.

In commemoration of this important event, a Public Works Department was organised with Mr. Collins, Civil Engineer, at its head. The excavation of a new canal from the South as far as Trivandrum was also sanctioned and the work was commenced in May 1860. It was designated "Ananta Victoria Martandan Canal".

The construction of a lighthouse at Alleppey was commenced about 1860, and in order to reimburse the Sirkar for the heavy outlay, a Regulation was passed for the levying of fees and port dues.

The Senior Rani the elder of the adopted Princesses, was married in April 1859 to a young Koil Tampuran of Changanachery, a grand-nephew of the Maharajah's father.

In the middle of 1859, two more administrative divisions were established thus making four in all *viz.*, Padmanabhapuram, Trivandrum, Quilon and Shertallay. About this time a free school for girls was also opened.

Demise of the Maharajah. His Highness visited the South to commence the work of the A. V. M. Canal, when he fell ill and at once returned to the capital. Under the treatment of the Durbar Physician he soon recovered, but after a time had a relapse followed by a bowel complaint. This continued to affect His Highness' otherwise strong constitution. About the middle of July, he grew worse and all on a sudden dangerous

symptoms set in. His Highness' recovery was now regarded as hopeless by the Durbar Physician. On the morning of the 18th August, His Highness himself knew that his end was nearing. The next day was his birthday. After the usual *danoms* and ceremonies, he called in his favourite nephews and other members of the Royal family, the Dewan and all the high officers of the State, and cheered them all with kind words of encouragement and consolation. One and all of his servants and dependents were ushered into the Royal presence and to every one of them he spoke a few kind words. That same day the Maharajah passed away quietly without struggle or agony. He was conscious to the last; a few minutes before he expired, he enquired of his Native physician whether *Chinnan* had not set in, (a technical word for the last phase of breathing). The Native physician stood silent wondering how accurately the Maharajah was able to diagnose his own condition of health in that weak state.

Personal traits. Mr. Broun in his preface to the *Trevandrum Magnetical Observations* thus refers to the Maharajah:—

"His Highness Martanda Varma to whom I owed my appointment died in 1860. His Highness was a warm-hearted gentleman whose death was regretted by all who knew him. His knowledge of science though greatest in chemistry gave him personal interest in the Observatory, and he was ever prepared to accept any proposition likely to aid the work done to it. I shall never cease to entertain with the liveliest feelings His Highness' memory."

The Resident, F. N. Maltby, in his Preface to a Selection of Travancore Records which he got published, referred to His Highness in these terms:—

"Allusion having been made to the Sovereign lately deceased, it is not inappropriate here to mention that Martanda Vurmah reigned in Travancore for thirteen years (1847-60). The Act above referred to for the abolition of Slavery, the encouragement given to Education, many liberal acts for the benefit of his people, and above all the example set by His Highness in favour of Female Education in the persons of the Princesses of his family, entitle his memory to public respect. His amiable character will be remembered with esteem by those who know him personally."

We have already referred to the many excellences of the Maharajah. His Highness was regular in his habits and strictly business-like though he kept late hours for a sovereign, which caused much public inconvenience. His breakfast never came before 1 P. M., and his supper never before midnight. His devotion and piety are well illustrated in his own composition, a drama called *Simhadhwaja Charitam*, himself being the hero of the work, as Disraeli was in his *Vivian Grey*. He was earnest in his daily religious observances and prayers. He was high-minded, generous, and sympathetic. He was extremely kind, almost to a fault, to people about

him; but this did not warp his sense of justice. His personal attendants were always importunate in asking for favours which at first he refused in a mild way, but when persisted in he put down with a strong hand. One of them, an old dependent, asked His Highness for a high Palace appointment. He refused the request telling him that he did not deserve so high a place. The attendant repeated his prayer twice and it was twice refused. On the third occasion being again importunately solicited, His Highness asked him to present a petition praying for the appointment, upon which he said he would pass orders. So he did pass orders, in which the attendant was officially informed that he could not be appointed to the post as his qualifications did not entitle him to the same. Another anecdote exists of a poor Brahmin who received a *danom* (gift) worth four or five rupees from His Highness' hands, and when he rose and left he asked His Highness for being permitted to retain the whole of it to himself. This quite puzzled the Maharajah, not knowing how the Brahmin could have doubted that what he received from his own hands should belong to any one but himself (Brahmin). The Maharajah forgot that about Courts, as in all high places, there are hangers-on like parasites on valuable trees, who corrupt and distort the pure channels of charity and justice, or as Sir Sashiah Sastri so well put it, "It is impossible all the world over to prevent abuses creeping round charity institutions, whether they be in the nature of Lazarettos, Hospitals or Poor houses, or Chuttroms." What the Brahmin meant was that no portion of the *danom* should be allowed to be taken away by palace servants at whose instance he was introduced; the Maharajah was much pained and it is said that he did not go to his breakfast until the matter was inquired into and the corrupters of the fountain of charity were duly punished. But this was the austere side of His Highness' character, which was seldom seen in the milk of human kindness which perennially flowed from him and which shed such a genial sunshine and warmth on all who came near him.

RAMA VARMA (*Ayilliam Tirunal*) 1036—1055 M. E. / 1860—1880 A. D.

Rama Varma Maharajah, one of the most successful sovereigns that graced the throne of Travancore, ascended the musnud on the 24th Chingam 1036 (7th September 1860), in the twenty-ninth year of his age. Of the seven children that Rani Rugmini Bayi gave birth to, there remained only four, of whom the first and the third were imbeciles, the second and the fourth being *Ayilliam Tirunal* the subject of this sketch, and *Visakham Tirunal*, his younger brother and successor. His Highness was formally installed on the throne in Public Durbar on the 19th October 1860.

His Highness was a scholar and had received a liberal education in English under Mr. Madava Row who now had the honour of serving him as Dewan. The Maharajah could write and talk English with ease and accuracy. In Sanskrit he was a regular Pandit; in Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi and Hindustani, his attainments were of a high order. He was gifted with extraordinary intelligence and memory and keen insight. As observed by a Dewan since his time, himself a very clever man, "he could see through a wall". He was a great vocal musician and liberally patronised music and the other Fine Arts. His musical accomplishments are to this day remembered with pleasure and admiration. To quote Mr. Patrick McGuire, "The new Maharajah was extraordinarily intelligent, amiable to a fault, and had a power of accommodating himself gracefully to any society or circumstances".

He was naturally kind and forgiving, most polished in manners and as a Ruler most enlightened and constitutional in his ways. He pleased all who went to him, but he was a man of strong likes and dislikes. In the earlier years of his reign he was most generous and liberal. He was very punctual in his engagements and was well posted in the details of the administration retaining its main strings in his own hands.

As His Highness had often been consulted on State matters by the late Maharajah, he had acquired a good knowledge of the politics of his country. The Maharajah was besides peculiarly fortunate in having such counsellors as Mr. Maltby, "one of the ablest, the most experienced and large-hearted members of the Civil Service", as the British Representative at his Court, and T. Madava Row who had already established his name as a successful administrator, as his Dewan. Prince Rama Varma who had by this time distinguished himself as a student,

also helped his Royal brother in the carrying out of the several reforms which were so urgently needed for the State. It may be added here that the late Maharajah Martanda Varma always invited the opinions of his nephews on State questions, and encouraged them to join in a free discussion on them. This example naturally influenced the Maharajah in the treatment of his younger brother. He thus ascended the throne under favourable circumstances, and during his reign the State made a wonderful progress in several directions. In his Installation speech, His Highness observed :—

"Called upon by the will of God to ascend the ancient Musnud of my ancestors, I trust I am fully sensible of the duties and responsibilities attached to my station. That the great object of a good Government, is the promotion of the well-being of its subjects, is a principle which I most cheerfully and cordially recognise, and it will be my care that this principle is fully and constantly kept in view. It is gratifying to observe that I have at the very outset of my career the opportunity to carry out several measures for the good of the country which have been already initiated in the time of my late lamented uncle. I may instance the proposed abolition of the Pepper Monopoly and the substitution of an Export duty. I may also instance the extension of Public Works and more especially the Victoria Martanda Varma Canal. These and such other measures as the country requires will steadily occupy my best attention, and will be prosecuted to the utmost extent that our resources will permit. ... ... And I am quite sure that there is no better way for Native Princes of India of gaining the approbation of the Great Queen who holds benevolent sway over these extensive realms, than by ensuring to their respective subjects the advantages of a peaceful, just and benevolent administration."

The famine of 1036 M. E.—Financial state of the country. The year 1036 M. E. (1860 A. D.), *i. e.*, the first year of His Highness' reign, was one of the most unfavourable on record as regards the condition of the people and the finances of the country. The failure of the periodical rains affected the crops to a considerable extent and the scanty outturn the ryots expected also failed, a kind of black caterpillar having appeared and destroyed all the standing crops. The price of food therefore rose abnormally high and though grain was imported in large quantities in consequence of the suspension of the import duty on the part of the British Government and Travancore, the poorer classes still suffered a great deal and thousands died of hunger and starvation. The Government spared no pains to alleviate the sufferings of the poor by gratuitous distribution of food and clothes in several places and by providing the able-bodied with work on the roads and canals under construction. Private charity also contributed largely to the relief. The land revenue of the State fell by more than two lacs of rupees owing to the large remissions which became imperative. In concluding his Report for the year, the Dewan observed :—

"I have thus briefly compared the financial results of a singularly adverse

with those of a prosperous year and of course the gap is the more strikingly visible. But when an ordinary year is taken for comparison, when it is considered that upwards of two lacs of rupees had to be sacrificed in the land revenues of this year for the benefit of the ryots, that from reduction of taxation on tobacco and pepper, a further sacrifice was entailed on the Sircar to a still larger amount, that most other sources of revenue were more or less influenced by the unfavourable seasons, that owing to the demise of His Highness the late Maha Rajah extra ceremonies had to be performed, which directly and indirectly caused an expenditure of about one lac; that the contingent charges had increased without any extravagance by about 73,000 rupees; when all these circumstances are considered, I venture to think that there is ample cause to congratulate this State that it felt no financial embarrassments even under such adverse combination of circumstances and that it was able, while materially sacrificing revenues for the benefit of the subjects, to afford substantial relief to the distressed who crowded in thousands, to allot the unprecedentedly large sum of Rs. 228,000 to Public Works and even to liquidate a good portion of the former year's Public Debt and still to hand over a satisfactory balance for the expenses of the next year."

Fiscal Reforms.— Abolition of the monopolies. Reference has already been made to the oppressive monopolies, the most important of which was the Pepper monopoly which was all but formally abolished in the closing part of the last reign. A Royal Proclamation was issued on the 20th Tulam 1036 (13th November 1860), abolishing the monopoly and substituting a duty of 15 per cent *ad valorem* chargeable on all pepper exported from Travancore whether by land or sea. And to ensure the fullest encouragement to the increased production of pepper, it was at the same time notified that no special tax would be imposed on pepper vines, but that where land had been granted for pepper cultivation the Sirkar reserved to itself the right of taxing it according to its quality and in reference to the value of its produce.

Hitherto the Sirkar made direct purchases of tobacco of various kinds by entering into contracts with individuals for the supply of the requisite quantities at stipulated periods. The tobacco so supplied was brought into the country by certain appointed routes only and under precautions against smuggling and was lodged in large warehouses whence it was distributed under permits to the Sirkar bankshalls, from which again it was sold at monopoly rates to private dealers. These in their turn sold the stuff by retail throughout the country at increased prices. The monopoly rates being abnormally high, there was a great temptation for smuggling. Again the abolition of the monopoly system in Malabar dealt a serious blow at the Sirkar monopoly and greatly facilitated the operations of the smugglers from Cochin, Anjengo and Tangasseri. A duty of Rs. 150 per candy imposed at the British port of Cochin effectually checked smuggling for a time, but the abolition of the duty shortly after,

and the relaxation of the monopoly in the State of Cochin, seriously affected the revenues of Travancore. As the finances of the State did not allow of any reform in the system, the monopoly was allowed to continue. But now that enormous facilities were offered for contraband trade, and the British Government could not be prevailed upon to levy a protective duty at Cochin, it became imperatively necessary to relax the monopoly. The selling rates were considerably lowered and this was attended with fair success. There were still many evils incidental to the monopoly system, *viz.*, (1) it was always very difficult to engage individual contractors for the supply of the large quantities required by the Sirkar; (2) the contract system gave ample scope for many grave malpractices in spite of every effort to check them; (3) the frequent failure on the part of the contractor to perform his engagements seriously retarded the monopoly sales and affected the revenue derivable therefrom, and (4) the tobacco supplied was often very inferior to that offered in competition by the smugglers. These and other cognate evils led to the sanction of His Highness the Maharajah in 1039 M. E. (1863-1864 A. D.) for the abolition of the monopoly and the substitution of an import duty, the trade being thrown open to all. These measures were approved by the Madras Government who expressed "their great satisfaction afforded by the liberal measures sanctioned by His Highness".

The abolition of the Tobacco monopoly was a stroke of statesmanship reflecting the highest credit on Dewan Madava Row. It entailed a somewhat large fiscal sacrifice at the time. But subsequent history showed the absolute correctness of the reform. We find that while in 1856-1857, the last year of Krishna Row's administration, when the monopoly was in full swing, 3,460 candies were sold which brought in a net revenue of Rs. 848,978, in 1868-1869 the import duty on 8,150 candies brought in a revenue of Rs. 836,684. "Thus while a world of the most heinous crimes was made no longer possible, while their still worse demoralising influence was removed, while trade was largely unfettered, and while the innocent enjoyment of a luxury by the million was favoured, the loss to the Sirkar was brought down to the paltry sum of Rs. 12,294."

Freedom of interportal trade. By Act VI of 1848 the coasting trade of British India was freed from all duties, but Travancore did not come within the scope of the measure. Consequently the exports from and imports to Travancore had to pay a heavy foreign duty at the British ports. But Travancore had free access by land to the port of British Cochin except that a light duty was levied by the Cochin Sirkar on goods in transit. It was therefore more advantageous for a merchant to take

Travancore goods by land to British Cochin in the first place and thence transport them to other parts of British India. The same was the case with the imports also. Thus much of the trade of the Travancore ports had been diverted to British Cochin, while in the natural order of things the trade of Travancore must be directly between her own ports and those of British India.

"This unnatural diversion of trade has subjected it to trouble, expense and delay, while it has almost paralyzed the action of the ports of Travancore, especially of Alleppy with all its remarkable natural advantages which have been largely added to by the construction of a first-rate Light House and other improvements effected by the Sircar. But all this evil is not compensated by advantage to the British Government, which has to some extent missed its aim in point of revenue so far as this country is concerned, and has been unconsciously instrumental only in throwing a handsome revenue into the Treasury of the Cochin Sircar at the expense of Travancore." *

With a view to remedy this state of affairs and to remove the fiscal restrictions upon the trade between Travancore and the British Government, the Madras Government in July 1863 consented to grant freedom of interportal trade subject to the following conditions, *viz.*,

1. The free admission of British Indian produce into the Native States by land and sea with the exception of certain articles which are either the subject of monopoly or produce so large a revenue that they cannot at present be admitted without financial danger to the State, *e. g.*, tobacco,

2. the levy of British rates of duties on all foreign produce imported into the States with similar exceptions,

3. the adoption of the same course in regard to the produce of the Native States when exported therefrom,

4. the Native States to raise their salt tax to the same level as that of the Madras Government, and

5. the adoption of the British tariff valuation.

The concessions in return were:—(1) The admission of Travancore produce into British Indian ports free of all duty, excepting for opium, salt, wines and spirits, and (2) The Travancore duties, so far as the British Government consider them equitable, to be levied on the excepted articles at British Cochin and the customs receipts of the port to be shared between the British Government and those States in such proportions as a commission specially to be named for the purpose might consider just.

* Administration Report for 1038 M. E. (1862-1863 A. D.).

After considerable discussion, the above arrangements were acceded to by the Travancore Government, and a Commercial Treaty was accordingly concluded between Travancore on the one hand and the British Government and the Cochin Sirkar on the other. The sanction of the Government of India having been duly received, the Madras Government gave effect to the above proposals from the 1st of June 1865. In pursuance of this Treaty, the British Government now pay to the Travancore Government a fixed sum (Rs. 40,000) annually in the shape of compensation for the loss the latter sustains by allowing free access into Travancore to goods other than the produce or manufacture of British India, and which may have already paid duty at British Indian custom-houses.

Judicial reforms. Dewan Madava Row introduced several useful reforms for the better conduct of work in the Judicial Department. In 1861 the British Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were introduced into the Travancore Courts; the name of the Chief Court or Appeal Court was changed into 'Sadar Court'; the three Sessions Courts and the five Zillah Courts were abolished and in their place four District Courts were established invested with civil and criminal powers; the scale of punishments prescribed in the Indian Penal Code was adopted as far as its provisions were suited to the peculiar customs and institutions of the State, and Courts of Small Causes were also created. In 1038 M. E. (1862-1863), the system under which civil and criminal functions were performed in the Sadar Court was remodelled; instead of all the Judges sitting at the same time to hear both civil and criminal cases, the reformed Court consisted of two sides, the Civil and Criminal, each being presided over by two Judges who bi-annually took their turn of duty. In 1864 one of the best judicial officers of the Madras Presidency and a school-fellow of Madava Row, Mr. M. Sadasiva Pillai, then Principal Sadar Amin of Madura, was appointed Chief Justice of the Travancore Sadar Court. "In moral rectitude, in judicial experience, in mature and dispassionate judgment, in the correct comprehension of the aim of legislation and in powers of application, he had not had his superiors among the natives of India. Travancore owes to him no small debt of gratitude for the great reforms which he in conjunction with Dewan Madava Row had effected in the administration of justice." In 1040 M. E. (1864-1865), a Regulation was passed for the appointment of duly qualified Vakils to plead in the Courts. The salaries of the Judges were largely raised. Tannas and Magisterial Courts were established in many places and the functions of the Police and Magistracy were better

defined. The Police force was strengthened and their status improved with the result that crimes of a heinous nature vastly decreased. To quote the Dewan, "The most notorious offenders have been apprehended and organised crime no longer exists. Life and property are secure and the strong arm of protection of the Sirkar is confided in by the people generally." In the same year the Law of Limitation was introduced from British India in a slightly modified form to suit local conditions.

Other reforms. In 1861 the Sirkar Anchal (Postal Service) was thrown open to the public and arrangements were made for the conveyance of private letters at rates framed on the British Indian model. The Dewan also turned his attention to the general system of taxation prevalent in the country. Several important measures were adopted in 1040 M. E. (1864-1865 A. D.), all more or less bearing on land or the revenue derived from land. Long-standing arrears of land tax which hung heavily on the ryots and afforded considerable scope for oppression on the part of petty officials were remitted up to a definite period (1030 M. E.), as also arrears of tax due on newly reclaimed land up to 1035 M. E. A number of minor taxes, upwards of one hundred, which used to be a source of vexation and embarrassment, were abolished. The export and import duties were largely cut down and in one heavily taxed district (Nanjanad), the land tax also was reduced. A Notification was issued prescribing a certain maximum rate of tax and ordering that all existing taxation in the Nanjanad in excess of that maximum rate should be reduced at once to that standard. But the most important measure carried out in that year was the enfranchisement of *Sirkar Pattom* lands and the removal of the uncertainties attached to the *Pattom* tenure. Sir Madava Row himself thus explains the nature of the tenure and the disabilities incidental to it:—

"The Sirkar was considered the Sole Jenmie,—Merassi holder—or the landlord of these lands. The ryots in possession of these lands held them of the Sirkar, just as the tenants of an ordinary Jenmie or Merassidar hold lands of him. Many serious disadvantages attached to this tenure as a consequence of its character. The Sirkar was supposed to have the absolute dominion of a landlord over these lands, limited only by its own considerations of self interest. It seems that the Sirkar was not bound to respect possession. It was thought that the lands could, in some cases, be resumed at the Sirkar's pleasure, though this was not often done in practice. Sirkar Pauttom lands could not be legally sold by one ryot to another, for the reason, he was a simple tenant, and could not act as a proprietor. If a sale were nevertheless effected, it was deemed invalid and the Sirkar had the right to ignore the transaction altogether. When a sale was executed, it was done clandestinely and in a most circuitous manner, involving an infraction of the truth at almost every step. As Sirkar Pauttom land could not be legally sold, such land was no security for the tax payable on it. When the tax on such land had to be levied by coercive process, the land could not, of course, be brought to sale, but the Sirkar had to seek out other property of the

defaulter, and on failure, the demand had to be remitted. As sales were illegal, mortgages were also equally so; and thus the tenant was unable to borrow capital on the security of his Pauttom lands, though such capital were required for the improvement of those very lands. It was only carrying out the pernicious principle to refuse to accept Pauttom lands as security for public servants, for public contracts, &c., nor could Pauttom lands be sold by the Civil Courts of the country in execution of decrees. The judgment creditor was not therefore at liberty to regard the Pauttom lands in the possession of his debtor as any assets available for the satisfaction of the just debt. The Sirkar steadily refused to assent to any action on the part of the tenant, such as was calculated to establish any pecuniary interest of his in the Pauttom lands forming his holding. This was carried so far that if a ryot asked to be permitted to spend capital in improving his lands, the Sirkar told him that he might do so if he liked, but that the Sirkar would not recognise the improvement, or respect any claim to consequent pecuniary interest in the property. Following out the system, no price or a mere nominal price was paid by the Sirkar for Pauttom lands resumed for public purposes, such as for roads, canals, public buildings." *

To remedy these evils, His Highness the Maharajah was pleased to issue a Notification in June 1865 declaring all *Pattom* lands to be private, heritable and saleable property, thus placing them on the same footing as the Ryotwari lands of the Madras Presidency. This was followed by another beneficent Notification, under date 8th May 1867, ensuring fixity of tenure and unrestricted continuity of enjoyment of his holding to the agricultural ryot.

Dewan Madava Row thus summarises the important changes effected up to 1865 A. D. *:—

"Comparing the present condition of Travancore with that of several years ago, the progress made seems encouraging. All public debts have been discharged; public salaries have been raised by about 1,76,000 Rs.; a scheme of retiring pensions to public servants is in operation; the great and pernicious Monopolies of pepper and tobacco have been abolished, and this, without the necessity of the Sirkar availing itself of the considerate offer of the British Government to allow the payment of the subsidy to be suspended; customs duties have been liberally reduced or remitted. While the impost on salt exacts the minimum tax which even the poorer subjects are bound to pay to the State for the benefit of Government, all other necessaries of life are free of duty. The richer classes are made to contribute by such taxes on luxuries as are scarcely felt to be burdensome, while timber, cardamoms, pepper &c., staples, of which Travancore may be said to have a natural Monopoly, yield a pretty considerable portion of the Public revenue, such as can scarcely affect the earnings of the subjects of this country. The land tax, where excessive, has been abated; the tenure of land itself has been rendered far more secure by declaring all Pattom lands to be henceforth private, heritable and saleable property. The native is reclaiming wastes in the plains, and the European is utilizing the forests on the mountains—the two classes thus working apart and peaceably. Numerous minor vexatious taxes have been abolished, and several rights for gratuitous services (called Oolium) have been surrendered. By increased pay and better prospects, as well as by strict supervision the standard of the efficiency and morality of the public service has been much

* Administration Report for 1040 (1864—1865 A. D.)

raised. The Police does its duty incomparably better and the judicial administration has much risen in public confidence. A distinct department for carrying on useful public works has been organised and is laying out several lacs of rupees annually in this direction. The benefits of education are rapidly extending in the country and Medical aid is being placed more and more within the reach of the people. After having paid off debts, and after having answered the growing wants of good administration, during a series of years, the revenues of the State have left a good balance for future improvements."

This gratifying state of affairs received the following handsome compliment from the Madras Government in their Review of the Administration Report for 1010 M. E. (1864-1865 A. D.).

"The financial position of the Travancore State still continues to be very satisfactory and is most creditable to His Highness the Rajah and to his experienced and able Dewan Madava Row. ... ... The state of the administration is not less satisfactory than the condition of the finances. It is evident that considerable progress is being made in improving the Judicial administration, by raising the salaries and qualifications of the Judges and abolishing various anomalous systems of procedure which must have seriously interfered with the impartial administration of justice. His Excellency notices with much satisfaction the measures which have been and are being carried on for improving the Revenue administration, by the late revision of the interportal duties, by the enfranchisement of the crown lands, by the abolition of objectionable taxes and by the reduction of the land tax, the encouragement which has been given to cultivation of coffee and other exotics, the erection of a suitable range of buildings for the Public offices at the capital; the extension of education, the organisation of an efficient vaccine department and the progress which is being made in abolishing forced labour and in removing the restrictions on the dress of females of the lower classes. The enlightened principles which have guided the policy of His Highness the Rajah in the administration of his country are well set forth in the address delivered on the occasion of His Highness' laying the first stone of the new Public Offices. The address in question has been recorded in these Proceedings and will be brought to the special notice of the Secretary of State and of the Government of India."

The Secretary of State's Despatch to the Governor of Madras fully endorsed these views:—

"The financial results of the administration of Travancore for 1864-1865 are, on the whole, satisfactory, and the surplus of Rupees 190,770 by which the Revenue exceeds the expenditure appears to have been secured notwithstanding heavy reduction of taxation, under the enlightened and able administration of the Revenue Department by the Dewan, Madava Row. The surplus is the more gratifying in that improvements carried out in some cases at considerable expense have been introduced into other Departments of the administration, and the Public Works have, by no means, been neglected.

"Her Majesty's Government have especially noticed with satisfaction the endeavours made to place on a better footing the administration of justice, and to raise the position and emoluments of public servants generally. Connected with these very necessary improvements, is the provision of proper offices for the transaction of the business of the State, and I observe with gratification the personal interest taken by His Highness the Rajah in this matter and have

perused with great pleasure the statement made by His Highness (on the occasion of laying the first stone of the new edifice) of the enlightened principles which guide his policy.

"The endeavours made by His Highness to improve the condition of his people, to diffuse education and remove arbitrary social distinctions, deserve and have met with the warm approbation of Her Majesty's Government."

The following extracts from His Highness' speech on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the new Public Offices, Trivandrum, which received the warm approbation of Her Majesty's Secretary of State may be quoted here with advantage, as the speech forms a manifesto of His Highness' policy:—

"It is gratifying to me to be enabled to press forward improvements in various directions. It is true that no limit can be assigned to our progress and it can never be given to any ruler, however powerful or favoured, to say that he has done everything for his subjects. On the contrary, what a single ruler can possibly do in a life of incessant activity, must form but a small fraction of what may be due to the country. The life-time of an individual is but as a day in the life-time of a nation. Yet, it is no less our duty to exert our utmost energies to prove useful in our generation.

"Secure under the aegis of the British Queen from external violence, it is our pleasant, and, if rightly understood, by no means difficult, task to develop prosperity and to multiply the triumphs of peace in our territories. Nor are the Native States left to pursue this task in the dark, alone and unaided... ...

"More immediately they have the advantage of the enlightened guidance of the British Government itself. Looking at that Government as a reflex of the British nation, it is undoubtedly true that it is actuated by the noblest philanthropy, that it sincerely wishes for the greatest happiness of the greatest portion of the globe. Of course small States, like the Native States of India, come under the beneficial influence of that comprehensive feeling as much as great countries, and hence we may rest assured that we cannot establish a stronger claim to the sympathy and support of that great Government than by a full conception, and a steady performance of the duty of securing the greatest happiness of those whose welfare is in our hands. ... .

"These are more commonplaces in the view of the European part of the community I have the pleasure of addressing, but they require to be expressed, repeated and enforced till they come to be regarded as commonplaces by all Native States. Such being my view, I am prepared to do all that lies in my power towards making Travancore an honourable example of Native good government, and in this endeavour, I trust to have the hearty co-operation of all parties.

"I must take this opportunity to impress one important truth on my Native subjects, and this is that the realisation of our hopes depends not in a great measure, but *entirely*, upon their advancement in moral and intellectual culture. If knowledge is power in individuals, it is equally a source of power to communities. It is knowledge that now chiefly constitutes the difference between one nation and another. What is required then is that education should permeate all the parts of this community. Minds thus fortified are alone capable in these days of claiming a share in the management of public affairs of the

highest order. It is only such minds that are at all capable of sustaining the respectability of a State in the view of the enlightened public. And I must add that the vigour, if not the vitality, of Native States depends upon the number of such minds that are brought to bear upon the administration. The bulk of the people too should advance in knowledge suited to their position. They must know everything about their own country and something about other countries.

"The preliminary step for this is to cast off those erroneous notions which have indeed been generated and fostered by long insulation, but which are incompatible with the association of races. Let each by all means enjoy to the fullest extent possible the freedom of thought and action, let each have his own views on all subjects, but let none interfere with another's liberty of the same nature. ... ... I proceed to lay the first foundation stone of the Public Offices. In doing so, I fervently implore the blessing of Almighty God. May He ever guide with His boundless wisdom those who are to administer the affairs of the country in these buildings."

Subsequent progress. Regulation I of 1037 was amended in 1041 M. E. (1865-1866 A. D.), and a single Judge of the Zillah Court was authorised to try and decide civil or criminal cases, instead of all the Judges being required to constitute a Court as under the old Regulation. In cases of particular importance, however, provision had been made for more than one Judge sitting in judgment. Regulation II of 1041 revised the jurisdiction of the Munsiffs; their pecuniary jurisdiction was considerably extended; their award was declared final in certain petty cases and the right of appeal from the Zillah Court was limited in certain cases. The last of the Regulations passed in that year provided for the admission of Approvers in criminal cases. In 1043 M. E., an improved system of Registration of Deeds was brought into force, and arrangements made to open Registration Offices at convenient centres throughout the country. The Sadar Court being composed of four Judges, it sometimes happened that at a sitting of the Full Bench the Judges were equally divided in opinion; in such cases no decree could be arrived at and they used to be referred for the commands of His Highness the Maharajah. Regulation I of 1047 cleared this difficulty, it being enacted that, when such a division occurred, the opinion of the Senior Judge should prevail and be pronounced as the decree or order of the Court. The Regulation also provided for a difference of opinion at the sitting of an even number of Judges short of the Full Bench, in which case another Judge of the Court was to be called in, unless before the call was agreed to, one of the Judges required that the subject be referred to a Full Bench. This was the last reform of Sir Madava Row in the Judicial Department.

The cause of Education was dear to Sir Madava Row, and it made rapid strides during his administration. A fully equipped Arts College at Trivandrum, scores of English and Vernacular schools all over the

country, Girls' schools, and a Book-Committee for the preparation of the necessary text-books, are so many beacon-lights that mark his career in Travancore. The organisation of a special Department of Vernacular Education claims our special notice. The necessity for establishing proper Vernacular schools conducted on a sound basis forced itself on the consideration of Government for some time and about the close of 1041 M. E. (1865 A. D.). The Maharajah sanctioned an annual expenditure of Rs. 20,000 in this direction. The scheme comprised the establishment of a Central Vernacular School at the capital, a school in each Taluq of the State, a Normal School for the training of teachers and the formation of a Book-Committee composed of a President and three members who should translate or compile such works as were in common use in English schools, the whole to be supervised by a Director of Vernacular Education with the assistance of two Inspectors whose duty it was to periodically inspect the schools and report upon them. These proposals were duly brought into force from the beginning of 1042 M. E., and Mr. Shungrasoobyer was selected for the post of Director.

Hand in hand with Education, Medical dispensation also progressed very satisfactorily. In 1860 *i. e.*, towards the close of the previous reign, there were only six hospitals in the whole State, three in the capital and three in the mofussil. In the course of twelve years the number of medical institutions had increased to twenty-four. There were founded a large Civil Hospital to which was attached a Lying-in-hospital and a Lunatic Asylum in Trivandrum, also about ten District Hospitals, besides Jail and other dispensaries. The personnel of the department was greatly improved, and Vaccination was also satisfactorily carried on under a special Superintendent, who in addition to directing the vaccinators and inspecting their work was also entrusted with the duty of inspecting the outstation hospitals, treating such as might come on his way and suggesting measures for improving the sanitary condition of the places he might visit.

And last but not least, the Public Works Department worked with zeal and energy. To Sir Madava Row is due the credit of having established and fostered it and developed the latent resources of the country by the unstinted expansion of Public Works which have materially conduced to the prosperity and convenience of His Highness' subjects and to his own popularity and lasting fame. He wrote in one of his Reports:—

"The Government of His Highness must distinctly disclaim any desire to hoard up surplus revenues. Nothing can be more obvious to those who have any

pretensions to an acquaintance with fiscal science than the impolicy of abstracting funds from the hands of the people where they would largely fructify, to be only shut up in the vaults of the treasury or even invested so as to yield a low interest. The only justification for levying a revenue larger than the requirements of the ordinary expenditure consists in the laying out of the surplus, in the construction of useful public works which would not otherwise come into existence. It is the earnest wish of this Government to multiply such works. In view to this a regular P. W. D. was organised some years since and the requisite agency secured. But owing to causes which could not be much controlled, this Department has been slow in rising to a level with the work before it. There is, however, now every reason to hope that the Department will hereafter fulfil its high mission. If it would only perfect existing canals and roads, and add some hundreds of miles of both, a vast impulse will be imparted to industry." *

There is no more striking index of the expansion of Public Works since the organisation of the Department in 1860, than the fact that the expenditure had in the course of twelve years increased from one lac to 13½ lacs or nearly two-sevenths of the normal gross revenue of the State. The country which eight years previously had only one cart-road, *viz.*, from Trivandrum through the Aramboly pass, had now been thoroughly opened up in all directions. Nearly one thousand miles of roads had already been constructed or in fair progress. A great deal had also been done in the opening of useful canals, channels and irrigation works, bridging of numerous streams, the cleansing of towns and villages and the renovation of ancient temples and palaces. Many public buildings &c., had sprung up, as for instance the Alleppey lighthouse, the large and spacious range of Public Offices and the Civil Hospital at Trivandrum, Court-houses, hospitals and numerous edifices of no mean importance at out-stations. Among works newly begun may be mentioned the construction of the Varkala tunnels, a gigantic feat of engineering, a commodious College House at Trivandrum, and the Punalur Suspension Bridge.

Important political events. SUNNUD OF ADOPTION. The Governor of Madras, Sir William Denison, K. C. B., forwarded to His Highness the Maharajah on the 30th of April 1862, a Sunnud issued under the orders of Her Gracious Majesty, and signed by her Viceroy, conveying the assurance that on failure of natural heirs, the British Government would permit and confirm the adoption of any person as successor made by His Highness or any of his successors in accordance with the laws and customs of the State.

VISIT OF THE GOVERNOR OF MADRAS. Sir William Denison visited Travancore in October 1862 and met with a right Royal welcome throughout his tour as was usual on such occasions. He was delighted with the

* Administration Report for 1013 M. E. (1837-1838 A. D.).

Maharajah, his country and the people; and Lady Denison has contributed to Sir William's book* bright sketches of the scenes and personages she met with in the tour.

Of the State Visit of the Maharajah to the Governor at the Residency, she writes in her journal of October 21:—

"The Rajah paid W——a state visit yesterday, and it was an amusing sight. The long drawing-room was prepared for it by having chairs and sofas, in a long semi-oval, round the room, and we were told off beforehand to the seats which we were to occupy during the ceremony. W—— and the Rajah were to sit together on the sofa at the upper end of the room; I on the nearest chair on W——'s right-hand, and next to me Prince Rama Varma. ... ... Having made all these arrangements, we went out into the verandah to watch for his coming. There was a guard of honour posted and all the different European gentlemen came dropping in one by one. By-and-by we heard a salute, the signal that the great man had started from his palace: but he went very slow; and it was a long time before the near sound of native drums announced that he was entering these grounds. The first thing that appeared was a magnificent elephant; then came a horse with a man sitting far back nearly on his tail, as boys do on donkeys in England, beating a pair of kettle-drums; then five or six more led horses; then a tolerable band of military music; then all the Rajah's troops, cavalry and infantry, amounting to about 1,800 men; then some discordant native music; and by and by the Rajah himself, sitting enthroned on a high state car, drawn by six white horses, with all sorts of fans and flags waving about him. After him came the Prince in an ordinary carriage, and then four or five more elephants; but I did not see this part of the procession, for we were called in hastily to take our seats. .. The Rajah is about 32 years old, but looks older; stout and portly, with a sort of jolly, comfortable-looking face. He was dressed in gold brocade, studded over with emeralds; this dress was shaped something like an Englishman's dressing gown; and on his head he wore a sort of cap, with a beautiful plume of bird of paradise feathers. He is an intelligent man, and speaks very good English, and he and W—— seemed to be getting on capitally, but I had not time to listen to them, as I was labouring, with great toil and trouble, to keep a conversation with the Prince, who, though he also speaks English well, is shy, and not so conversable as the Rajah. He also was dressed in gold brocade, but duly inferior in splendour to his brother. After about a quarter of an hour of this work, W——, according to previous instructions, made a sign, and a peon brought forward a tray covered over with a cloth on which were garlands of flowers, one of which W—— was to put round the Rajah's neck and two others round his arms. It was all that I could do not to laugh during this part of ceremony, it looked so very absurd, particularly as the large garland on being put over the Rajah's head, caught somehow on the back of his cap, and Mr. Fisher had to come behind him and set it all to rights again. W——, however, kept his countenance admirably. Then another tray of flowers was brought in; with which he similarly decorated the Prince and then they took their departure. The whole show was the best, and the least *trumpery* I have yet seen in India. The Rajah's state car was really handsome, and so was his dress."

Of the State Dinner she observes:—

"Our state dinner with the Rajah yesterday was a fairy-like scene more like a spectale in a pantomime than anything in real life. ... ... The

* Varieties of Vice-Regal Life—Denison. Published in 1870.

whole road from the Residency to the palace about a mile and a half, was illuminated by a line of bamboo frames with three rows of lights hung on each; and, as if this was not light enough, there were numbers of men running by the sides of the carriages with torches; and at every turn of the road very powerful blue lights were lighted in succession just as we came up; and really the effect of all this—the blaze of blue light illuminating the thick trees and showing off the carriages, the cantering escort of cavalry, and the crowds of native spectators,—was beautiful, particularly at a place where the road passed by a piece of still water, in which all the lights were reflected. ... ... At the palace door stood Prince Rama Vurmah, who offered me his arm, and handed me upstairs to the drawing-room, where we were met by the Rajah, dressed in a dark blue velvet dress, rather hot, I should think, for this climate, but still very handsome, and in real good taste, rich, but with nothing gaudy about it. The velvet tunic reached about half way down his legs, and below it appeared a pair of white muslin trousers and bare feet. He had on a beautiful collar of diamonds, and diamond ear-rings; a white turban with the bird of paradise plume, and a quantity of little emeralds attached to the ends of the plume, just to give it weight enough to make it hang gracefully;—a gold chain went round his turban, with some large emeralds hanging in front of it. The dress was made quite plain, without any trimming or ornament, except a sort of little wristbands of pearls, which stood out well on the blue velvet. The Prince (*Visakham Tirunal*) was also in dark blue, but his dress was slightly trimmed with gold lace, and he wore no jewels, nor any plume in his turban. ... ... By-and-by dinner was announced. The Rajah offered me his arm; and led the way into the dining room, which opened from the long straight part of the drawing-room. The dining room was a mass of looking-glass— a long room with pier glasses, not here and there only, but rows of them all down the sides. The room was narrow in proportion to its length, but still wide enough to admit of the servants passing with ease round the table: it was lighted by a row of glass chandeliers hung from the ceiling, and there were standing lamps on the table besides. The dinner was altogether English. The Rajah sat in the centre of one side of the table, with me on his right-hand and W—— on his left. The Prince handed in S— —, and placed himself opposite us, with her on his right hand and Mr. Fisher on his left. No natives sat at the table except the Rajah and the Prince. His dewan or prime minister, was in the drawing-room before dinner and after, dressed in white muslin and gold; but he did not come in to dinner, because it is not etiquette for him to sit down in the presence of the Rajah. Their Hindoo religion does not permit the Rajah and the Prince to *eat* with Christians, so they merely sat in their chairs without touching the table, and talked with us while we ate. The Rajah is very conversable."

From Quilon she wrote again (28th October 1862):—

"I must resume my history, but I really despair of ever keeping pace with the events of this travelling time, still more of being able to give an adequate idea in writing of all the scenes which arise in these Eastern travels: such a succession of pictures: such gay spectacles and amusing sights; sometimes with a strong dash of the absurd, but always with a much stronger of the picturesque; so that this journey has altogether been a time abounding in enjoyment. On Saturday afternoon we were to pay a private visit at the Palace, for the purpose of seeing the young 'Ranees', the Rajah's nieces. I do not suppose gentlemen in general are allowed to see them, but W—— was specially invited, and also Mr. Fisher. We went at 5 o'clock, and were met at the door by the Rajah, who took us up to the drawing-room, and moved about in a quiet, sensible way, without any attendants or fuss, going out himself to fetch these poor children, who were not in the room when we arrived. In they came presently, following him two

girls one not quite fifteen, the other eleven; both small of their age, and so cumbered with their dress and ornaments that it seemed almost difficult to them to walk. ... ... After sitting thus for a few minutes, we rose and took our departure; but it was not our final farewell of the Rajah, for he paid a quiet visit at the Residency that evening, coming in just as we had finished dinner, without any fuss or parade, except that W——and Mr. Fisher went out to meet him, and the rest of us all stood up as he entered; and then he sat quietly down, and spent the evening like anybody else. In fact he is really a sensible, kind-hearted man; and he is said to have been very much pleased with W——'s visit, and to have liked talking over general and useful subjects with him." *

THE MAHARAJAH'S FIRST VISIT TO MADRAS. In the same year (1038 M. E.), His Highness the Maharajah paid a return visit to the Governor of Madras at the Presidency capital itself. This is remarkable as being the first visit of the kind ever undertaken by a Travancore Maharajah.

VISIT OF THE COCHIN RAJAH. His Highness the Rajah of Cochin paid a visit to His Highness at Trivandrum in 1866. A meeting of these two rulers of neighbouring States had not taken place since the time of the famous Rama Rajah. Hence it was a source of much reciprocal congratulations as it was calculated to confirm the amicable relations subsisting between the two States. His Highness arrived on the evening of the 4th November 1866, accompanied by his Dewan and staff, and was received by the First Prince at the landing place, and after mutual exchange of compliments, the two drove to the Fort in procession escorted by the troops of the State. On the 6th there were arranged races and other sports and in the evening the Public Gardens were illuminated. On the evening of the 7th there was a grand display of fire-works in front of the Durbar Hall in the Fort, after which the Rajah took leave of His Highness and left for Cochin.

THE TITLE OF MAHARAJAH. A Public Durbar was held on the 9th of November 1866, to receive the *Kharita* from the Viceroy conferring on His Highness the title of Maharajah in recognition of his excellent administration of Travancore. The following Notification † appeared in the *Gazette of India*:—

"In recognition of the excellent administration of the Travancore State by the present Rajah, the Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council is pleased to direct that His Highness shall be addressed by the title of Maharajah in all communications from the British Government."

This title has since been declared an hereditary distinction.

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* Varieties of Vice-Regal Life—Dunison, Vol. II. Page 213.

† No. 803—Political, dated 6th August 1866.

THE SERINGAPATAM MEDAL. On the 31st December 1866, the Resident forwarded to the Maharajah a gold medal struck in commemoration of the capture of Seringapatam, received from the Madras Government. The medal was received at Madras from the late Court of Directors as far back as 1808, but by some unaccountable oversight it was not delivered then.

HIS HIGHNESS' APPOINTMENT AS G. C. S. I., AND VISIT TO MADRAS. In March 1866, the Governor of Madras intimated to His Highness that Her Majesty Queen Victoria had been graciously pleased to confer upon him the high and exalted dignity of "Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India". The Madras Government also deputed Col. A. Stewart of the Royal Artillery to deliver personally to His Highness the *Kharita* of the Viceroy as the Grand Master of the Order, giving cover to Her Majesty's grant. A Public Durbar was held on the 15th June of that year and the Queen's grant was received with every mark of honour, being escorted on one of the State elephants from the Residency in a procession attended by all the chief officers of the State, European and Native.

On the 20th of January 1867, His Highness the Maharajah started for Madras to receive the Insignia of the Order personally from His Excellency the Governor. His Highness reached Madras on the 27th and was received by Lord Napier and staff at the station with every mark of honour. The presentation of the Insignia took place at Government House on the evening of the 15th of February. After the formalities were over and the Queen's grant was read His Excellency addressed His Highness in the following eloquent terms:—

"Maharajah,—When I take a view of the position which Your Highness occupies, I am constrained to admire the good fortune which surrounds you. In the midst of many vicissitudes, your ancient house has survived not only with undiminished but with increasing lustre. You govern the beautiful and quiet heritage of your forefathers in peace and honor, far from danger and disturbance; you enjoy the attachment of your own people, which is the cheap defence of rulers; you have the inclination and the power to do good. In this state of prosperity, in this career of usefulness, you are overshadowed and defended by the friendship, protection and counsels of our August and Gracious Queen, who has this day sent you by my hands the highest token of her approval and regard. ... ... The visit which Your Highness has paid to this Presidency is a subject of equal satisfaction to the Indian people and to the English Government. Your countrymen are gratified in seeing and saluting a Prince whom they contemplate with national sympathy and pride. The Government of this Presidency do not only consider Your Highness as a political ally;— they recognise you as a friend in thought and in heart, as an auxiliary in promoting the civilisation and welfare of a portion of the great nation which has been committed to Her Majesty's general and superior charge."

On the same day, Dewan T. Madava Row also was presented with the Insignia of the Order of Knighthood of the Star of India (K. C. S. I.), an honour but rarely conferred in recent times. Lord Napier addressed Sir Madava Row thus:—

"Sir Madava Row,—The Government and the people of Madras are happy to welcome you back to a place where you laid the foundation of those distinguished qualities which have become conspicuous and useful on another scene. The mark of Royal favour which you have this day received will prove to you that the attention and generosity of our Gracious Sovereign are not circumscribed to the circle of her immediate dependents, but that Her Majesty regards the faithful service rendered to the Princes and people of India beyond the boundaries of our direct administration as rendered indirectly to herself and to her representatives in this Empire. Continue to serve the Maharajah industriously and wisely, reflecting the intelligence and virtues of His Highness faithfully to his people. The mission in which you are engaged has more than a local and transitory significance. Remember, that the spectacle of a good Indian Minister serving a good Indian Sovereign is one which may have a lasting influence on the policy of England and on the future of Native Governments."

VISIT OF LORD AND LADY NAPIER. On the 20th February 1868, Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Napier visited Trivandrum. Their Excellencies found in His Highness a most amiable and accomplished Prince and one who took particular interest in the promotion of western culture among his subjects. They visited the several institutions in the capital of His Highness' kingdom and were extremely satisfied with the manner in which they were managed. A Public Durbar was held and a State Dinner given in honour of the distinguished guests. The party left for Madras on the 20th February. In his Banquet speech His Excellency thus gracefully referred to His Highness the Maharajah:—

"The Maharajah has been blessed and favoured beyond all the Princes of India in the possession of a country which has been saved from the vicissitudes and sufferings which political events and the accidents of Nature have inflicted in so large a measure elsewhere. He has inherited from his predecessors peace and opulence and the affection of his subjects, and the friendship of a powerful and benevolent protector, our Gracious Sovereign. But the Maharajah has proved himself worthy of this splendid inheritance. He has been equal to his fortune. The benefits which Providence has conferred upon him he has conferred on others. It forms no part of my design to enumerate in this place the wise innovations which His Highness has originated or continued. You have all been witnesses of the examples of a humane and enlightened administration of which the capital is the scene. I will only notice a peculiar feature in His Highness' course which is very rare in the history of reforming Princes. The Maharajah has held a judicious and prudent middle way, avoiding all extremes; conservative by temperament, liberal by intelligence, he preserves the confidence of his own people, while he satisfies abroad the discriminating expectation of a progressive age. Ladies and Gentlemen,—We offer up our warmest aspirations that this blameless, gentle and useful life may be long preserved, that the good designs of the Maharajah may be continued and developed, and that when his honourable career is closed, he may be remembered not only as the best but as the happiest sovereign of his race."

PALLIPORT. It was in the year 1045 (1870 A. D.), that the Government assumed the direct management of the small but rich tract known as Palliport, which had till then been leased out successively to influential landlords for terms of years.

"This tract was purchased by Travancore from the Dutch power in the latter part of the last century and is historically important, as the transaction was objected to by Tippoo Sultan of Mysore, and led to the war which ensued between him and the Rajah of Travancore, and which drew down upon that Moslem Prince the stern vengeance of Lord Cornwallis. The forts of Cranganore and Ayacotta, which played so prominent a part in those times are situate in this tract, but in a state of complete ruin." *

HIS HIGHNESS' THIRD VISIT TO MADRAS. H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh visited Madras in March 1870, and the Governor of Madras invited His Highness to grace the occasion with his presence. The Maharajah and party accordingly left Trivandrum on the 9th of March 1870 and reached Madras *via* Shoranur on the 16th instant. His Highness was received by the Duke at Government House and was favoured by a return visit. The party left Madras and reached Trivandrum on the 3rd of April 1870.

Retirement of Sir Madava Row. By his vigorous and efficient administration of the State, Sir Madava Row had now raised it to the unique and proud position of the "Model Native State" of India. The services rendered by him to the State have immortalised his name. It may be truly said of him without fear of contradiction that the benefits of good Government which the Travancorean now enjoys are more or less due to his wonderful energy, sagacity and wise statesmanship. In the eloquent words of the late Maharajah, "What Pericles did for Athens, what Cromwell did for England, that Madava Row did for Travancore". But in spite of his good intentions and good work, he was not able to retain the confidence of the Maharajah to the last. His Highness' mind was poisoned against the Dewan by a number of circumstances. Misunderstandings soon arose between him and his Royal master. Several difficulties cropped up, some of which at any rate were of his own making, with the result that he became personally obnoxious to the sovereign and had therefore to take leave from February to May 1872, when he retired. The Maharajah recognised his good services and granted him a handsome pension of Rs. 1,000 per mensem, which he enjoyed for nineteen years. When he left Travancore his idea was to stay at Madras in peace and rest for the remaining years of his life. But this was

* Administration Report for 1045 M. E. (1869-1870 A. D.).

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

The only bronze-statue in Travancore of the late Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, K.C.S.I., (Dewan 1858-72), raised by public subscription in appreciation of his eminent services.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz. M. E. PRESS.

not to be, as two other Native States were destined to benefit by his talents. He was offered a seat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, which he declined. On the news of Sir Madava Row's compulsory retirement at the early age of forty-five reaching England, the late Sir Henry Fawcett, M. P., asked the Secretary of State for India if the Indian Government could not find a place for a man of such brilliant abilities. In the course of a speech in the House of Commons, he said:—

"Sir Madava Row administered Travancore with so much skill as justly to entitle him to be considered the Turgot of India. .. ... He found Travancore when he went there in 1849, in the lowest stage of degradation. He has left it a Model State. ... ... This is the kind of man for whom we have no proper opening at a time when our resources are declared to be inelastic and when, if the opium revenue failed us, we should not know where to turn for the amount required."

Just at this time the Maharajah of Indore requested the Government of India to recommend a competent officer to administer his State. The offer was at once made to Sir Madava Row who accepted it and assumed charge of his office in 1873. Sir Madava Row was Dewan of Indore for two years, and when the affairs of Baroda required a strong minister to conduct its administration on the deposition of Mulhar Rao Gaekwar, the choice fell on Sir Madava Row, whose merits had already been brought to the notice of Lord Northbrook by the highly appreciative article on him by Prince Rama Varma, which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* of October 1872. He was Dewan-Regent of Baroda for a period of seven years from 1875 to 1882, and died on the 4th of April 1891. He was sixty-three years old, the last nine of which he lived in retirement at Madras. He was Dewan of Travancore, Indore and Baroda for a period of twenty-four years in all, the best part of his life being given to the service of Travancore, where:—

"He brought sunshine into a land covered with darkness. He secured the blessings of good Government to a people harassed by anarchy. He obtained freedom of person and property to those who were constantly assailed by hereditary robbers. He reared costly edifices in a city covered with mud huts. He constructed various works of public utility such as roads, bridges, canals and tunnels, and put the most distant and inaccessible parts into easy communication with one another. Forests were reclaimed, waste lands cultivated, and new industries such as the cultivation of coffee, were encouraged. Peace and plenty reigned supreme. Travancore, which when Sir Madava Row took charge of it was in hourly danger of annexation, obtained when he left it the appellation of the Model State." *

Mr. Griffith thus writes of Madava Row's work in Travancore:—

"Not only was the treasury empty, but the State was in debt and the officials in open rebellion on account of long arrears of salaries. The Maharajah

* Representative Men of Southern India. Page 39.

too, had failed to pay the subsidy to the British Government. A more unenviable position than that of prime minister to an almost ruined state cannot be imagined, but he proved himself to be a statesman and organiser of the greatest ability. He quickly abolished trade monopolies, did away with vexatious taxes and restrictions which hampered the commercial success of the country, and by this so stimulated industry that under his wise rule European coffee and tea cultivators were induced to settle in the State and to buy land. Public buildings sprang up everywhere, roads were laid out, and bridges and canals built, and the State treasury became full, and the grievances of the poor were redressed." *

All over India and England a great upheaval of national prosperity occurred in the latter half of the ninteenth century. That prosperity extended to Travancore also, especially since the abolition of predial slavery in 1855. With this act of humanity and civilisation set in a new tide of good fortune for Travancore. A great influx of civilising ideas and material comforts soon followed. Several favourable circumstances tended to it. A remarkable minister of ability and imagination and gifted with the true instincts of a born statesman, came in the person of Rajah Sir T. Madava Row who knew how to guide the ship of state safely and wisely through perilous shoals and troubled waters. A kind-hearted and humane sovereign was *Ayilliam Tirunal* on the throne, proud of soul, but sweet in temper and genial in manner, courteous, cultured and refined and remarkably intelligent, who though patrician by instinct and conservative by nature was himself imbued with liberal ideas and a genuine desire for enlightened forms of Government, and therefore willingly helped to do what promoted the lasting welfare of his people, for he was "a king", as the poet said, "who loves the law, respects his bounds and reigns content within them". In the person of Mr. F. N. Maltby was an ideal British Resident, most accomplished, sympathetic and talented, who knew the art of diplomacy enough to make his influence felt as a political officer in the Native Court for the good of the State and its people, without making himself personally odious or the suzerainty of the paramount power he represented galling to the Native ruler. In Mr. Sadasiva Pillai, the presiding Judge of the Travancore High Court, and one of that 'noble band of brothers', known as the High School Proficients, the people found a saint and jurist combined, a gentleman of the highest integrity and the most spotless character, as calm as he was strong, as conscientious as he was learned, and one who dispensed justice between man and man in the fear of God but in the fear or favour of no man. He practically illustrated in his own life the noble Roman maxim which he often quoted, "Let justice be done though the Heavens may fall". And last but not least was the far-famed heir-apparent to the throne, *Visakham Tirunal*, a Prince of

* India's Princes. Page 269.

delicate build but iron will, of austere character and Spartan simplicity, of uncommon natural abilities and marvellous industry, of great attainments and rare scholarship, who from his closet issued forth pamphlets and papers, the result of much study and mature thought, which went to support and strengthen the cause of his Royal brother's good government and the progress of the State of which he was 'the king to be'. Such a conjunction of favourable planets did not occur in recent times, and they combined to give so great an impetus to the national advance that the time they shone together in the Travancore firmament may be truly designated the Augustan era of Travancore History.

Career of Sir Madava Row, K. C. S. I. Manu says:—"Let the King appoint ministers whose ancestors have been Royal servants who are versed in the sciences, heroes skilled in the use of weapons and descended from noble families and who have been tried." These conditions were eminently fulfilled in the case of Sir Madava Row. For before he was appointed to the office of Dewan, his ancestors had been Royal servants and were themselves descended from noble families,—his father and uncle having been Dewans before him. He was undoubtedly versed in the sciences of the day, and was a well-tried officer of the State before elevation to the minister's place, but the skill in the use of weapons of which Manu speaks was, in these days of peace under the British Raj, satisfied by the skill in wielding the pen, in which of course he remarkably excelled. He was thus in every way well-fitted for the place. And so far as the influence of a minister in a Native State could go, it may be fairly said that modern Travancore is as much indebted to Sir Madava Row for its present prosperous condition, as old Travancore was to Rama Iyen Dalawa in the early days of its expansion and consolidation under Maharajah Martanda Varma. A few facts of his life * may therefore be given here with profit to the future Travancorean.

He belonged to one of those adventurous Mahratta families, which mingling with the great wave of conquest that during the last two centuries surged to the south through the Dekhan and made Tanjore the chief outpost of the Mahratta empire in the south, settled in that part of

* For this sketch of Sir Madava Row's life, especially the incidents of his early career, I am indebted to an article entitled 'A Native Statesman' in the Calcutta Review No. CX. Vol. LV. 1872 A. D., believed to be from the pen of His Highness the late Maharajah (*Visakham Tirunal*), while First Prince of Travancore; as far as possible the very words of the Reviewer have been used. But having personally known Sir Madava Row and served under him for a short while in the Dewan's office here, and having made a careful study of all the important Reports and Papers bearing on his career in Travancore, I am able, from my own experience, to vouch for the accuracy of the estimate formed of him in the pages of the Calcutta Review,

India. His great-grandfather Gopal Pant, and his grandfather Gundo Pant, held offices of trust both under Native Chiefs and under the rising British Power. Rai Raya Rai Vencata Row, the eldest son of Gundo Pant, cast his lot in the British service, but subsequently came to Travancore and became Dewan. His brother Runga Row stuck longer to the British service, but when Deputy Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, he was called to Travancore, where he rose to his elder's office, and though he held it only for a short period, he was a terror to evil-doers. Soon after his retirement from Travancore, he died leaving three sons, of whom Sir Madava Row was the youngest.

About sixty years ago, Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Madras, gave an impetus to higher English Education in Southern India which has borne the happiest fruits. Mr. E. B. Powell, C. S. I., Head Master of the High School, Madras, then fresh from Cambridge where he had earned academic distinction, entered upon his duties with all the hope, zeal, and earnestness of the first tiller of a rich virgin soil. Young Madava Row had the good fortune to be one of the very first set of recruits that came up to be drilled by this excellent tactician. Gifted naturally with the highest order of talents yet displayed by India, Madava Row pursued his studies with an industry, a perseverance and a singleness of purpose which were fully rewarded. The Hon'ble Sir A. J. Arbuthnot in 1873, while Acting Governor of Madras, referred to Sir Madava Row thus:—

"It was during the period to which I allude that there was being trained up for the kingdom of Travancore, which for some years past has been justly regarded as a Model Native State, a Native Statesman, who first in the capacity of tutor to the heir of the throne, and afterwards in the capacity of minister, has largely aided in raising that State to its present position."

He was the brightest of that bright band of the Madras High School Proficients, to whom a sound, varied and impressive education was imparted. His scholastic career extended over nearly six years, during which he once acted for Mr. Powell for a short time, which considering that there were European junior masters of no mean abilities at the time must be taken as a solid compliment to his worth. In 1846 he received his "First Class Proficient's Degree and Seal" from the Most Noble the Marquis of Tweedale, who had succeeded Lord Elphinstone to the Madras Governorship. Early in 1847 he got an appointment in the Accountant-General's office in which he continued for a little more than two years.

Maharajah Martanda Varma had succeeded his elder brother in the sovereignty of Travancore at the end of 1846. The germ of the financial

crisis which afterwards attained no small magnitude, was then budding. Lieut-General William Cullen of the Madras Artillery, the handsome adjutant of his youthful days, and who in a remarkable manner possessed the chief traits of character of the 'fine old Indian', was Resident Nawab at the Court of Travancore. His protege, the amiable but feeble Krishna Row, was Dewan. General Cullen with all his failings was himself proud of his scholastic attainments and valued the advantages of education in others. He strongly urged on the Maharajah the necessity of giving a good English education to his nephews; and recommended the choice of a well-educated man, as tutor to the young Princes. The choice fortunately fell on young Madava Row who continued as tutor for four years and a half. It may be observed that one of his pupils, the then First Prince,* Rama Varma, was made a Fellow of the Madras University a year before Madava Row's own admission into the Senate. The Prince was alluded to in flattering terms by Lord Napier in the Viceregal Legislative Council in speaking of the late Lord Mayo's earnest endeavours to secure the aid of competent Natives in Indian legislation. He was also offered a seat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, which on considerations of health he had to decline. From a tutor Madava Row was appointed in April 1853 to a responsible office in the Revenue line under the Dewan.

During the latter half of 1855, Madava Row was promoted to the office of Dewan Peishcar, the highest in the scale below that of the Dewan. The number of Peishcars at the time would appear to have been varying between two and four; and these were stationed at the headquarters, where while they scarcely did any work of real importance and responsibility, they directed their talents and energies to intriguing against the Dewan, who in turn was ever jealously busy in annoying and impeding them. Madava Row suggested that the Peishcars might be entrusted with the responsible charge of a certain number of Taluqs each, subject to the general control of the Dewan. He pointed also to a similar administrative arrangement which had obtained in Travancore previously to the establishment of its existing relations with the British Government. The arrangement was adopted, and Madava Row was deputed to the Southern Division, comprising the very Taluqs from which complaints to the Madras Government had been most frequent and importunate. Accordingly he went thither and began his work of reform steadily. Soon

* It was this same First Prince who later wrote the article in the Calcutta Review on Sir Madava Row's career in Travancore, which ultimately led to his becoming Dewan-Regent of Baroda.

the industrious and peaceful found that there was one who was ready to espouse their cause against oppressors, and the lawless that their palmy days of impunity were gone. He soon won golden opinions by his wise administration of the Southern Division which brought him to public notice and paved the way for his preferment.

In November, 1857, *i. e.*, during the costly sexennial *Maraja-japam* festival in Trivandrum, Dewan Krishna Row died. It was necessary to appoint a person to take up the reins of office immediately. There were two Dewan Peishcars at the time; and of these Madava Row was the junior. The senior was a native of Malabar; and had, before entering the Travancore service, served the British Government in that Collectorate for several years, and had earned some local distinction as an efficient Police officer. But he did not know English, and was thoroughly a man of the 'old school'. General Cullen at once recognised the pre-eminent fitness of Madava Row for the ministership. He therefore recommended him to His Highness who appointed him first as Acting Dewan and at the end of one year confirmed him in the Dewanship. Soon after Madava Row's appointment, Lord Harris visited Travancore; and during His Lordship's stay in Trivandrum, Madava Row had long and interesting conferences with him, which while they fully instilled the new Dewan with the views of the Madras Government regarding Travancore affairs, assured the head of that Government that the interests of that State were safe in the keeping of the new Minister.

Madava Row entered upon the discharge of his important duties with a zeal, earnestness, noble ambition, and honesty of purpose unrivalled among the natives of India. He was in his thirtieth year; and certainly in the general run of cases that age might be considered too young for so high a trust. But his extraordinary natural talents, combined with an excellent education and intimacy with men in high circles, had enabled him early to study the great problems of social statics, to value all enlightened and progressive movements, and to form a sound and unprejudiced judgment in a manner more than amply to make up for the immaturity of years. His task was however, by no means easy or even ordinarily difficult. The entire administration was disorganised. The public treasuries were empty; and while large arrears of payment in the way of salaries, and money for pepper, tobacco, and other articles purchased by the Travancore Sirkar were accumulating, the land tax used to be collected often a year in advance. Tobacco of the worst description was often the coin in which pepper was paid for; and pepper, several years

old, similarly fell to the lot of the tobacco contractor, if he happened not to be in the good graces of the leaders of the administration. Five lacs of rupees had been borrowed from the Pagoda treasury; and the Rajah had made a solemn stipulation to replace this sum, *plus* 50 per cent, in the way of lump interest, in equal monthly instalments, in the course of five years. This together with the subsidy payable to the British Government, not to take into consideration other charges, was enough to deter any one from taking up the reins of the administration. But these were not all. To quote the illustrious writer of the article in the *Calcutta Review*:—

"The public service from the top to the bottom consisted with few exceptions, of an army of voracious place-seekers, who having obtained their appointments by bribes, were bent upon recouping themselves a hundredfold; and peculation, torture, false accusation, pretended demands on behalf of the Sirkar, these were the instruments with which they worked out their object. Non-payment of salaries furnished even an open pretext for these malpractices. The courts of justice were so many seats of corruption and perversion of justice. Dacoits and marauders of the worst stamp scoured the country by hundreds; but these were less feared by the people than the so-called Police. In short, Travancore was the veriest den of misrule, lawlessness, and callous tyranny of the worst description. The State vessel was drifting at random amidst rocks and reefs, without a chart, without a compass, with shattered sails and broken cables, and above all, without a pilot. It was at the helm of this vessel that Madava Row was placed. He grasped it firmly. Full of confidence in the sympathy of the enlightened public, full of eagerness to earn a noble distinction, he guided the vessel not only to safety but to glory."

Not long after he took charge, the Shanar disturbances arose in South Travancore in connection with the upper-cloth question. We have already noticed the wise and statesmanlike attitude taken by him in regard to this delicate question and the success he attained.

On the 19th October 1860, His Highness *Ayilliam Tirunal* succeeded to the throne. And under a young and amiable sovereign free from the bonds of self-imposed conservatism, and with a Resident of high character and abilities, Sir Madava Row's administration attained unimpeded progress. This Resident was Mr. F. N. Maltby who reported to the Madras Government of Sir Madava Row thus:—

"The Dewan Madava Row is a very remarkable man I have never yet met with a native of India who obtained so thorough a mastery over our languages or so intimate a knowledge and appreciation of the modern views of Englishmen in matters of Political Economy and Government."

Sir Madava Row was pre-eminently a financier and this trait in him was early discernible in the rapid progress which the Travancore finances made under his able stewardship. The revenue rose from forty lacs in his predecessor's time to fifty-four lacs in 1872, and this in spite

of the abolition of monopolies, numerous petty taxes and cesses, and the reduction of the land tax and that of several items of customs duties. Reference has already been made to the loan of five lacs of rupees borrowed from the pagoda to meet the exigencies of the State. Mr. Madava Row managed to repay the sum by instalments and discharged the liability completely by 1038 M. E. (1862—1863 A. D.), and added with excusable pride, "Travancore has no public debt now". He also raised the salaries of public servants more than 50 per cent, and thus improved the morale and efficiency of the public service. The story of his financial measures is briefly told when we remember that he took charge of a depleted treasury and an encumbered estate in 1858 and left it a prosperous possession in 1872 with a reserve fund of forty lacs to the credit of the Sirkar.

Education, legislation, public works, medical relief, vaccination, administration of justice, suppression of crime, convenience to travellers, help to agriculturists, importation of exotic plants and seeds for local use, these and other equally important matters engaged his most anxious attention during the years of his Dewanship. It was his cherished aim, as he himself so happily expressed in one of his Reports, "to provide for every subject, within a couple of hours' journey, the advantages of a Doctor, a Schoolmaster, a Judge, a Magistrate, a Registering Officer and a Postmaster", and he strove most successfully to realise this high ideal. Indeed, he found Travancore in the lowest stage of degradation and political disorganisation, but left it a "Model Native State". In fine, he had done for Travancore what Frederic William III did for Prussia.

"He had established municipal self-government; he had emancipated the peasantry, curtailed the prerogatives of the nobility, and thrown open the public service to all classes alike; he had introduced a liberal commercial policy, abolished the duties shutting off province from province, and done away with guilds. Above all, he had made the schools the envy of the world; he had enacted an admirable and most effective code; and he had reorganised the civil service and judicature in so enlightened a style, that for administrative skill and incorruptible integrity the Prussian bureaucracy has since been justly lauded throughout Europe. To effect all this he had called in the help of the best men of the time. ... ...He might well consider himself to be marching at the head of his age and country." *

The Madras Government year after year, and the Secretary of State often, commended his work highly. It may be added that the State papers drawn up by him on special subjects, such as the Inter-portal duties, the Boundary question, Territorial exchange, Criminal Jurisdiction over European offenders, the enfranchisement of *Pattom*

* The (London) Times, 8th March 1888.

lands, the occupancy rights and others too numerous to mention, have elicited the warm approbation of British authorities. Both the sovereigns of Travancore whom he served and successive British Residents have borne high testimony to the excellence of his administration. He was appointed a Fellow of the Madras University in 1862, and in 1866 was invested with the Knighthood of the Order of the Star of India, along with his Sovereign. The appreciatory terms in which Lord Napier referred to his services on that occasion have already been quoted.

But all this brilliant career soon came to a close, for, as the proverb goes, the longest lane must have a turning. So it was with Sir Madava Row. In grateful recognition of his magnificent services, the good people of Travancore have since erected by public subscription a bronze statue of Sir Madava Row, which stands in a prominent thoroughfare facing the Public Offices of Trivandrum, which he himself built and in which he had rendered those yeoman services to the Sovereign and the people which have immortalised his name. Lord Napier during his short Viceroyalty offered him a seat in the Viceregal Legislative Council, but he had to decline it from considerations of health. Lord Napier made the following reference to Sir Madava Row in his speech in the Council:— "Since my arrival here, I have myself offered a seat (in the Viceroy's Legislative Council) to a Native gentleman of high caste, distinguished family, and mature official experience—a gentleman who really appeared to embody every qualification of natural ability, acquired information, manners, and station which could recommend him for this employment."

He subsequently became Dewan to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar for two years and Dewan-Regent of Baroda for eight years, finally retiring into private life ten years after he left Travancore. In those States also Sir Madava Row maintained the high reputation he had earned in Travancore, for Mr. P. S. Melville, Agent to the Governor-General at Baroda, said of him:—

"I take this public opportunity of saying that, having been associated with Sir Madava Row in the conduct of the public business of the Baroda State for the last four years, there is nowhere to be found a more able, conscientious, and industrious administrator than he. He has had the honour of the Gaekwar and the welfare of the Baroda State closely at heart, and to these ends he has laboured night and day."

To which Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, added:—

"I venture to add my expressions to all that has justly been said by Mr. Melville regarding the high reputation which Sir Madava Row's administration universally enjoys in Western India. I am sure that it is admired, not only by all neighbouring Native States of Western India, but is also highly esteemed

by all those British officers who, from their proximity or vicinity, have knowledge of it. ... ... He is enlightened in respect to all matters of improvement; but perhaps in his heart he hardly approves of some among the social reforms which are now advocated."

In social and religious questions Sir Madava Row's mind moved slowly. He was much more conservative than was generally believed, and advocated care and moderation in dealing with them, which the radically-minded and the sanguine-hearted among the younger generation of his admirers so heartily disliked. He was however no blind admirer of the ancients nor irrevocably committed to custom and *mamool* in all matters; for in his Convocation address he had said:—

"Avoid the mischievous error of supposing that our ancient forefathers were wiser than men of the present times. It cannot be true. Every year of an individual's life he acquires additional knowledge. Knowledge thus goes on accumulating year by year. Similarly every generation adds to the knowledge of the previous generation. Under such a process the accumulation of knowledge in a century is very large. To assert therefore that men possessed more knowledge scores of centuries ago than at the present day is manifestly absurd. ... ... Hesitate not therefore to prefer modern knowledge to ancient knowledge. A blind belief in the omniscience of our forefathers is mischievous, because it perpetuates error and tends to stagnation."

After arduous and incessant labours for a whole lifetime, he went into quiet retirement and enjoyed a ten years' repose in his pretty Mylapore residence known as *Madava Bagh*, and died there in 1891, full of honours though not perhaps full of years. In his retirement he occupied himself with the congenial study of Herbert Spencer's works or writing short notes to Newspapers on all manner of subjects from the German occupation of Africa to the combing of hair in boys or improving the dress of girls. Nothing was too difficult for his comprehensive brain; nothing too delicate for its subtle grasp. He was a man of the highest culture and the loftiest imagination. He was quick-witted, clear-headed and industrious. He was an indefatigable worker and he delighted in his work, for it looks to my mind at this distance of time, having received the impression at a very impressionable age, that he strenuously worked away from morning till night, and he had a giant's strength, for in one hour he could do what most others could not in six. He writes in one of his letters to Sashiah Sastri in 1849, with the freedom and hilarity of a school-mate, that he was an idle fellow while Seshiah Sastri was not. "I know you are not such an idle fellow like me as not to write out in a book your everyday doings." If Sir Madava Row could be considered an idle fellow as he was pleased to call himself, he must have been one of a very extraordinary type. It was as Gladstone said of Macaulay, "But it (Lord Macaulay's) was an extraordinarily full life, of

sustained exertion, a high tableland without depressions. He speaks of himself as idle; but his idleness was more active, and carried with it hour by hour a greater expenditure of brain-power than what most men regard as their serious employments. He might well have been, in his mental career, the spoiled child of fortune; for all he tried succeeded, all he touched turned into gems and gold." Sir Madava Row had remarkable strength of will, uncommon patience, unparallelled perseverance, undaunted courage to face opposition and a capacity to overcome where he could not persuade. Towards brother-officials he was considerate, kindly, generous and genuine. With those placed in authority over him he argued, persuaded and convinced, but personally was modest, respectful and deferential in his behaviour. To the people at large he was a true friend and benefactor, the supporter of the weak against the strong, the champion of the oppressed and the helpless. He hated injustice and sham of every kind; he was a terror to evil-doers; he was the declared enemy of the corrupt. What the Governor-General Marquis of Wellesley said of an eminent Anglo-Indian of the last century applies to him with equal justice :—

"He is a gentleman of the highest character in India: his talents are not inferior to those of any person in this country, nor have I seen in any part of the world many persons of superior capacity. His general knowledge is considerable, and his particular acquaintance with the Affairs of India, especially those of Fort St. George, is comprehensive and accurate. His diligence is indefatigable; he has passed his whole life in laborious business: his zeal and public spirit are distinguished features of his character; and his eminent integrity and honour are universally acknowledged. In addition to these circumstances his whole public life had marked him as the implacable, indefatigable, and irresistible foe of the corrupt system of intrigue and peculation which long pervaded the service at Fort St. George. He was the declared and ardent enemy of every author and abettor of corruption in that Service, and the cordial friend and potector of every man of integrity, diligence, knowledge, and talents. While his exertion to encourage the progress of honesty and industry was unremitting, his own example has become a model of emulation to the younger branches of the Service." *

In politics he was cautious and conservative as he was in religious and social questions. He had great confidence in his own powers and judgment, but wherever he went, he secured and maintained around him a strong phalanx of supporters and admirers. He was above all honest, earnest and god-fearing. Intellectual occupations gave him the utmost delight, but he had a keen sense of the humorous and the æsthetic in nature. He excelled in conversation; he had an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes; he always came forth with generous praise or admiration of real talent; his sallies sparkled with wit and humour and sarcasm, but

* The Madras Mail, 11th January 1906. London Letter by C. L.

he never gave offence ; it looks as if in his whole public life no word escaped him in conversation which either pained or offended any man. He was incapable of a boorish word or brusque expression. He was a man of delicately refined temperament. He was one of Nature's nobles. Within the privileged circle of his immediate friends and admirers, he was merry, frank, jocose, playful, sometimes even vain like children, though never coarse or commonplace. He was a poet, and a lover of Art. He composed devotional songs in Marathi, he was an elegant and polished scholar in that language. His whole life was dedicated to the education of his fellowmen and the amelioration of their condition. He was the favourite of the Muses and the chosen pet of fortune. By universal assent he was the greatest statesman that India has produced in recent times. In the words of the immortal Poet, "He was the noblest Roman of them all."

Sashiah Sastri—Dewan. On the recommendation of the Madras Government, Mr. A. Sashiah Sastri, then Head Sheristadar of the Revenue Board, Madras, and a distinguished fellow-student of Sir T. Madava Row, was selected to succeed him as Dewan. He reached Trivandrum about the close of May 1872 and was appointed on probation for one year. In the words of Sir Madava Row, "no better selection could have been made in the interests of His Highness and those of his subjects." Sir William Robinson the Senior Member of the Revenue Board wrote to Sashiah:—

"Though we miss you in the Board much, I consider the post you have as quite the highest open to natives in the Presidency, for *there* you are truly *ruling* your own countrymen. ... ... I know that in the Rajah you have a considerate high-minded man well worthy of your devoted service, and I feel assured that he has in you one both worthy of his confidence and the good account of his subjects."

The friction between His Highness and the late Dewan towards the closing part of his regime naturally urged His Highness to try the new Dewan before confirming him. But Sashiah combined tact with ability and principle and got through the ordeal very successfully. The Maharajah was much pleased with him and confirmed him as Dewan in April 1873. This was approved of by the Madras Government who were "much gratified by learning that Sashiah Sastri has so entirely fulfilled the anticipations of Government and secured the confidence and approbation of His Highness the Maharajah." Sashiah Sastri's appointment was only for a period of five years. The first year of his administration Sashiah devoted to taking his bearings. He studied the history of the country, its usages, and the nature and requirements of its administrative machinery. The country which fifteen years back had almost collapsed had been brought into admirable order by the genius of Sir Madava Row.

The finanaces of the State had been placed on a stable basis by judicious fiscal reforms, and the seeds of good Government had already taken root. All that was needed for some years to come was only a watchful supervision and continuance of policy which were happily secured under Sashiah's wise and thoughtful management.

Reforms. The expenditure of 1871-1872 was in excess of the receipts of the year, and the Madras Government hastened to point out that "the aim of the Sirkar should be to maintain an equilibrium and with this view to exhibit a slight surplus of income over expenditure rather than contrary as on this occasion." The Dewan therefore diligently set about to regulate the expenditure and for this purpose introduced the system of Budget and Allotment. The outlay on Public Works was at once curtailed, and a strict supervision was exercised over all the other items of expenditure of the State. The equilibrium was restored and the Madras Government were thus pleased to compliment the Sirkar on the successful results of Sashiah's first year of administration :—

"The Government are glad to learn from the financial report of the Travancore State for the Malabar year 1048 which closes on the 14th August 1873, that notwithstanding an estimated deficit by the transaction of the year, a surplus of about Rs. 22,400 was secured by economical management of the funds in pursuance of the advice given by the Government. On the whole H. E. the Governor in Council considers the result of the financial administration of Travancore during 1048 to be very satisfactory."

The Dewan was able to effect similar savings in the next year also. Several improvements were made in the course of two years in the different branches of the administration. The personnel of the Zillah Courts was improved and a new Zillah Court added at Alwaye to meet the convenience of the public. The Sadar Court was remodelled and a European Barrister-at-law was appointed one of the Judges. The returns of the Revenue Department were full of entries against defaulters pointing to large and long-standing arrears due by them to the State which amounted to nearly six lacs of rupees, and the Dewan as a relief to the ryots obtained sanction to grant them large remissions. A general revision of salaries was effected with regard to the higher grades of the service; the salaries of the Sadar Court Judges, the District Judges, as well as of the Dewan Peishcars were all revised and fixed at rates proportionate to their status. The use of paper which had already been introduced into the Judicial and Registration departments was extended to all State correspondence and accounts, which till then continued to be written on the palmyra leaf. Salt was hitherto received and sold by *measure*, a system which gave much room for corruption as it afforded great facilities for fraud. Besides, smuggling

was carried on to a great extent. To remedy these evils the Dewan introduced the system of weights and provided for a strict and careful supervision in the salt pans. Thus smuggling was stopped and the margin for peculation and underhand dealings minimised, so that petty appointments in the Salt Department, which public servants much coveted before, lost their attraction and, as the Dewan remarked, "the existing incumbents have been ever since most anxious to quit that branch of the service".

Several new roads were constructed under the superintendence of Mr. Barton the Chief Engineer. Several irrigation channels were improved, new tanks were dug, and the backwater canals were broadened and deepened so as to be fit for navigation at all seasons of the year. But among the many important works carried out during Mr. Barton's tenure of office, mention must be made of the Varkala Barrier works, a work of great magnitude and unique engineering difficulty. This grand project consisted in the construction of two tunnels through the Varkala cliffs, which alone remained as a serious barrier to an otherwise uninterrupted line of water communication from Trivandrum as far as Tirur Railway-Station in Malabar. It was estimated to cost 4½ lacs of rupees and was undertaken in 1869. The then Dewan, Sir Madava Row, was entirely opposed to the measure considering its cost and unremunerative character. But his objections were overruled by the Madras Government and the project was accordingly taken in hand. The Public Works Department was first entrusted with the work, but as they made very little progress with it in five years, it was given on contract to a European firm of Bombay and they proceeded with the work under the direction and general superintendence of the Chief Engineer. But the progress even now was slow and the contractors urged for a revised estimate and fresh terms. In the words of the Dewan,

> "Instead of a work which in 1869 was estimated to cost 4½ lakhs of rupees and expected to be completed in three years, the Sirkar found itself after five years face to face with a work which had already consumed 8 lakhs, was scarcely half-done—the most difficult and costly portion remaining over,—which, the Chief Engineer now estimated, would cost another 8 lakhs and whose eventual cost it was not possible to ascertain with any approach to exactitude after the sad failure of estimate after estimate."

The Travancore Government were opposed to such a large outlay on a single and not very remunerative work while there were numerous works, more urgent, more useful and more promising in their character, and therefore thought it desirable to complete the Tunnel No. 1 then about half finished and take up the second at some future date. This was approved by the Madras Government: a revised contract was entered

Napier Museum, Trivandrum.

M. E. PRESS.

Photo by J. B. D'Cruz.

into and Tunnel No. 1 was finished at a cost of ten lacs of rupees, and opened for traffic on the 15th January 1875.

Among other works may be mentioned the completion of the towers of the Suchindram and Trivandrum temples, the Napier Museum called after Lord Napier, Governor of Madras, and the present College building which was opened by His Highness in 1873. Reference may also be made here to the cleansing of the sacred *Padmatirtam* tank attached to the Padmanabhaswamy pagoda and the restoration of the channel feeding the tank perennially, which was for a long time neglected. This was of very great benefit to the people of the capital as it ensured a never-failing supply of good water to the inhabitants of the Fort.

Other reforms. The Educational Department also received his zealous attention. In 1874, a Law class was opened to prepare candidates for the B. L. Degree examination with Dr. Ormsby the Barrister-Judge as Professor. A grant-in-aid system was introduced which greatly helped to spread elementary education; Taluq and village schools were multiplied and the curriculum of studies in them was revised.

At the instance of the Acting Resident, Mr. Hannyngton, it was decided to open a Central Jail at Trivandrum and one District Jail for each of the four Divisions with an extra one at Alleppey for receiving convicts from the neighbouring hill and coffee plantation districts.

The Dewan next turned his attention to give a general increase of salary to the various State employees and thus raise the status of the public servants. But as it involved additional expenditure, the detailed and carefully prepared scheme of the Dewan was not well countenanced by the Maharajah. But the Dewan never flinched in his efforts to convince the Maharajah of the necessity of such a reform and in this he even incurred the displeasure of the Maharajah. Nothing daunted, the Dewan persisted and the Maharajah had at last to yield to the Dewan's appeal, and a general increase of salary to all public servants was sanctioned in February 1874.

The powers of the various departmental heads and their relations to the Dewan were clearly defined. The Dewan as the head of the administration was given the right to exercise a real and practical control over all the departments of the administration. He was relieved of his magisterial functions, and the powers of the Peishcars were consequently enlarged.

A system of gold currency was also introduced as an experimental measure. A suitable mint was improvised for the purpose and pagodas and half-pagodas were struck and issued from the Sirkar mint. But this did not prove a success and the coinage had to be given up after some time.

The first systematic Census of Travancore was taken on the 18th May 1875, the operations being conducted and a Report written by the present writer himself. The population of the State according to that Census was returned at 2,311,379.

In the midst of his multifarious duties the Dewan also found time to keep a strict supervision over the management of the Religious and Charitable institutions of the State by regulating their expenditure and checking the abuses that are the necessary concomitants of such institutions. In 1051 M. E. (1875-1876), the holders of *Ayan Zufti* lands (*i. e.* lands transferred from the British territory in exchange) were relieved of a long-standing grievance. These lands hitherto remained on the old Tinnevelly tenure and were liable to the payment of *Ayakut* grain-rent commuted at the Tenkasi market-price. This caused great hardship and the lands were therefore placed on the same footing as those of the more favourably assessed adjacent lands.

The great Indian Famine of 1876-1877 drove thousands of poor Brahmins with their families, men, women and children into this "Land of Charity". Even here the season of 1051 M. E. (1875-1876), had been very unfavourable to agriculture. Both the early and late rains had failed to a distressing extent and the drought seriously affected the paddy cultivation in South Travancore and Shencottah. On this account remissions on an unusually large scale had to be granted to relieve the ryots and consequently the Sirkar finances were not very satisfactory. But "it was no time to think of her curtailed resources when thousands of half-starved men, women and children had come to her gates for succour, drawn by her fair name for unstinted charity". The Dewan got the sanction of the Maharajah to provide for them all and make arrangements for their housing, feeding and clothing and for sanitary provision and medical treatment. The name of Sashiah Sastri is still affectionately remembered for the very sympathetic way in which he treated the famine-stricken immigrants, one and all of them, and for the liberal hospitality extended to them.

Criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects. It had been declared by the Government of India so early as 1837 that "Europeans residing in the territories of Native States not being servants

of the British Government, were in all respects and in all cases, civil or criminal, subject to the law of the country in which they reside." But the question as to the liability of European British subjects had long remained unsettled. It came up for discussion in 1866 in connection with the trial of John Liddel, Commercial Agent at Alleppey, who stood charged with having embezzled a large sum of Sirkar money. The Travancore Government tried him by a special Commission which found him guilty of the offence and sentenced him to two years' imprisonment. The trial was declared by the Madras Government as illegal and as contrary to the provisions of the Proclamation of the Government of India dated 10th January 1867, issued under, and in conformity with, 28 Vict. c. 15, with the result that Liddel's immediate release was ordered. The Government's view of the question was expressed in the following opinion of the Advocate-General:—

"I am of opinion that the trial of Mr. Liddel by the Travancore courts is illegal. The effect of the Statute and the Proclamation is to put an end to the jurisdiction of the Travancore courts over such British subjects and to confer it on the High Court. The criminal jurisdiction over European British subjects, hitherto exercised by the Travancore courts, does not appear to rest upon any treaty, but to have been ceded by courtesy and comity. Mr. Liddel on obtaining permission to reside in Travancore, consented, it is true, to be bound by the laws of Travancore and to submit to the jurisdiction of its courts, but that undertaking must be read by the circumstances of the time at which it was given. He could not forestall or exclude the operation of subsequent legislation which has now intervened to alter its status."

Dewan Madava Row saw in an instant that the Advocate-General's opinion was untenable and felt confident that he could bring about a modification of the Government's views on the point. But he moved in the matter with characteristic caution. He promised compliance to the wishes of the Madras Government but before accepting their view as final on the important question of jurisdiction over European British subjects, he wrote to the Resident requesting him to lay before the Madras Government "certain counter-considerations and arguments on the general question at issue which may possibly lead to a modification of their views on the subject". In a series of very able letters he completely refuted the opinion of the Advocate-General and the decision arrived at by the Madras Government on the basis of that opinion. His arguments rested mainly on the following four grounds:—

(1) The jurisdiction in question is an inherent right of sovereignty;

(2) The Travancore State being one ruled by its own Ruler possesses that right:

(3) It has not been shown on behalf of the British Government that the Travancore State ever ceded this right because it was never ceded, and

(4) The Governor-General's notification did not deprive Travancore of this right, but only distributed what right the British Government had already possessed.

Sir Madava Row sought and obtained the legal opinion of that eminent lawyer Mr. John D. Mayne then practising at Madras, who completely demolished the Advocate-General's views and supported those of Sir Madava Row. As to the effect of the Proclamation Mr. Mayne observed:—

"It cannot of course go beyond the powers given by the Statute; and the Statute though binding on all British subjects, has of course no force against the sovereign of Travancore or its servants who are not subject to the authority of the British Parliament. Even if the Statute purported in express terms to take away a jurisdiction previously exercised by the courts of Travancore, it would be simply inoperative against them. Parliament is as incapable of taking away the powers of a court in Travancore as it is of dealing with the courts of France. But I agree with Sir Madava Row that neither the Statute nor the Proclamation contemplates any interference of the sort."

The Advocate-General then retracted from his original view of the question. "On further consideration", said he, "and with the advantage of weighing all that has been urged by the President and members, the Dewan and my learned friend Mr. Mayne, I have come to the conclusion that the trial of Liddel by the Travancore Government is legal and therefore he ought to be left to undergo the remainder of his sentence." In accordance with this opinion, the Madras Government cancelled their former order on the subject and decided that jurisdiction over European British subjects did vest in the Courts of the Maharajah of Travancore.

But this state of things did not continue long; for in 1874 the Viceroy disapproved of the later decision of the Madras Government arrived at after full hearing and mature deliberation, and the views of the Government of India were communicated to the Travancore Government by the Resident in the following terms:—

"In consequence of communications from H. E. the Governor-General of India in Council, I am directed by the Madras Government to explain to His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore, with every compliment, that H. E. the Governor-General in Council having regard both to the position of Her Majesty as Paramount Power in India and to the Treaty engagements entered into with Travancore, does not recognise the position assumed by the late Dewan, Sir Madava Row, in the discussion that took place in Liddel's case (*viz.*, that the exercise of jurisdiction over European British subjects is an

inherent right possessed by the Government of Travancore), and that the altered condition of the law respecting the trial of European British subjects for offences committed in Native States, requires some alteration in the practice which has hitherto prevailed.

"It is observed that when the jurisdiction of Travancore in 1837 was recognised, there were difficulties in the way of trying, in British Courts, European British subjects for offences committed in Native States. These difficulties have been removed by different Acts of the Imperial and Indian Legislatures, and the question is thereby placed on a different footing to that on which it formerly rested."

Dewan Sashiah Sastri carried on a vigorous and spirited correspondence on the subject strongly urging the claims of His Highness' Government to try European British subjects. To quote Sashiah:—

"The State itself may not be very extensive, nor its population and wealth very great in comparison with other countries; but this clearly does not affect His Highness' status as a Sovereign ruler, nor his claim to be subject to no other than the law of nations in the matter of jurisdiction over foreigners. ... ... In fact, the point is so far conceded in respect of Travancore that no question is raised as to the power of His Highness' Courts over Europeans other than British subjects, over Americans, or the subjects of Indian or other Asiatic sovereigns. How then is His Highness' jurisdiction over British subjects affected? It cannot be that the vast extent to which Her Majesty's Indian Empire has, by God's blessing, been able to attain, and the great influence which she exercises for good in the councils of smaller States, can of themselves and without a cession on the part of Travancore, operate to curtail any of the attributes of the Ruler of that state. The two may be vastly different in proportions by the side of each other, yet it will not be contended that the smaller loses any of its attributes, because its neighbour is great and powerful and is bound by certain treaties to protect it against any aggression on payment of subsidy representing the cost of a certain military force. If the principle were at all allowed, then should England, Germany and Russia claim to try their several subjects committing offences in small States like Denmark, Greece, Portugal and Switzerland."

These forcible and just observations of the Dewan were of no avail. The Government of India refused to recognise the position taken by the Travancore Sirkar but decided however that,

"In consideration of special circumstances affecting the State of Travancore, and more particularly of the enlightened and progressive principles which were followed by the State in its judicial administration, the Sirkar and not the British Government should appoint First Class Magistrates who should be European British subjects, for the trial of all cases in which European British subjects were defendants."

The British Resident was invested with the powers of a Court of Session in subordination to the High Court of Madras. A Royal Proclamation was accordingly issued on the 28th May 1875 to give effect to the arrangements settled upon, under which Special Magistrates to be appointed by His Highness the Maharajah and vested with the powers of

a Magistrate of the first class under the Indian Procedure Code, were empowered to try all ordinary cases within their cognizance, and in committable cases, to commit (in virtue of their contemporaneous appointment by the Viceroy as Justices of the Peace) either to the British Resident as a Court of Session or to the High Court of Madras. This was followed by another Royal Proclamation on the 6th November of the same year, constituting the Christian Judge of the Sadar Court, being a European British-born subject, Special Appellate Judge to hear and dispose of appeals from the decisions of these Special Magistrates, as well as to revise their proceedings. Thus ended the question of criminal jurisdiction of the Courts of Travancore over European British subjects.

Important political events. On the occasion of the Investiture ceremony of H. H. the Begum of Bhopal held in Bombay on the 16th November 1872, His Highness the Maharajah was invited to be present by the Viceroy Lord Northbrook. His Highness accepted the invitation and left Trivandrum accompanied by the Dewan and other officers of the State on the 3rd of November. His Highness reached Bombay on the 11th and was received with due military honours. On the 15th the Maharajah had an interview with the Viceroy at Government House, which was duly returned. At the Investiture ceremony His Highness occupied the second seat of honour to the right of the Viceroy. His Highness stayed there till the 23rd November, in the course of which he received and exchanged visits with several Princes and Noblemen and started for Benares where he arrived on the 26th idem. After bathing in the sacred waters of the Ganges and performing the prescribed religious ceremonies and charities, several thousands of Brahmins being fed and donations given to learned Brahmins, the Maharajah left Benares on the 30th November and returned to his capital on the 15th December 1872.

In January 1875, the Maharajah undertook a tour to Calcutta complying with the personal invitation of the Viceroy Lord Northbrook while at Bombay in 1872. His Highness halted at Madras, Agra, Delhi and other important stations.

On the 30th November 1875 A. D., another trip to Madras was undertaken by His Highness to pay his respects to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales who had to abandon his proposed visit to Travancore. His Highness reached Madras on the 6th December, and visits were exchanged with His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, Governor of Madras. On the 13th His Highness visited His Royal Highness with valuable

presents, with which the latter was immensely pleased. The visit was returned on the 15th instant when return presents were given to His Highness, which included among others a signet ring, a medal and a sword. From Madras His Highness proceeded to Calcutta to take final leave of His Royal Highness. After halting at Benares, Bombay and several other places, His Highness and party returned to Trivandrum on the 11th of January 1876, just in time for the closing ceremony of the *Murajapam* and the grand illumination (*Lakshadipam*) on the evening of the next day.

The Imperial Durbar and the presentation of the Imperial Banner, 1877. A grand Durbar was arranged to be held at Delhi to commemorate in a fitting manner the great historic event of the assumption of the title of "Empress of India" by Her Majesty Queen Victoria. His Highness the Maharajah was prevented by ill-health from attending the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. In connection with this, a Public Durbar was held in the capital on the first of January 1877, when His Highness was presented with a banner known as the 'Imperial Banner' from Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. The Queen's Proclamation was read by the Resident who in the course of his address said:—

"His Excellency (the Viceroy) however is anxious that, though Your Highness has been unfortunately compelled to forego taking part in the ceremony at Delhi, a formal intimation should be received by Your Highness of the gracious announcement of Her Majesty ... . In further token of this closer union and Her affectionate regard, Her Majesty has been pleased to direct through the Viceroy and Governor-General the presentation to Your Highness of a Banner emblazoned with Your Highness' Arms and surmounted by Her own Imperial Crown, to be carefully preserved and handed down as a symbol of the friendship existing between the British Crown and Your Highness. His Excellency hopes that this Banner will be used on State occasions."

In connection with the presentation of the Imperial Banner, a full dress Durbar was held on the 1st of October. After the British Resident had addressed the Maharajah in felicitous terms, the latter replied as follows:—

"I am deeply sensible of Her Gracious Majesty's kindness in presenting me with the Banner which I have just now received from my worthy and esteemed friend, the British Representative at my Court. I gratefully accept it as a token of her amity and regard, and as a pledge, that as heretofore Queen, so now as Empress, there will be extended to me the support and protection symbolised by Her Imperial Crown surmounting the Arms of my kingdom. As a memento of the auspicious 1st of January, it will be to me a continual witness of the closer union now subsisting between Her Majesty's Government and the smaller States, and the obligations we are under to have our own rule on the principles

on which the Empire has been consolidated and rests, not so much on the strength of armies, as on the securer foundation of inflexible justice and an assiduous care of the welfare of the subject population. The times are happily gone by with us, when banners led the way to fields of bloody strife, but there are the triumphs of peace to be achieved, and in the onward march of civilization it shall be my care to follow in the wake of the great nation from whose Queen I have had the honour of receiving this one, and whose representatives, I thankfully own, have aided and encouraged my humble efforts in that direction."

Sashiah Sastri retires. Sashiah Sastri's term of office as Dewan having come to a close, His Highness desired to appoint a Native of the State as Dewan, and Peishcar Nanoo Pillai was accordingly nominated. But at the suggestion of the Resident, Sashiah Sastri was given an extension of six months to 'wind up his administration'. In communicating the retirement of Sashiah Sastri, His Highness wrote to the Madras Government:—"I take this opportunity of recording my high appreciation of the several distinguished services rendered by Sashiah Sastri during his five years of successful administration." In accepting the pension allowed by His Highness, Sashiah Sastri wrote:—

"In service, Your Highness made me affluent by the grant of a high salary, out of service Your Highness makes me comfortable with a liberal pension and a generous donation. The bread thus given will not be eaten in ungratefulness or sulky discontent. The brightest chapter of my life is my service under Your Highness. The little name and fame I have acquired is in reality but the light reflected on the servant by an illustrious master, to serve whom, even for a brief period, has been my pride and privilege."

Sashiah Sastri's regime was another bright epoch in the history of Travancore. Under his administration the country fared happily, finances prospered, the tone of the public service was raised; many useful public works were carried out; increases were given to the various establishments of the State, fresh stimulus was given to agriculture and trade which attained a high standard of progress; new roads and canals were constructed; many petty taxes were abolished; paper was introduced for purposes of writing in the place of palmyra leaves in all departments; the revenue administration was reorganised and the Taluq authorities were given great facilities for the easy realization of the Government dues. In short, Sashiah supplemented all that was left wanting in the administration of Sir Madava Row and made Travancore one of the most prosperous and well-governed Native States of India.

Career of Sir A. Sashiah Sastri, K. C. S. I. A few facts of Sashiah Sastri's life may be given here mostly from personal knowledge of him acquired during an acquaintance of over thirty years, and partly derived from his excellent biography by Mr. B. V. Kamesvara Aiyar, M. A. The lives of Sir Madava Row and Sashiah Sastri are associated in the

public mind with most of the improvements and reforms which have shed lustre on the Travancore administration in recent years, and these two were among the most brilliant of that set of the High School alumni of Mr. Powell's, who have illumined South Indian history in the nineteenth century. It was a favourite expression of the late Revd. T. Pettigrew, one of the most versatile Chaplains that ever came to Travancore, and a gentleman who knew both Sir Madava Row and Sashiah Sastri intimately, to say, " If I talked English like Sir Madava and wrote it like Sashiah, I shall be the greatest man in Europe",—a high testimony indeed in any case, but which every one who knew the two statesmen closely would most ungrudgingly corroborate.

Sashiah was born on the 22nd March 1828 in the little village of Amaravati on the banks of the Vettar, one of the deltaic mouths of the Kaveri in the Tanjore District. He was born of poor but respectable parents. At the age of eight he was sent to Madras, which was then the only place where any English education could be got, and where one of his uncles, Gopala Aiyar by name and a dealer in precious stones, undertook to keep the boy and educate him. After picking up the rudiments of English under two Eurasian teachers, he was sent to the Anderson School, a Mission school called after its founder the Revd. John Anderson, the earliest Missionary of the Church of Scotland, and the pioneer of English education in the Presidency. Here he studied for about two years, *i. e.*, till 1840, when the conversions into Christianity of a few high-caste students created an alarm among the native community of Madras and as a result most of the students including young Sashiah deserted the school. Sashiah with many of his school-mates next joined the Preparatory School then newly established, and passed from thence to the High School which was opened on the 14th April 1841 with Mr. E. B. Powell as its Head-master. Here he continued till May 1848 when he took a First Class Proficient's Degree and was launched forth into the world. During the early years of his school life Sashiah was in very straitened circumstances and his poor uncle's resources were by no means equal to the payment of a school fee of Rs. 4 per mensem. But the boy's general intelligence and smartness soon attracted the attention of Mr. Powell who took a special interest in him and generously offered to meet the charges of his school fees from his own pocket. Just about this time the trustees of Pachaiyappa's charities founded a few scholarships to poor and deserving youths and on Sashiah was conferred one of them. He soon after obtained a Government stipend which towards the close of his scholastic career reached the

respectable sum of Rs. 20. These several small helps placed him above want, and he ever after cherished the most lively feelings of gratitude to his benefactors. His career in the school was an exceptionally brilliant one, and in addition to the annual class prizes he secured the Pachaiyappa's Vernacular and Translation prizes and the Elphinstone Prize for an essay on "What is civilisation", the like of which in point of style, Sir Alexander Arbuthnot remarked several years later at the Presidency College Anniversary of 1872, he had not heard read by a Native. He also received the First Prize of the Council of Education of the value of Rs. 300. He took the Proficient's Degree with honours on the 29th May 1848 and received the Ring set with Emeralds of a Proficient of the First Class. Sashiah's forte was English and his attempts in English composition were considered remarkable for one of his age. The speech he delivered on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of Pachaiyappa's College in October 1846 when he was still in his school, attracted great attention and a silk purse of gold mohurs was presented to him in recognition of the same, and it appeared in the next issue of the *Madras Crescent*, then an influential organ of public opinion.

In September 1848, Sashiah Sastri entered the Revenue Board as a clerk on Rs. 25, where he had the pleasure of being trained under the immediate guidance of Mr. Pycroft (afterwards Sir Henry Pycroft) in drafting correspondence. In June 1849, he accompanied Mr (afterwards Sir) Walter Elliot, Senior Member of the Board who was appointed Special Commissioner for the Northern Circars. During the two years of wandering life and varied experience Sashiah had with his master, he had acquired correct knowledge of all departments of Revenue administration and had become the right-hand man of Mr. Elliot who always entertained a very high estimate of Sashiah's worth and capabilities. In May 1851, Sashiah became Tahsildar of Masulipatam in which he acquitted himself very well. In February 1854, he was promoted to the Naib Sheristadarship and in 1855, was appointed Head Sheristadar of Musulipatam. As Head Sheristadar he was the confidential minister of the District Collector and the virtual ruler of the District. Here he continued till 1859 when he was appointed a Deputy Collector and ordered to duty under Mr. George Noble Taylor, Inam Commissioner. In 1860 he was made Special Assistant to the Commissioner on a salary of Rs. 600, in which capacity he served for six years. During the time he served in the Inam Commission, he registered 50,000 original *Inam* claims and reviewed as many as 250,000 titles that had been registered by the Deputy Collectors. He made a special study of the *Inam* tenures and succeeded in conciliating and satisfying all parties.

In 1866 Sashiah Sastri was appointed Treasury Deputy Collector and posted to his native District of Tanjore. Here in one year he restored order and system. He was also Vice-President of the District Municipality in which capacity he did yeoman service. The sanitation and general appearance of the town was greatly improved under his personal supervision and the District was provided with a network of metalled roads. In 1868 Sashiah was appointed a Fellow of the University of Madras. In the next year when the post of Head Sheristadar of the Madras Revenue Board fell vacant, the appointment was offered to Sashiah. This was the highest post to which a Native could then rise under the Madras Government, and carried with it a salary of Rs. 800. But as Sashiah was already getting Rs. 750, the Board Sheristadarship was not sufficiently tempting. His friends, however, prevailed upon him to accept it. In recognition of Sashiah's valuable services, the Board recommended his pay being immediately raised to Rs. 1,000, which Government had sanctioned to be given him after five years' approved service. The Board wrote:—

"It seems to the Board to be scarcely logical or in accordance with the policy pursued by Government in the case of all other appointments, to pay the same man at different rates for the same work merely because he performs it for a stated time. They are thoroughly satisfied with Sashiah's work at the present time and they are certain that it will be neither greater in quantity nor better in quality after he has been in their office for five years. The Government have attached the condition of *approved service* in the Board's office to the higher rate of pay. In the case of a man chosen after a long and distinguished career the approval is certain and any further probation is unnecessary."

This application having been favourably recommended to the Secretary of State was duly sanctioned. Sashiah spent a very happy life in Madras with many of his school-fellows who after distinguishing themselves in their varied walks of public life were now brought together. T. Muthuswami Aiyar was Police Magistrate; V. Ramiengar was Superintendent of Stamps; Chentsal Row was Salt Deputy Collector, and R. Regunatha Row was Deputy Collector of the city of Madras. But this school-boy's dream of happiness was as usual short-lived. One morning in April 1872 Sashiah was summoned to the Government House by Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, then Acting Governor, who asked him if he could accept the Dewanship of Travancore left vacant by the retirement of Sir Madava Row. Sashiah hesitated and almost declined. But Sir Alexander advised him to think over it and let him know, adding that the refusal of a Dewanship of Travancore carrying with it a salary of Rs. 2,000 a month would not come twice to any man. All his friends pressed him to take up the appointment, if only to keep up the prestige of Powell's boys. Next

morning he intimated his assent to the Governor and his services were accordingly placed at the disposal of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore. Sashiah Sastri came to Trivandrum in May 1872 and was immediately installed as Dewan. It is enough to say that Sashiah's manner and tact combined with solid ability and high principles enabled him to win the confidence of the Maharajah and the approbation of the public who still remember him wth feelings of gratitude and esteem. In confirming him as Dewan His Highness wrote to him:—

"Permit me to congratulate you most heartily on this auspicious event of your being confirmed in your post so cheerfully by me; and as you have always had several substantial proofs of my having fully confided in you and afforded you my warmest support, be assured you shall always have them. It is really a matter for congratulation that our mutual, both political and friendly, relations hitherto have been so cordial and satisfactory, and I am in full hopes of our being able to get on smoothly both to the great interests of my country as well as to the peace of my mind, as I am already convinced of your excellent ability, tact and, above all, your sincerely faithful attachment and true loyalty to me."

The Madras Government were also equally pleased. Sashiah Sastri retired after five years of Dewanship in 1877 on a pension of Rs. 500. He had already been created a "Companion of the Star of India" in January of the same year. Thus closed the brightest period of Sashiah Sastri's public life, and it may be said with justice, one of the brightest epochs in the administration of the country. After his retirement he was nominated a Member of the Madras Legislative Council. Subsequently, in 1879, he was offered a seat in the Viceregal Council which he declined. The Duke of Buckingham thus referred to him in one of his public speeches:—

"In nominating the Hon'ble Sashiah Sastri to the Council of the Viceroy, in placing the Hon'ble Justice Muthuswami Aiyar on the bench of our own High Court, I know that I have advanced them to no honour which was not well deserved or to a post which would not be well filled. Such are the men of whom one shall hereafter need more. Keep them in your minds as studies for your emulation."

In addition to his work in the Council, Sashiah Sastri was consulted by Government and the Revenue Board on several important questions of State, political, legislative and financial; and his views were characterised by thought, sobriety and a clear insight resulting from a long and varied experience. Meanwhile the affairs of the State of Pudukotta had been drifting from bad to worse and the Duke of Buckingham offered the appointment of Dewan to Sashiah Sastri in August 1878. Sashiah visited Pudukotta at the request of the Rajah and saw for himself the state of things. He seems to have felt it was a regular Augean stables—almost beyond his

power to cleanse, that even if he could undertake it with any prospect of success, his road to reform would be beset with obstructions, and it would be unwise to risk in a hopeless task what reputation he had already gained. So he wrote back to the Rajah and the Political Agent declining the offer. But the earnest representations of the Rajah and his own friends induced him to change his mind, and he accordingly signified his willingness to accept the place. He was thereupon appointed in August 1878 as Dewan of Pudukotta, in which capacity he continued till 1886, and when the old Rajah died leaving behind his grandson the present Rajah who was a minor, the Dewan was appointed Regent. Sashiah Sastri continued for another eight years and retired on the 24th November 1894, when the young Tondiman was installed as Rajah. In all for sixteen years he was in charge of the Pudukotta administration. The magnificent work he did there is before the public of Southern India. In his address at the Installation ceremony of the young Rajah, Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras, referred to Sashiah Sastri's services in the following complimentary terms:—

"The inheritance upon which you are this day entering was twenty years ago financially and in every respect in a most dilapidated condition. The aspect of affairs is now very different; you will have made over to you a State not only unencumbered with debt but possessing a balance of no less than three lakhs, while there is every prospect of its yielding an increasing revenue if administered with due care. On every side material improvements are visible. Every branch of the administration has been now reformed, the revenue has improved, the roads are excellent and the capital is adorned with modern public buildings. All these are due to the untiring energy and devotion to his duties of Dewan-Regent Sashiah Sastri, one of that talented body, the Proficients of the High School, so many members of which have taken a prominent and honourable share in public affairs. Mr. Sashiah Sastri became Dewan in 1878, and, after serving your grandfather until his demise in 1886, has since then continued to work for the well-being of the State of Pudukotta with great ability and remarkable fidelity and honesty of purpose. The result of his labours has been so successful that what was at the time of his accession to office almost a wreck is at the present moment a prosperous possession. He is now, after a long and trying period of devotion to public service, laying aside official harness in view to enjoying a well-earned repose. I consider that Your Highness owes him a deep debt of gratitude, and I am pleased to learn that you have decided to manifest your appreciation of the service done by him on his retirement in an appropriate manner."

The Pudukotta State granted him a pension of Rs. 400, which added to that of Rs. 500 from Travancore placed him in comfortable circumstances. He then retired to his palatial mansion at Kumbakonam on the banks of the Kaveri, which he called *Padmavilasam* after the name of his official residence at Trivandrum, and where he spent the remainder of his days in peace and comfort, sometimes engaged in congenial

letter-writing but oftener in convivial talk, in both of which he so wonderfully excelled most of his compeers in life; now listening to an amanuensis reading the daily *Madras Mail* or *The Hindu*, now writing his views on the proposed Agricultural Banks of British India or the Religious Endowments Bill before the Legislatve Council of a Native State, now discussing with the help of Pandits the eternal problems mooted in the weighty discourse of Sri Krishna to Arjuna, or warmly controverting with educated youths some of the Madras answers given before the Education Commission of Lord Curzon. Always genial in temper and placid in manner, though never in perfect health, ready to help the poor and the distressed, to offer advice to the erring and the wayward, and to encourage the industrious and the intelligent, open to conviction, impervious to flattery, ready to assimilate new ideas, genuinely attached to old friends and dependents and easily accessible to all, hospitable to friends and strangers alike who went to see him, proud of his past achievements and conscious of life's work nobly done, hopeful of the country's future, and, above all, trustful in a kind and merciful Providence, he glided through life gently and smoothly, as if unmindful of the weight of years or indifferent to the cares and sorrows which a long life entails.

In 1902 His Majesty King Edward VII was pleased to appoint him a "Knight Commander of the Star of India" on the recommendation of Lord Curzon. Sashiah Sastri died in October 1903 in the seventy-sixth year of his age, full of years and full of honours.

In Travancore he has left an imperishable name for ability and integrity, impartiality, large-heartedness and sympathy to all who have had official dealings with him. He was strong, earnest, honest and loyal to the best traditions of the Royal house and the people of Travancore. He was, to quote Mr. Pettigrew again, "the able and incorruptible prime minister". He was calm, cautious and circumspect, patient and forgiving, toilsome and persevering, and when he meant to keep an official secret he was "as open as the sea and yet as deep". Sashiah was a genuine admirer of the practical Briton and his manly ways, his rectitude of purpose, love of justice and devotion to duty, and an ardent supporter of the English Government in India. He was a strong believer in Native talent and advocate of the Native cause, and his powerful minute on the Ilbert Bill, perhaps the very best paper in the huge collection of the Ilbert Bill literature—shows at once the high-water-mark of skill and independence which educated Natives can reach under favourable circumstances, as well as the correct view of the large Native population on so important a

subject which it is difficult for the average Civilian to easily understand in the maze of flattery and fear by which he is surrounded.

Nanoo Pillai—Dewan. Dewan Nanoo Pillai, the successor of Sashiah Sastri, took charge of the administration in Chingam 1053 M. E. (17th August 1877 A. D.). He had served the State for thirty years and was one of its best Revenue officers.

The Kottadilly farm was leased to the Travancore State for five years on the 26th October 1877.

The Sadar Court which had consisted of four Judges was remodelled at the close of 1054 M. E. (1879 A. D.); the number of Judges was reduced to three and the powers and duties of this Court were defined as well as those of a single Judge with reference to civil and criminal cases, and the general supervision over the subordinate judiciaries. The Medical Department was thoroughly reorganised and new hospitals were opened in all the important centres. Many court-houses, inns and feeding-houses were built and numerous temples were repaired. The Punalur suspension bridge, a wonderful piece of engineering work, was completed in the year 1054 M. E.

Domestic events. The chief domestic events of this reign may be recorded here. Her Highness the Junior Rani (Parvathi Bayi) was married to the Kilimanur Koil Tampuran on the 27th Makaram 1037 M. E. (February 1862 A. D.), and the following were the issue of the union. Prince *Revati Tirunal* (Kerala Varma) was born on the 6th Chingam 1040 M. E. (1865 A. D.); Prince *Makayiram Tirunal* on the 8th Medam 1041 M. E. (April 1866 A. D.); Prince *Satayam Tirunal* (Rama Varma) on the 19th Vrischigam 1043 M. E. (December 1867 A. D.), and Prince *Asvathi Tirunal* (Martanda Varma) on the 9th Vrischigam 1047 M. E. (November 1871 A. D.). Of these Prince *Makayiram Tirunal* died in Edavam 1050 M. E. (1875 A. D.), which event was followed by another calamity, namely the death of *Hastam Tirunal*, the elder brother of His Highness the present Maharajah, in Medam 1052 M. E. (April 1877 A. D.).

Demise of the Maharajah. A fatal disease seized His Highness, and in the beginning of May 1880 matters took a serious turn. The First Prince Rama Varma was not on good terms with the Maharajah in the latter part of the reign. In spite of repeated repulses, the Prince with a good deal of perseverance obtained an interview with the dying Maharajah. The meeting was very affecting and the Prince never for a

moment after that left his brother's bed-side. For a whole week the Prince tended the Maharajah with exemplary care and affection, and the Maharajah himself was moved and reconciled to his brother. He endured his last sufferings with calmness and fortitude and passed away before day-break on the last day of May 1880. No more flattering testimony could be borne to His Highness' rule than that contained in the following extract from the Notification in the Fort St. George Gazette, dated 8th June 1880, announcing His Highness' demise. "His Highness ascended the musnud on the 19th October 1860, and his reign has been marked by the development of wise and enlightened principles of administration which have placed Travancore in the first rank of Native States."

Dr. W. H. Russel, Honorary Private Secretary to H. R. H. The Prince of Wales (now King-Emperor) thus records his impression of His Highness in his diary of December 12, 1875:—

"His Highness is of the Kshatriya caste, forty-four years of age (looks nearly sixty); in addition to Mahratta, Tamil, Hindustani, and Telugu, writes and speaks English with fluency; is a good Sanscrit scholar and much given to literary discussion with pundits; is fond of music in which he excels; is an admirable man of business, very punctual and exact; fond of science and profoundly attached to his own faith. He has a stammer in his speech at times, but his manners are easy and agreeable, and his appearance is dignified, as becomes one who claims an ancestry that dates from 600 A. D. ... ... It is a model Native State and Sheshiah Sastry the present Dewan, a school-fellow of Sir Madhava Rao, is a man of great intelligence and ability." *

To the above may be added the following testimony of the very able the Revd. T. Pettigrew, sometime Chaplain of Trivandrum:—

"His Highness was a man of small stature and make, about forty-eight years, with very small hands and feet, and of a pale but intelligent countenance, his ancestry dating back to 600 A. D. Nothing could exceed his urbanity of manners full of life and vivacity, and naturally of a kind and gentle disposition. He spoke English fluently. ...His Highness was much liked by European and native. ... He was a *thorough gentl man*, with an instinctive appreciation of that qualification in others. At all times he was accessible to his people and listened with patience to their petitions." †

In the words of Shakespeare:—

"His life was gentle; and the elements
So mixed in him, that Nature might stand up,
And say to all the world—'this was a man'."

* The Prince of Wales' Tour in India. Page 318.

† Episodes in the Life of an Indian Chaplain. Page 334.

RAMA VARMA (*Visakham Tirunal*) 1055—1060 M. E. / 1880—1885 A. D.

His Highness Rama Varma succeeded his brother *Ayilliam Tirunal*, the intermediate elder brother Ravi Varma (*Uttradam Tirunal*) having been declared an imbecile. He ascended the musnud on the 17th June 1880. Never did a Maharajah come to power under more favourable auspices or amidst greater popular expectations, his reputation for learning and high character having preceded him on the throne. The Resident, Mr. Athol MacGregor, wrote to His Highness:—

"It is a matter of the greatest satisfaction that the crown will devolve on one so well fitted, as Your Highness is, to exercise an authority on which the welfare and happiness of so many depend. In saying this I do not adopt the mere ordinary courtesy of court language; but I express an opinion for which the strongest ground has been afforded by Your Highness' former career and known attainments and principles. ... ... I am firmly of opinion that few Princes have ever succeeded to a throne with more opportunities of earning a great name, and if Your Highness devotes your talents in singleness of purpose to the good of your subjects, as I believe you will do, the benefit will not be confined to Travancore, but will be reflected far and wide over Hindustan."

This opinion was entertained of him not only in Travancore but all over India, and the highest expectations were formed of His Highness' rule. He himself feared that these public expectations being pitched too high must meet with disappointment. The critically minded future historian may perhaps have to record that the performance fell somewhat short of expectations; and if His Highness did not attain the success which his illustrious brother had reached, and which he himself so richly deserved, it was because "there's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will." But the historian will most readily admit that the fault, if any, was not His Highness' by any means, that it entirely lay in quite another quarter (of which as ill-luck would have it, the odium rested mainly on his shoulders), though it must be said to his credit that he worked most conscientiously and strenuously, as he himself promised in his Installation speech, "to the best of my powers, to secure good government and progressive happiness to my subjects". What Sir. M. E. Grant Duff said of Lord Cornwallis in the presence of His Highness applies as well to himself, for his is undoubtedly

"one of the by no means too numerous names which history has surrounded with a halo, not for success, which was often denied to him, but for his rectitude of purpose and unflinching devotion to what he thought right amidst the most varied, and not unfrequently the most trying, circumstances."

The formal Installation took place on the 17th July 1880, when His Highness made a memorable speech:—

"My feelings overpower me in addressing you a few words on this occasion. Called upon by the Almighty and All-wise Disposer of events to the highest of human responsibilities, and placed on a throne, filled in the past by an illustrious line of my respected ancestors, by the Representative of the Government of Her Majesty, the Empress of an Empire, the like of which in extent, power and glory, combined with justice, humanity, prosperity and enlightened progress, neither modern nor ancient history reveals, I fully realise the magnitude, gravity and sacredness of the charge. I am fully conscious of my own unworthiness. I am fully conscious how incommensurate my mental and bodily powers are with the discharge of the duties of a ruler of hundreds of thousands of my fellow creatures. ... ... I am aware that on such occasions public expectations are high, often abnormally high, and the higher the pitch to which they are tuned, the greater naturally are the chances of disappointment."

His Highness' attainments and early career. The Maharajah was of very delicate health from his birth, his mother having died before he was two months old. He was born on the 19th May 1837. He received his early training from his estimable father for whom he had unbounded respect, and whom he always regarded as "the very model of self-control and rigid unbending honesty". Having received a sound instruction in Malayalam and Sanskrit, the English alphabet was sounded in his ears in his ninth year by Dewan Subba Row. Though his early studies were often interrupted by bodily ailments, he worked at his lessons most diligently. In 1849 he fell seriously ill and was declared consumptive. In the same year T. Madava Row was appointed tutor to the Princes and he threw himself heart and soul into the task. The tuition continued for about four years during the course of which a taste for study was instilled in the naturally studious mind of the Prince. The appointment of Madava Row to a post in the administration in July 1853, left the Prince without a tutor, but Madava Row never ceased to take interest in the Prince's studies and exert a wholesome influence on his mind. For English composition, the Prince had a special aptitude and his first attempt was an essay on the 'Horrors of war and benefits of peace'. General Anson (who visited Travancore in 1855) perused the paper and spoke highly of the "ability with which it is written and his admiration of the benevolent sentiments embodied in it". Thus encouraged, the Prince aspired to further honours and applied himself more closely to his studies and literary exercises. He wrote an article for the *Madras Athenæum*, then a very powerful organ of public opinion under the editorship of Mr. John Bruce Norton. The first contribution on the 'Education of Native Princes' was rejected by him with the observation that it was not worth publishing except as a literary curiosity. This

rebuff keenly touched the Prince who doubled his exertions at essay-writing and sent in another paper, *viz.*, 'A Political Sketch of Travancore.' This paper was gladly accepted by the editor who acknowledged it as a truly valuable contribution and wrote:—

"It was I that noticed so savagely, as you thought, your communication to the *Athenæum*, but what might then have struck you as unkind must now, I think, appear in its true light—a really friendly warning, for I doubt not it has led you to reflect and fashion your style so as to make your present communication the truly valuable communication which it is."

The Prince also contributed to other papers. We have already referred to the friendly criticisms on Travancore affairs that used to appear in the successive issues of *The Indian Statesman*, entitled 'Topics for Mr. F. N. Maltby' under the *nom de plume* of 'Brutus', which created a real sensation in those days. We have also referred to his article on Sir Madava Row, K. C. S. I., that appeared in the *Calcutta Review* under the designation 'A Native Statesman'.

In 1861 His Highness visited Madras as a Prince and made such an impression upon Sir William Denison the Governor, that he wrote to the Resident Mr. Maltby in these gratifying words:—"He is by far the most intelligent Native I have seen; and if his brother (the Maharajah) is like him, the prospects of Travancore are very favourable." He was soon appointed a Fellow of the Madras University, a rare honour conferred on natives in those days. The offer of a seat in the Viceroy's Legislative Council while he was yet a Prince, was a rarer honour still, though he had to decline it on considerations of health. He devoted much of his time to botanical studies, and in a short time he became a practical botanist of considerable ability. For agriculture he had a special aptitude. His name will ever be remembered for the introduction and extension of tapioca cultivation in Travancore; it is now the labourer's food *par excellence*, and "there is no poor man in the land who eats it without silently blessing the memory of *Visakham* Rajah for it". The value of the tapioca root is now so widely known that it needs no comment here. He also tried to introduce Manilla Tobacco into the country though with only indifferent results. He greatly encouraged painting in oils and water-colours, ivory and wood carving and *kuftgari* work. The Prince visited the chief educational and industrial institutions of Southern India and took a special interest in the Madras School of Industrial Arts, where he instituted two prizes, one for the best essay on the 'Architecture, sculpture and painting of Ancient India', and the other for the best wood-engraving of 'Eve at the Foundation', an ivory statuette of which he had already presented to the school.

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introduced himself when on circuit at Udayagiri. General Cullen was a true patron of letters himself being an ardent votary of science and a friend to the poor and the needy; towards school-boys especially, he felt a genuine solicitude. He entertained Nanoo in the service first as a volunteer and then as a clerk, and as became so high-minded and generous a Resident, watched his career throughout with a paternal interest until he died in 1862. On his retirement from the Residentship in 1860, he wrote of Nanoo Pillai as follows:—

"Nanoo Pillai, Manager of the Petition Department was for four years a volunteer and has been ten years on the permanent establishment of the Resident's office. He learnt English first in the Mission School at Neyoor, and afterwards in His Highness the Rajah's Free School, Trivandrum. He attracted my notice when on circuit at Oodagherry in 1846 by his knowledge of English and general intelligence. He has since given very great satisfaction by his assiduity and intelligence and perfect knowledge of business. He translates readily and draws up capital abstracts of all Native papers."

After a service of fourteen years in the Resident's office, during which successive Residents bore testimony to his intelligence and great knowledge of business, His Highness Martanda Varma took him into the Sirkar service as Assistant Police Sheristadar. His devotion to duty soon endeared him to Sir T. Madava Row the Dewan. His Highness the then First Prince (*Visakham Tirunal*) soon marked him out as a capable officer and in one of his letters His Highness wrote to him exhorting him to help on the administration of Sir Madava Row and adding that he felt he was 'one of the deplorably few' in the State to whom he could express this wish with hope. He was soon promoted to the responsible post of Dewan Peishcar of the Southern Division—the administration of which was frequently the subject of criticism and complaint by the missionaries of the London Mission Society. He administered the Division with ability and tact and great credit to himself and won the approbation of his Sovereign master. Sir Madava Row himself wrote to him:—

"I have only to add my hope that by continuing to render faithful, diligent and willing service, you will advance in the service. Remember that much more than your individual interests are at stake; in short the national character is under trial. If educated young men can show that they can equal Europeans not only in the capacity to do good service, but in the strictest integrity in every sense of the word, it will be a great thing accomplished for our community. I am glad that in your conduct hitherto you have shown yourself quite alive to the importance of this point."

Sir Madava Row again wrote in May 1867 when he received the honour of Knighthood:—

"The London Missionary gentlemen have been calling upon me this morning and presenting me an address of congratulation on the honours lately conferred on me by the Queen. They have done the same to His Highness. They have taken occasion to speak very well of our efforts at good government and I feel highly gratified. I have told them in reply that much credit is due to the heads of the several Departments who have been co-operating with me. In the course of conversation Mr. Baylis and others spoke very satisfactorily of your administration in South Travancore, and it must be a source of great encouragement to you that your efforts are appreciated by such enlightened people as well as by your superiors."

Dr. Lowe, the Medical Missionary at Neyyur, wrote to him in 1868:—

"Your straightforward upright character and conduct; your intelligence and moral worth have secured for you an enviable reputation and made you a powerful influence for good in this community, and have won my admiration, respect, and warmest esteem, and not mine only but of all good men who I have heard express an opinion regarding you and your administration."

Mr. M. Sadasiva Pillai, the eminent First Judge of the Sadar Court also wrote to him in the same year:—

"Allow me to take the opportunity of expressing to you the great pleasure I had in receiving while lately through your District, the testimony volunteered by such people as I met, to the earnest and patient attention paid by you to their wants and grievances."

Lord Napier, Governor of Madras, when he paid a visit to the London Mission quarters at Neyyur was very much pleased with the good reports he had received of the administration of the Division and spoke in high terms to the Maharajah remarking that Nanoo Pillai would make a good Dewan for him. He was transferred to the Trivandrum Division, and while there he acted as Dewan on six occasions. In the four months' interval between the retirement of Sir T. Madava Row and the appointment of Sashiah Sastri, he was appointed to act as Dewan and the Madras Government, in their Report on the Administration of the Madras Presidency (1872-1873), observed that during the interval Mr. Nanoo Pillai conducted the affairs of the State very creditably.

"The year was marked by a change in the Dewanship. Sir T. Madava Row, the late Dewan, was on leave from February to May 1872. At the expiry of his leave he retired. The Dewan Peishcar, Nanoo Pillay, was in charge from the commencement of the late Dewan's leave, and conducted the current duties of his post very creditably till relieved by the present Dewan, A. Sashiah Sastri, who was thus only connected with the administration for some two and a half months of the year now under review."

On the retirement of A. Sashiah Sastri, His Highness the Maharajah was pleased to appoint him as Dewan in Chingam 1053 M. E. (August 1877 A. D.). His attention was first drawn to the Revenue Settlement of the State for the efficient carrying out of which he introduced

what are called the *Pokkuvaravu* Rules as a preliminary step. According to these rules, several thousands of transfers of registries were effected, and if the scheme had been allowed to go on, it might have led to very satisfactory results, but it was abandoned by his successor the Honourable Mr. V. Ramiengar, C. S. I. His attention was also drawn to the irrigation of South Travancore and a scheme for the Kothayar Project was drawn up by him. The grounds were surveyed and the work was about to be commenced, but he did not remain in office to carry out the scheme. On the 15th September 1880, His Highness the Maharajah wrote offering him an honourable retirement and recognising his services thus:—

"In doing so I will fail in justice and fairness were I not to record in the strongest terms my high sense of your most faithful, devoted and valuable services to myself and to my lamented predecessor in several grades of the public service culminating in the highest office of the State, that of Prime-minister and responsible adviser. The State finances under a combination of causes coupled with your watchful care have risen to an unprecedented level, and the progress in the other administrative branches generally has been conspicuous."

Mr. Nanoo Pillai accordingly retired in 1880 on a handsome pension, spending most of his time in South Travancore where he devoted himself to literary pursuits. He wrote a history of Travancore beginning from the last quarter of the eighteenth century, but he did not live to complete it, nor were the finished portions published having been dissuaded by friends from doing so, as it was believed that certain facts which he brought to light and opinions which he expressed were not likely to be agreeable to all parties. This is a poor excuse, for a sketch of those troublous times from Nanoo Pillai's pen must be particularly valuable, as he was well acquainted with the period both from personal researches and by a study of the old records in the Resident's office where he had been long employed. I regret I have not had the benefit of reading his manuscript sketch in full in the writing of these pages. He quietly passed away on the 14th August 1886 in his residence at Trivandrum much regretted by the Sovereign, his numerous friends and relatives, and the community at large. He was a simple and unostentatious man, very sincere in his dealings with others and god-fearing and just in his actions. He was kind to his servants and dependents and courteous to all, and in his behaviour was a perfect gentleman in the true sense of the word. He was intensely religious and showed great respect for the opinions of the public in all questions of social and religious importance. He was a constant reader of the *Bhagavadgita* and the Bible; though an orthodox Hindu, he appreciated the good points of the Christian Scriptures, the result certainly

of the early influences under which he was brought up. He was a great pedestrian and in the earlier years he used to ride a good deal.

The new Dewan. Mr. Ramiengar was another distinguished Proficient and school-fellow of Rajah Sir Madava Row and Sir Sashiah Sastri, who had risen high in the British service. The Maharajah was acquainted with him for about twenty years and had several opportunities of estimating his ability and educational attainments. Sir Charles Trevelyan among others had borne high testimony to Ramiengar's character and abilities. It may be worth mentioning here that the name of Mr. Ramiengar was talked of in connection with the Travancore Dewanship even before Sashiah Sastri, his nomination having been strongly supported by *Visakham Tirunal*, then First Prince; and "but for the decided hostility of the Ruler to everything proceeding from the First Prince, V. Ramiengar's appointment as the successor of Sir Madava Row would have become an accomplished fact". Sashiah Sastri himself thus wrote to a friend on the subject:—"Ramiengar ought to have got it before me and was very near it in the race. But God willed it otherwise. He now gets it though out of turn. Yet it is all the same. ... ... May Heaven spare him long and give him good sense to be popular."

The financial condition of the State for 1055 M. E., was in the highest degree prosperous. The Madras Government observed in their G. O. dated 29th August 1881 :- -"It must have gratified the present Maharajah to learn that the first year of his reign was a year of unexampled prosperity; the weather was seasonable. The harvest was plenteous. Under almost every head of revenue there was a marked increase of income and the year closed with a surplus of nearly five lacs."

Reforms. The Maharajah started with an earnest desire to reform the administration in all its branches. It was mainly for this purpose that the old Dewan Nanoo Pillai was retired and Ramiengar, an officer of Madras experience, brought in to take his place. When the present writer informed Rajah Sir Madava Row then on a visit to Travancore, that His Highness' chief aim was the introduction of reforms in several directions, Sir Madava Row sarcastically remarked, "You mean changes. I suppose you know that all changes are not necessarily reforms". Sir Madava Row's meaning was clear. The present writer who has had twenty-five years' more experience of the country since that conversation took place, can now say that some at least of the changes then made were not beneficial to the State and

might have been avoided. But His Highness had made up his mind to commemorate his rule by a series of drastic changes, and as he had a prescience that his was destined to be a short life, he would not tarry nor allow himself to be thwarted in his designs.

Immediately on His Highness' accession to the throne, a Royal warrant was issued remitting all old arrears of assessment and other dues to the Sirkar to the extent of between eight and nine lacs of rupees, long left to hang over the ryots' head without any prospect of recovery but affording ample opportunities for oppression; the salaries of public servants were increased; a Committee was appointed for collecting and codifying the scattered Regulations, Proclamations and Notifications, and the import duty on tobacco was reduced with a view to diminish the scope for smuggling. The Police first engaged his attention. The old Police of the country was condemned as inefficient for the prevention and detection of crime. A Regulation (IV of 1056) was passed for the reorganisation of the entire force. To improve the administration of criminal justice the separation of the Police from the Magistracy was effected, the former being placed under the control and supervision of a separate officer.

The Judicial Department next engaged the Dewan's attention. The Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code were introduced into the Criminal Courts which were till then working on the model of these Codes, though they were not binding on them as legal enactments. This combined with the separation of the Police from the Magistracy necessitated a complete reorganisation of the judicial machinery. Two Regulations were passed, first the Civil Courts' Regulation, consolidating and amending the law relating to the Zillah and Munsiffs' Courts, and the second reconstituting the Sadar Court and making provision for the better administration of justice. The number of Sadar Court Judges was raised from three to five with a Chief Justice and four Puisne Judges, and a Pandit to advise on matters of Hindu law. The Munsiffs' Courts were invested with small cause jurisdiction; the number of Zillah Judges was reduced, and the salary of all the judicial officers was increased.

The improvement of the Revenue clerical staff was the next matter dealt with. In 1057 M. E., the Division and Taluq establishments were slightly revised. In 1058 the Salt Department which was till then placed under the supervision of the Dewan Peishcars was thoroughly reorganised and placed on an efficient footing. A Deputy Peishcar was appointed to devote his whole time to it and placed under the orders of the Dewan.

But the most important of the administrative measures introduced in this reign was the Revenue Survey and Settlement. The want of a systematic survey and settlement had been long felt and acknowledged by successive administrations to be an imperative need.

"In importance and magnitude it far surpasses any administrative measure ever undertaken, since the consolidation of the State into its present form. The initial difficulties of the step were equal only to the urgency all along felt for it. Travancore is remarkably a land of small holdings and her revenue system like the English Common Law of pre-Benthamite times, is a dissolving mass of the debris of ages. The curious tangle of contorted anachronisms known as her land tenures, is sufficient to perplex and overawe the boldest of revenue reformers and for years together a scheme of revenue settlement was more talked of than attempted."*

In March 1883, a meeting of the principal landholders of the country was convened at the capital at which the views of Government were explained by the Dewan and co-operation from the people was solicited. The Dewan concluded his address as follows:—

"Whatever may be the ultimate decision of His Highness' Government on all or any of those points, and whatever the principles which may be ultimately laid down for the guidance of the officers employed in the settlement operations, I believe I may safely assure you of this—that the object of His Highness' Government in seeking to introduce a revenue survey and settlement is not so much to increase the revenue as to ascertain the extent and resources of the country; to define and fix the boundaries of properties; to obtain accurate registers of lands; to investigate and record the various tenures under which property is held; to fix and limit the Government demand, to equalize—not to enhance—the pressure of the assessment on land; to remove the various anomalies which now disfigure the revenue administration and press more or less on the springs of industry; to give perfect freedom of action in taking up or relinquishing land; to impart perfect security of title to the holders, and thus promote the well-being of the agricultural classes and the general prosperity of the State. In valuing and assessing land—whether rice lands or gardens—on the most approved principles, modified where necessary to suit local peculiarities, moderation will be our cardinal and guiding principle of action, for His Highness' Government is convinced that a fixed and moderate assessment on land lies at the foundation of all progress in an agricultural country like India. The Government have no wish to take from the land-holders anything more than is absolutely necessary to meet the wants of good administration, for His Highness' Government is equally convinced that all margin of profits after meeting the expenses of cultivation, the Government demand and the necessaries of life, will fructify a hundred-fold more in the pockets of the people than in the hands of Government."

Steps were soon taken to bring the scheme into operation. Regulation III of 1058 was enacted providing for the registration of titles to land, for the establishment and maintenance of boundary marks, and for the settlement of boundary disputes. It conferred the necessary powers on

* H. H. Sir Rama Varma: A Biographical Sketch by Professor Sundaram Pillai, M. A.

the settlement officers and others for the carrying out of these important objects. A Royal Proclamation was also issued on the 26th May 1883, in which the intention to introduce a Revenue Survey and Settlement was formally announced, and all proprietors and occupants of lands and all revenue officers were called upon to aid and co-operate in the work.

Among other measures may be mentioned the introduction of intramural labour into jails on a systematic plan, the remission of minor oppressive taxes, the abolition of certain compulsory services, the second systematic enumeration of the population of the State along with the general Census of India, the starting of Agricultural Exhibitions and Cattle-shows, the encouragement of native industries, the introduction of a Stamp Act, the remission of assessment on coffee lands, the abolition of the export duty on various articles, the extension of elementary education by the offer of grants-in-aid, the abolition of the import duty on opium, and the improvement and extension of the irrigation system of South Travancore.

Travancore—Cochin boundary. The long-pending boundary disputes between Travancore and Cochin were settled by arbitration in the early part of this reign. Mr. Hannyngton, British Resident, was appointed Arbitrator. There were five territorial cases, in all of which the Travancore Government advanced the plea of *Res judicata*, which however was disallowed. The cases were then heard on their merits. The Irinjalakoda case was decided in favour of Travancore (19th March 1881), and on Cochin's Appeal to the Madras Government the Arbitrator's decision was upheld. This confirmed the Maharajah of Travancore's right to appoint a person to the office of *Thachudaya Kymal* to manage the affairs of the Irinjalakoda temple situated in Cochin territory. The Maharajah highly valued this privilege as it was a question of sentiment; otherwise it was of little importance considering that Travancore has within its own territories several thousands of temples under State management.

The remaining four cases were all decided by the Arbitrator in favour of Cochin. But on appeal,

(a) In the Idiyaramade case involving a large extent of territory, the original award was reversed and the Idiyara Range of hills adjudged to Travancore.

(b) In the three Devaswam cases (Elangoonnapuzha, Annamanada and Perumanam), the right of sovereignty was declared to vest in Cochin, but the right of management of the pagoda and their endowments were

awarded to Travancore. This was an inconvenient privilege, as later events showed.

Chief political events. In 1056 M. E. (October 1880), His Highness was honoured with a visit from His Grace the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, Governor of Madras.

In January 1882, His Highness the Maharajah went on a tour to upper India. He visited the three chief Presidency capitals and other important cities such as Poona, Jabhulpur, Allahabad, Benares &c. On his return journey His Highness visited Indore in response to the Holkar's invitation and received a cordial welcome. His Highness returned to his capital on the 22nd March 1882. He made the acquaintance of Lord Ripon and the Governors of Madras and Bombay who were all favourably impressed with him.

On the 23rd May, His Highness received a telegram from His Excellency the Viceroy intimating His Highness' appointment as "Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India." Sir M. E. Grant Duff in his Queen's Birthday speech gracefully alluded to "the selection of the Maharajah of Travancore, a typical example of the influence of English thought upon the South Indian mind, for the highest class of the Star of India". The presentation ceremony took place at Madras on the 1st February 1883. In presenting to His Highness the Insignia of the Star, Sir M. E. Grant Duff said:—

"Called by the customs of your country and the laws of an ancient line to rule over one of the fairest and most interesting realms which Asia has to show, after having applied yourself with much success to study the learning of the West, Your Highness has fulfilled your trust, so as to merit and to obtain the approval of Our August Sovereign Her Majesty the Queen, Empress of India. ... ... Long may you wear them amidst the affection of your people, secure from all external foes under the guarantee of the great British peace, and long may you continue to co-operate with those who from time to time are commissioned to govern the Madras Presidency and to take part in the process of bringing the young civilisation of the West to breathe a new and higher life into the old civilisation of the East. It is particularly agreeable to me to be the agent of conveying to you this recognition in the presence of several members of your illustrious family, one of whom* has herself received a high and peculiar mark of Sovereign favour. It is well, too, that this ceremony should take place in this Noble Hall, where Your Highness is surrounded by the European public of Madras, by all of whose members you are esteemed, surrounded too by its Native public, to whose members you are a representative man, and who feel an honour done to you to be an honour done to them."

In the same year 1059 M. E. (1883-1884 A. D.), His Highness undertook a religious trip to Ramesvaram, on the centenary of a similar pilgrimage undertaken by his illustrious ancestor, the famous Rama Rajah, in

* Her Highness the late Senior Rani, Lakshmi Bayi, C. I.

959 M. E. (1784 A. D.). This trip to Ramesvaram was a necessary sequel to a pilgrimage to Benares which His Highness had already undertaken.

The Maharajah's personal traits. The personal influence which His Highness exerted on the general service of the State was truly remarkable. Corruption was thoroughly rooted out in the State and the offenders were sometimes severely dealt with. He never minced matters. What he felt he said and what he said he carried out. He was a power for good as well as for evil. As a European friend told me at the time His Highness died, his death was a great loss to the country. He added, "If you did your duty honestly, you had nothing to fear. You felt that there was one man in the kingdom who will back you up through thick and thin". To quote a biographer of His Highness:—"In earnest and indefatigable application to business, he was a model for the whole service to follow. It is very doubtful whether any member of the service was harder worked than the Maharajah on the throne. His daily routine was a routine of incessant labour.' It is certainly remarkable to record that in spite of this heavy work in connection with the administration of the country, every detail of which he mastered, His Highness found time to continue his old habits of reading and writing. He took every opportunity to encourage the arts and industries of the land. He was their true patron. Scientific studies and pursuits always formed his leisure-hour occupation, and the scientific societies of Europe soon recognised his abilities and conferred honours on him. His Highness was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society, a Fellow of the Geographical Society, a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and a Fellow of the Statistical Society of London. The French Government admitted him to the Order of *Officier de l' Instruction Publique*. He was also made *Member de la Societte ettute Colonial a Maritime Paris*.

For composition he had a special bent and he aspired to distinction in it. The following are some of his contributions:—

(1) An essay on 'The horrors of War and benefits of Peace'

(2) 'A Political Sketch of Travancore'—an Article in the *Madras Athenæum*.

(3) 'Topics for Mr. F. N. Maltby'—a series of letters in the *Indian Statesman*, from the pen of 'Brutus'.

(4) A pamphlet addressed to Sir George Clark, defending the State policy of religious neutrality in public instruction.

(5) A pamphlet addressed to Mr. J. B. Norton on the Educational value of Sanskrit literature.

(6) Lectures on 'Human Greatness', 'The Relation between Nature and Art', 'Our Morals', and 'Our Industrial Status'.

(7) Descriptive pamphlets on the *Murajapam*, *Tulabharam* and the *Hiranyagarbham* ceremonies.

(8) 'A Native Statesman'—an Article in the *Calcutta Review*.

(9) Treatises on 'Truth', 'Education', 'Health', and 'Good deeds'.

(10) Memoranda on general departmental reforms and other special subjects as the Artesian well, &c.

(11) Translations into Malayalam from 'Maunder's Treasury of Biography'; Article on 'Astronomy' in the Encyclopædia, &c.

(12) Paper addressed to Sir M. E. Grant Duff on 'Observations on Higher Education'.

(13) And lastly his Diaries which he used to fill in with unerring punctuality for upwards of twenty-five years; these however are now a sealed book to the public.

His Highness did not neglect the religious ceremonies and rites prescribed for his position but performed them with zeal and genuine piety. His Highness was austere in his habits; he spoke of himself as *Rajyasrama Muni* in one of his letters. He added, 'If God gives me sufficiently long life, I may become a *Vannyasrama Muni*. But he was not spared to realise his hopes and the hopes of his subjects. He was cut off in the midst of a bright and useful career. As His Highness the present Maharajah gracefully observed of him with excellent taste and feeling in his Installation speech:—

"Coming as I do after an illustrious line of ancestors—not the least eminent and wise of whom have been my two lamented Uncles, His Highness the late Maharajah and his immediate predecessor—I feel all the more my own unworthiness to fill a position to which they have done so much honour. And above all, I am full of faith and hope and devoutly pray that the Author of all good, who in His infinite and inscrutable wisdom has seen fit to cut short a most useful and valuable life in the midst of a bright and successful career, may 'what in me is dark illumine, what is low raise and support'; guide me in the straight path of my duty; give me the will and power to follow in the footsteps of him whose premature loss we all deplore."

The Maharajah's Demise. About the end of July 1885, His Highness fell ill and quietly passed away on the evening of the 4th of August following. The Resident Mr. Hannyngton in communicating the sad event to the Madras Government wrote:—

"I feel that by the death of His Highness the State of Travancore has met with a great misfortune. His entire abilities and energies were devoted with a single eye to the welfare of his country. To this end he personally worked vigorously and unselfishly and by his unsullied character and strenuous efforts to maintain a pure administration, he has set an example which will ever be remembered throughout his dominions and which will bear good fruit in the future. He lived not for himself but for his people and has conscientiously performed the promise he made in his inaugural speech, to endeavour to secure good Government and progressive happiness to his subjects."

This is high praise and every word of it was fully deserved, as all who knew His Highness personally could testify. Mr. Hannyngton was not on the best of terms with the Maharajah and yet he was deeply moved on hearing of His Highness' demise and burst into tears, repeatedly telling those about him that the country's loss was incalculable.

In his memorable essay on the duties of a man and a Prince, which Emperor William wrote as a boy, he said:—

"I rejoice to be a prince, because my rank in life will give me many opportunities to help others. I am far from thinking myself better than those occupying other positions, I am, on the contrary, fully aware that I am a man exposed to all the frailties of human nature; that the laws governing the action of all classes alike apply to me too; and that with the rest of the world I shall one day be held responsible for my deeds. To be an indefatigable learner and striver for the good of my country shall be the one aim of my public life." *

These words might well have proceeded from the pen of *Visakham Tirunal*, for he had truly dedicated his life to the service of his people and devoted it wholly "to be an indefatigable learner and striver for the good of his country".

In His Highness was realised Lord Curzon's ideal Native Ruler who according to him,

"must justify and not abuse the authority committed to him; he must be the servant as well as the master of his people. He must learn that his revenues are not secured to him for his own selfish gratification, but for the good of his subjects; that his internal administration is only exempt from correction in proportion as it is honest; and that his *gadi* is not intended to be a divan of indulgence but the stern seat of duty. His figure should not merely be known on the polo-ground, or on the race course, or in the European hotel. These may be his relaxations, but his real work, his princely duty, lies among his own people."

His Highness knew again

"that the secret of successful Government is personality. If he expects his officials to follow an example, he himself must set it. If he desires to conquer torpor or apathy, he must exhibit enthusiasm. Everywhere he must be to his people the embodiment of sympathetic interest, of personal authority, of

* The (London) Times of Saturday, 10th March 1888.

dispassionate zeal. There is no position to which a prince who fulfils this conception may not aspire in the affections of his countrymen, and there is scarcely any limit to his capacity of useful service to the State." *

The present Maharajah and the late *Visakham Tirunal* are the two Native sovereigns who best answer to Lord Curzon's foregoing description in this part of India.

Rajah Sir Madava Row who was 'the apt tutor to this apt pupil', writing from his retirement in Mylapore, thus summed up the good points of the Maharajah's life in his *Notes by a Native Thinker*, under which title he contributed a series of articles to *The Madras Times*. He commended the Maharajah's "great and good qualities, as worthy of attention or imitation by Native Princes in general". These were:—

(1) The good of his subjects was the dominant object of his life.

(2) He was conscientiously faithful to the cardinal principles of good Government.

(3) He was sensible of the importance of having a good Minister, and a staff of good subordinates.

(4) He abstained from needless or mischievous interference with the Administration of his country.

(5) He respected and valued ability, but hated corruption.

(6) He banished dishonest influence and intrigues from the Palace.

(7) He avoided extravagance in personal enjoyments.

(8) The Civil List or Palace expenditure was well limited and seldom exceeded.

(9) He fostered Judicial purity and independence.

(10) He was an earnest promoter of public education.

(11) He was a strong advocate of moderation in public taxation.

(12) He was liberal in advancing useful public works.

(13) He was attentive to the wants and wishes of his subjects.

(14) He allowed his reforming zeal to be restrained by his knowledge of the conservative disposition of his people, whose contentment he valued especially.

(15) He was cautious and sparing in changing old and long established institutions and usages.

(16) He preferred the solid to the showy.

(17) He was not capricious or vacillating, but deliberate and decisive, firm and courageous.

(18) He was above the reach of flattery.

(19) He kept himself well informed of the past and of the present.

(20) He was sincerely loyal to the British Government.

(21) He was courteous and gentlemanly to all.

(22) He was scrupulously veracious.

* Lord Curzon's Banquet speech at Gwalior, 29th November 1899.

(23) He was sparing in his promises, but sure in performance.

(24) His word was as good as his bond.

(25) His ways were straight, short, and simple, never crooked or underground. *

Such a testimony it would be difficult to believe were it not confirmed by my own personal knowledge; and coming as it did from so exalted a personage as Rajah Sir Madava Row K. C. S. I., closely acquainted with the Maharajah since his boyhood, and least inclined to flatter him even during his life, added to the consensus of public opinion in his favour both in and out of Travancore, one might fairly be justified in styling *Visakham Tirunal* the Marcus Aurelius of Travancore history. In fact what was said of a great European contemporary monarch could well be applied to him.

"His character was grave, earnest and invincibly upright; his piety was deep, simple and unaffected, and love of his country was his one absorbing passion. He had a keen sense of duty and an invincible devotion to it, a clear perception of his country's interests, and he possessed the hereditary gift of the family—that of recognising capacity when he saw it and of choosing and supporting the men who could do the work which the country wanted." †

Lord Roberts remarked of His Highness:—

"The late Maharajah was an unusually enlightened Native. He spoke and wrote English fluently; his appearance was distinguished and his manners those of a well-bred courteous English gentleman of the old school. His speech on proposing the Queen's health was a model of fine feeling and fine expression". ‡

His late Highness is known as Rama Varma the learned, and Sir M. E. Grant Duff referred to him as "a typical example of the influence of English thought upon the South Indian mind". If he had not been born in the purple and not destined to occupy a throne, he might have shone as one of the greatest Indian worthies embraced in the pages of history. Such were his great attainments, high principles and force of character. He endeavoured to squeeze into five short years of his reign the work of a whole life-time, for he believed in the Poet's ideal, "One crowded hour of glorious life is worth an age without a name".

* The Madras Times, 12th August 1885,—Notes by N. T.

† The (London) Times 10th March 1888.

‡ Forty-one Years in India, Vol. II. Page 388.

SIR RAMA VARMA (*Mulam Tirunal*), G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E.

Ascended the Musnud, 5th Chingam 1061 M. E. / 19th August 1885 A. D.

Accession. The late Maharajah was succeeded by his nephew, His Highness Rama Varma the present Maharajah, who had already been recognised as heir by the Madras Government in their Proceedings No. 257 dated the 10th June 1880. His Highness accordingly ascended the ancient musnud of his ancestors on the 19th August 1885, at the early age of twenty-eight. A Public Installation was held with due ceremonies and amidst the rejoicings of the whole population.

Early studies. His Highness was born on the 25th September 1857, under the star *Mulam*. His father was Raja Raja Varma, a member of the family of the Changanachery Koil Tampurans, and a cultured and polished nobleman and an eminent Sanskrit scholar. He was the uncle and *guru* of the present Valia Koil Tampuran, Kerala Varma, C. S. I. His Highness' mother Rani Lakshmi Bayi, the only sister of the late and penultimate Maharajahs was a most talented and accomplished lady. She died at the early age of twenty-eight, a few days after His Highness was born leaving only two infant sons, the present Maharajah and his elder brother the late *Hastam Tirunal*.

After the usual Vernacular studies, the two Princes were placed under the tuition of one Mr. Annaji Row, B. A., and then under that of the late Mr. Raghunatha Row, B. A., a singularly able man who subsequently became one of the Dewan Peishcars of the State. The tutor was fully alive to the importance of his charge and he performed his duties with zeal and intelligence. Prince *Hastam Tirunal* had to give up his studies in 1870 A. D., owing to ill-health and the present Maharajah, then Third Prince, remained the only pupil under tution. Regarding the progress of the two Princes' studies, Sir Madava Row writes in his Administration Report for 1044 M. E. (1868-1869) :—

"The Royal pupils manifest great natural intelligence and by no means inconsiderable application to study. Besides their regular lessons, means of general information are placed in their reach, of which they fully avail themselves. They take more exercise than before and are being familiarized with European manners by occasionally attending the social gatherings of their English friends. They are supplied with some newspapers, of which the London Illustrated paper has particular attraction for them. A small but neat country-house, amidst a garden, is being built for their use, on a prettily situated hill in the environs of the town; which promises to become their favourite resort for health and recreation. ... .. With continued and perhaps somewhat increased

care and attention, they are sure not only of comparing favourably in moral and intellectual attainments with any Native Princes of their age in India, but of proving themselves worthy scions of the Royal Family of Travancore."

In his Report for the following year 1045 M. E. (1869-1870), Sir Madava Row wrote:—

"The studies of the young Princes embraced during the year.

Reading—

History—Goldsmith's Rome, 130 pages (from the creation of the Decemviri to the establishment of the first Triumvirate).

Geography—of Europe and Asia, 113 pages.

Arithmetic—Examples in Decimals, Single and Double Rule of Three. and the rules for finding the Square root.

Grammar—a portion of Sullivan's.

"They read also several miscellaneous works calculated to instruct and amuse them; and to keep them informed on current topics, the 'Illustrated London News,' the 'Madras Mail', and a couple of local newspapers have been supplied. In the beginning of the current year, Mr. Ross examined the Princes by means of written papers in Arithmetic and History and *viva voce* in other subjects. The result was on the whole satisfactory. The elder Prince has unhappily not enjoyed good health, and under medical advice was obliged to suspend his studies for a time. In the study of Sanskrit, both Princes appear to have progressed favourably. They now mix more than before in European society and are thus brought under the influences calculated to expand their minds. Physical Education has not been wholly neglected. The Princes ride and walk a good deal more than previously. Mr. R. Ragoonatha Row, B. A., the English tutor to the young Princes, is using his best endeavours in the important work confided to him. In general knowledge and in principles of conduct, they manifest a marked improvement pregnant with gratifying promise for the future."

Further progress was reported next year 1046 M. E. (1870-1871).

"His Highness the Second Prince has unhappily not been in the enjoyment of health, and had to give up his studies during the year under Medical advice, and His Highness the Third Prince (present Maharajah) alone remained under instruction. The work done during the year was both greater in quantity and superior in quality. Several new subjects were taken up, comprising Euclid, Algebra, Indian History and Poetry. In addition to the set lessons of the day, the Prince went through a good deal of miscellaneous reading both out of books and newspapers."

Long before his regular studies commenced, the Prince's intelligence was noticed by Sir William and Lady Denison when they visited Travancore in 1862. He was then quite a child and had perhaps just been initiated into the alphabet. Lady Denison writes in her journal:—"They (the Ranis) were followed into the room by two little boys, nephews of of the Rajah; one eight years old, the other five. These were dressed, the elder in yellow, the younger in white satin, a good deal embroidered, and came in attended by a man servant: ... ... the younger was a nice

intelligent little fellow, who spoke three or four words in English very well." * The present Maharajah was the "nice intelligent little fellow" referred to as having spoken "three or four words in English very well"; he then was a child of five years of age. The tuition continued until January 1874 when Mr. Raghunatha Row was appointed District Judge at Quilon. It was then deemed unnecessary to continue the office of tutor, the Prince having attained his majority and having made sufficient progress to pursue his further studies without a mentor. He had acquired a good knowledge of English and Sanskrit and a good grounding in political studies. Mr. Griffith in his *India's Princes* (published in 1894) thus refers to His Highness' early studies and accomplishments:—

"His Highness the present Maharajah was principally educated under a private tutor (now holding the position of Dewan Peishcar—Deputy Dewan) assisted by the then Principal of the Maharajah's College. Under the zealous care of these gentlemen, His Highness received a thorough training in all the ordinary branches of an English education; provision was made at the same time for his acquiring a knowledge of Sanskrit, which is considered an essential part of a Hindu liberal education. The Maharajah writes English with ease, and with a very creditable knowledge of idioms. He has long shown a taste for music, including English instrumental music, and at times has the brigade band at one of his suburban residences to play European pieces to him. The band is entirely composed of natives, with the exception of the bandmaster, who is of European descent, and whose family, for three generations, has held the appointment. His Highness, before he assumed the responsibilities of government, used to be very fond of lawn-tennis, and was a fairly good player, and even now enjoys a quiet game in the courts of the British Resident, or of the officer commanding the Brigade; he has also been known to find pleasure in being conducted by a European lady partner through the figures of the lancers or the Sir Roger de Coverly."

The Public Installation took place on the 19th August 1885. A full dress Durbar was held on the occasion in the old Audience Hall in the Fort, at which the British Resident, the Commandant of the Subsidiary force at Quilon, and many European ladies and gentlemen and Native officials were present. In congratulating His Highness, Sir M. E. Grant Duff the Governor of Madras wrote:—

"I have already had the pleasure of congratulating you on your succession to the high dignity you are now assuming, and I embrace the present opportunity of again felicitating you, and expressing the earnest hope that your reign may be long and happy, honourable to yourself and a blessing to the people committed to your care."

On that auspicious occasion His Highness addressed the assembly as follows:—

"I little expected that at the early age of twenty-eight I would be called upon to undertake the grave responsibilities of a Ruler; and coming as I do after

* Varieties of Vice-Regal Life, Vol. II. Page 213.

an illustrious line of ancestors—not the least eminent and wise of whom have been my two lamented Uncles, His Highness the late Maharajah and his immediate predecessor—I feel all the more my own unworthiness to fill a position to which they have done so much honour. But when thus filled with a sense of my own incapacity, I must confess to a feeling of thankfulness that I see not a little in the circumstances in which I am placed to encourage and cheer me. This ancient kingdom under the fostering care of my predecessors has entered on a career of material prosperity never before known; the finances are in a flourishing condition, and the foundations of future prosperity have been laid broad and deep. I have therefore only to work on the lines chalked out for me; and in endeavouring to do this, it is no small consolation to me that I shall have the cordial aid and counsel of the British Representative at my Court, and the support and protection of the Paramount Power, to whose fortunes those of my House are fortunately indissolubly linked; from whom in the long course of our happy connection we have never experienced anything but uniform kindness and friendship, and to whom we have always owed and will continue to owe unswerving loyalty. And above all, I am full of faith and hope and devoutly pray that the Author of all good, who in His infinite and inscrutable wisdom has seen fit to cut short a most useful and valuable life in the midst of a bright and successful career, may 'what in me is dark, illumine, what is low, raise and support'; guide me in the straight path of my duty; give me the will and power to follow in the footsteps of him whose premature loss we all deplore, and enable me, to the best of the light vouchsafed to me, to strive to promote the well-being and happiness of the nearly two and a half millions of peaceful and industrious subjects so unexpectedly committed to my care."

The two-and-a-half millions of twenty years ago have now increased to three millions. On that same day His Highness issued a *Neet* or Royal warrant remitting old arrears of assessment to the extent of three-and-a-half lacs of rupees, also another authorizing an annual grant of Rs. 1,500 for the repair and construction of wells in localities where drinking water was scarce and a third directing attention to be paid to the timely repair of religious institutions.

The five years' reign of his illustrious uncle which came to a close in the third quarter of 1885, had raised the State to a high standard of excellence, and it was therefore no small merit in His Highness, young as he was, to have taken up the reins of Government where they were left, and carried on the duties of his high trust with that ease and efficiency which would have done credit to one of maturer years. The genuine tributes of praise officially recorded by successive Dewans and British Residents and the highly eulogistic compliments paid from time to time by Viceroys and Governors and other distinguished authorities who have personally known His Highness and have had opportunities of judging of his rule, added to the repeated encomiums passed by the Madras Government on the Travancore Administration during these twenty years, relied upon in this narrative, will bear testimony to this fact, a testimony which I am sure is not likely to be surpassed in the near future.

For the first year and a half of His Highness' rule, Mr. Ramiengar continued to be Dewan and vigorously carried on the Survey and Settlement work he had begun. In 1061 M. E. (1885-1886), two important Royal Proclamations were issued, one sketching out the general plan of the Revenue Survey and Settlement and laying down the principles and procedure to be observed in carrying out these operations, and the other providing for a searching enquiry being instituted into the condition of the holders of the *Viruthi* or Service-tenures and for the rearrangement of the service itself in consonance with the altered economic conditions of the country. The other reforms of the year were chiefly concerning the Judicial Department. They were:—

1. Regulation II of 1061 was passed by which a single Judge of the High Court was authorised when sitting as a Vacation Judge to dispose of applications for staying execution of decrees of the Civil Courts and to suspend sentences of Criminal Courts. This was found necessary in order to avoid two Judges sitting during the vacation.

2. Regulation IV of 1061 authorised the execution in Travancore of the decrees of the Civil Courts in British India and the Cochin State, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General and His Highness the Rajah of Cochin having granted similar concessions to the decrees of the Travancore Courts. A set of rules was framed by the High Court prescribing the mode of execution of such decrees.

3. A set of rules was also passed prescribing the qualifications for Munsiffs and Vakils, the British Government and the University legal tests being adopted for the purpose.

Retirement of Dewan Ramiengar. In January 1887, Mr. Ramiengar retired on a handsome pension of Rs. 700 and proceeded to Madras to enjoy a well-earned repose. Mr. Ramiengar was Dewan of Travancore for six years, during which he worked with zeal and ability. His Highness the Maharajah on accepting his resignation wrote to him a highly eulogistic letter in the following terms:—

"You have brought to bear upon the administration of Travancore all the experience acquired during a long and distinguished service under the British Government and of association with the most prominent men in the Madras service. Combined with a firmness of purpose and an untiring energy, you have been able to lay your plans in material wisdom, and carry them out with vigour undaunted by the obstacles which beset your path. I need not recount the various measures of reform you have carried out; how almost every branch of the Public Service has been improved, and how the finances had prospered and been placed on a secure footing during the last six years of your administration;

your last and greatest work, the Revenue Survey and Settlement, so full of promise alike to the public exchequer as well as to the landholders when successfully carried out on the lines laid down by you, will, I am sure, ever remain a lasting monument of your administration. You have, in fact, during the past six years imparted an impetus to the national prosperity the full force of which remains to be felt."

The British Resident Mr. Hannyngton thus referred to his work in Travancore :—

"On the occasion of the retirement of Mr. Ramiengar, I desire to express my high appreciation of the important services he has rendered to the Travancore State during the period of over six years' tenure of the office of Dewan. The record of his administration is before Government, and it only remains for me to express my admiration of the ability, firmness and zeal with which he steadily carried out, in the face of no little ignorant opposition, measures which experience has shown to be generally beneficial. The measures introduced by Ramiengar by which he will be chiefly remembered in the State, are probably the inauguration of the Revenue Settlement and Survey and the establishment of a sound system of Police. One very important effect of his administration which does not appear on the surface, and which I will here mention, is that under his firm administration, the general tone as well as the efficiency of the Public service has considerably improved."

Mr. V. Ramiengar, C. S. I., came to Travancore as Dewan after retirement from the British service, where he had distinguished himself as a very able and practical official. His Highness the late Maharajah (*Visakham Tirunal*) had known him for twenty years and had formed a high opinion of him. This is what His Highness himself wrote of him (of course anonymously) in the *Calcutta Review* of April 1883, in connection with the Travancore-Cochin arbitration:—

" The new Maharajah earnestly wished to strengthen his hands by securing the services of the ablest and most reliable available man as his minister. He had known Mr. V. Ramiengar for nearly twenty years, and was on intimate terms with him. Mr. Ramiengar had risen by dint of his eminent abilities and force of character to the highest rung of the service under the Madras Government yet open to natives; and he deservedly stood highest among natives in the estimation and confidence of that Government. Apart from other considerations, Mr. Ramiengar's intimate acquaintance with the spirit of the Madras Government at their very headquarters commended itself to the Maharajah, and he sought and obtained the services of Mr. Ramiengar as his Dewan."

He was fifty-five years old when he was called to the Dewanship of Travancore.

Career of V. Ramiengar, C. S. I. Ramiengar was one of the six students that entered the Government High School when it was first established in April 1841 by the Government of Lord Elphinstone. The class fellows of Ramiengar were Rajah Sir T. Madava Row the Statesman, Shadagopacharulu the First Native Pleader of the Madras High Court, and the First Native Member of the Madras Legislative Council;

Mr. Basil Lovery the well-known Eurasian educationist; Mr. M. Sadasiva Pillai the distinguished Native Judge who presided over the Chief Court of Travancore for several years, and that great scholar Dinadayalu Naidu who lived a life of indifferent health and died a premature death owing to over-study and consequent mental derangement. All these six obtained their Proficient's Degrees with honours. Ramiengar studied diligently spending the midnight oil, and earned one of the stipendiary scholarships founded fortunately at this juncture by the trustees of Pachaiyappa's charities in the Government High School with a view to encourage the higher education of deserving youths. About the scholarship which enabled him to prosecute his studies without requiring the assistance of his parents, he always spoke in grateful terms in after-life. When the time came for him to repay the help he had thus received, he instituted a scholarship in the Science branch, which is offered to this day to an under-graduate prosecuting his studies for the B. A. Degree in Pachaiyappa's College. When his school course was over, the late Sir Thomas Pycroft, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, appointed him a Translator in the Mahratta Cutchery. The position of Translator in the Revenue Cutchery gave him numerous opportunities of studying the history of the system of Revenue administration in the Madras Presidency, and prepared him for active life in the higher grades of the Revenue and Financial departments of the Public service. By his ability and diligence he soon won the confidence of the European Collectors and Secretaries. He soon became Head Moonshi at Nellore and then Deputy Registrar under the Chief Secretary to Government. In 1855 he became Naib Sheristadar in the Nellore District. In March 1857, he was appointed the Head Sheristadar of the District of Tanjore, when Mr. F. B. Elton the Collector of Nellore wrote of him:—"Such men are the true friends of their country, and in their several spheres do much to raise it in the scale of nations and in the estimation of all good men." From the Head Sheristadarship he became Deputy Collector, and in 1859 he was advanced by Sir Charles Trevelyan to the place of an Assistant under the Inam Commissioner, Mr. G. N. Taylor. He was again sent to Tanjore to carry out the Revenue Settlement of a portion of the District, then taxed under the old system called the *Olungu* Settlement. Sir Charles Trevelyan speaking at the Presidency College Anniversary in 1860 referred to Ramiengar thus:—"Another Native officer who belongs to the same class has just carried through a work of the highest consequence in the Revenue department in the Province of Tanjore, and his sterling ability and personal integrity are highly honourable, not only

to himself, but to the nation to which he belongs." In 1870 he wrote to Ramiengar: —

"We have reached another stage of the great question of the extended employment of the Natives of India. I shall be disappointed if you are not among the first to profit by the enlarged powers conferred upon the local Government. If you were employed in important public situations for a hundred years, you could not be charged with a more difficult or responsible task than the Olungu Settlement in Tanjore. You were recommended to me for the duty as being better qualified for it than any other person European or Native in the Presidency, and you acquitted yourself of it to everybody's satisfaction, without a breath of suspicion on your previous high character, although you had the fortunes of half the province in your hands."

After some further service in the Tanjore District, Ramiengar was appointed Acting Sub-Collector at Namakal where he remained three years. He was then appointed Assistant Commissioner of Paper Currency at Trichinopoly and then First Assistant to the Chief Secretary in January 1866. In 1867, he was appointed by Lord Napier's Government to the post of Stamp Superintendent on a salary of Rs. 1,000. In 1868, he was appointed an Additional Member of the Madras Legislative Council, which position he held for twelve years. His work in the Legislative Council was much appreciated. Sir Alexander Arbuthnot, sometime Acting Governor, spoke of him thus on a public occasion referring to the College founded by Lord Elphinstone's Government:—

"It was during that period that there was being educated a Native member of our Local Legislative Council—an institution at that time unthought of, who, I am bold to say, whether as regards the uprightness of his character, the excellence of his judgment, the honesty of his purpose, or the independence of his action, has not his superior in any one of the legislative bodies now at work in this great Indian Empire."

Ramiengar was Municipal Commissioner for the town of Madras for eight years. In May 1871, he was appointed a "Companion of the Order of the Star of India." His Excellency the Governor (Lord Napier of Ettrick and Merchiston) wrote to him:—

"I believe that the Insignia of the Order of the Star of India will shortly be forwarded to you by the Chief Secretary to Government in the usual official form. I avail myself of this occasion to convey to you once more my sincere congratulations on the honour which Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to confer upon you, and to assure you that my colleagues concur with me in a cordial feeling of satisfaction that you should have been selected for this mark of Her Majesty's favour, so well deserved by your high character, abilities and services to this Government."

In 1875, Ramiengar was appointed Inspector-General of Registration by Lord Hobart's Government. In January 1877, he had the honour of receiving the Commemoration Medal from His Excellency the Viceroy

and Governor-General. He sat on various committees on important public questions, such as those for the organisation of the Department of Public works; for revising the Madras Municipal Act; for preparing the Report on Vaccination in connection with the Municipality; for the revision of school books in use in the Madras Presidency; for preparing a Bill for regulating the administration of Hindu Religious institutions; for the reorganisation of the Municipal establishments; and for revising the establishment of the Sheriff's office and the Assay office, and the Village Munsiffs' Regulations of Sir Thomas Munro. He was besides Trustee of the Pachaiyappa's Charities in which capacity he rendered valuable service by judicious advice which the trustees gratefully acknowledged.

In 1880 he was called by the late Maharajah to the Dewanship of Travancore where his services for over six years had been highly appreciated, as shown in the testimonials of His Highness the present Maharajah and the late Mr. Hannyngton quoted above. The various improvements he was instrumental in bringing about have been already referred to. The most important of these was his scheme of Survey and Settlement, which defined the extent and value of all landed estates, gave an elasticity to the revenue and perceptibly improved the public exchequer so as to facilitate all measures of progress in the "Model State", besides being a reliable record to appeal to in every case of dispute about lands and boundaries. His masterly memorandum on the Travancore Settlement, dated 14th April 1885, is still an authority often referred to on questions connected with our land tenures and taxes.

Ramiengar died soon after retirement from Travancore, which deprived Madras of the fruits of his leisure, varied knowledge and experience. He was fond of reading and constantly enquired of his literary friends to suggest to him the latest publications in the book-world of real interest and value. I have seen him diligently make entries during intervals of business in a voluminous scrap-book which he kept, and out of which he used to read to friends bits of reading which he had noted and thoughts of the most eminent writers in English literature, containing some of the choicest expressions. He was a strong and earnest man, very conservative in matters of religion and social usages, but as an official, liberal in politics and decisive in action. He was rather brusque in manner and irritable, but at heart a good-natured man. His official despatches were of a high order. They were terse, accurate and powerful, very clearly and elegantly expressed—an excellence which he reached by writing and rewriting them times without number, and when finally issued from his pen they were

masterpieces of thought and diction rarely surpassed by even the best of his compeers and collaborateurs of the day. He had a fair knowledge of Sanskrit and of most of the South Indian Vernaculars. He had a musical voice which was seen to advantage in the recitation of Sanskrit slokas; he enjoyed music whenever opportunity afforded. He was a disciplinarian and a very active official during his whole life.

T. Rama Row, Dewan (1887—1892). Mr. Ramiengar was succeeded by Mr. T. Rama Row the Head Dewan Peishcar, an officer of ability, rectitude and experience.

Chief events. Rama Row's administration was happily ushered in with the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Her Majesty the late Queen-Empress of India. This unique event was celebrated with due pomp and splendour throughout the State on the 16th and 17th February 1887. A Public Durbar was held on the 16th idem to receive the Viceroy's *Kharita* in connection with the historic event. His Highness subscribed Rs. 10,000 to the Imperial Institute in London and Rs. 2,000 to the Technical Institute in Madras, started in commemoration of the event. Two memorials were also founded in Travancore, the 'Victoria Jubilee Town Hall' at the Capital, and the 'Victoria Medical School and Hospital for Women' in Quilon.

The *Kharita* was felicitously expressed in the following terms:—

"It is with sincere pleasure that I have heard of the preparations which Your Highness has made in order to commemorate, in a manner befitting the occasion, the fiftieth year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen, Empress of India. I shall not fail to inform Her Majesty of this spontaneous expression of loyalty and affection on your part. Queen Victoria's long tranquil rule has been marked throughout her wide dominions by the ever increasing prosperity and happiness of the millions entrusted to her charge. In India, it has established an uninterrupted and unbroken peace; and under its protecting shelter, the Ruling Chiefs of this country, undisturbed by the fear of invasion from without or of revolution from within, have been able to devote their time and attention to the welfare of their subjects and to the moral and material advancement of their States. I am happy to learn that Your Highness has so readily taken the opportunity afforded by this auspicious occasion to show your just appreciation of the great benefits you have experienced under the benign and beneficent rule of Her Majesty the Queen. I can assure you that it is our Gracious Sovereign's desire to extend to you, on all occasions, her warm sympathy and hearty assistance, to support your authority, enhance your personal consideration, and to maintain unbroken the cordial relations which have at all times subsisted between Her Majesty's Government and Your Highness."

At the Durbar after the *Kharita* was read, His Highness addressed the assembly in a speech from which the following may be extracted:—

"I need hardly say how grateful I am for the kindly assurances of good will contained in the letter which I have just had the honour of receiving from His Excellency the Viceroy, and for his appreciation of my humble efforts to celebrate this day in a manner befitting the occasion. I request his Representative, my friend here, to convey to His Excellency my warmest acknowledgments. It has pleased the Almighty to extend to half a century, a reign at once beneficent and glorious, and while we unite in thanks-giving for this great mercy, we likewise pray that He may vouchsafe to prolong it to the longest span. We are justly proud of our liege Lady—sitting enthroned on the four quarters of the globe and islands in every ocean—sending forth her ships to collect and distribute the material blessings of the earth, and her agents to carry everywhere the still higher blessings which humanise and elevate mankind—herself endowed with every virtue which can adorn a Sovereign or grace a woman. Her armies have marched to victory over forces mightier than her own, but never for vain-glory—her flag, wherever it flies, is the symbol of protection to the good and a sign in the air warning the wicked from his evil course. My House has been fortunate enough to ally itself to the great British power in India from the earliest times, and to that alliance I owe the Musnud on which I sit; for it saved the country at a critical time and has maintained it in peace ever since. To the influence of Her Majesty's supremacy is due also whatever of prosperity and enlightenment Travancore has attained to; for her Representatives have guided our footsteps in the path of progress, and her countrymen have contributed largely to raise our people and develop our resources."

The year 1062 M. E. (1886-1887) was also marked by the visit of the *Elaya Rajah* of Cochin.

In 1063 M. E., Lord Connemara the Governor of Madras visited Travancore and stayed three days in the capital as His Highness' guest. In honour of this visit, a Central Town market known as the 'Connemara Market' was opened in his name. In the course of his Banquet speech His Excellency said:—

"Travancore has been very happy in its rulers and for a very long time, I will not say how long, they have been distinguished by enlightenment and devotion to public duty. I have no doubt whatever that the present Maharajah will in these respects endeavour to excel the virtues of his predecessors. ... I know very well that in the administration of affairs His Highness has been of late extremely successful. I have had occasion during the last few days to read accounts of almost every branch of His Highness' administration and to visit many of the public institutions of the State, and I can tell you that almost every one seems to be in a prosperous condition. I think he has every reason to be satisfied with the advancement that his State has made during the last few years, and every reason to be thankful to the Almighty for the blessing and success that have attended his rule."

In the same year (1063 M. E), His Highness the Maharajah went on a tour to Bombay and Madras. Starting on the 19th January 1888, His Highness reached Bombay on the 11th February after halting at Pondicherry and Poona. At Bombay he had the pleasure of meeting Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, Lord and Lady

Reay, and His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore who happened to be there at the time. After a pleasant stay of nearly a fortnight, His Highness started from Bombay and reached Madras on the 29th idem, where he exchanged visits with His Excellency the Governor, and starting thence on the 8th March, His Highness and party reached Trivandrum on the 16th March *via* Shoranore and Cochin.

In 1064 M. E. (1888-1889), Her Gracious Majesty was pleased to nominate and appoint the Maharajah as "Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India". In response to the invitation of His Excellency the Governor of Madras who had been authorised to invest the Maharajah with the Insignia, His Highness left for Madras on the 23rd November 1888, accompanied by the Dewan and other officers. The investiture ceremony took place in the Banqueting Hall on the 4th December, and His Highness and party left Madras on the 9th idem and reached Trivandrum on the 17th.

The visit of His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor of Wales to Travancore, which took place in December 1889, was a memorable event in the annals of Travancore, as in the words of His Highness, "this is the first occasion on which any Ruler of Travancore has been privileged to receive and entertain a member of the Royal family of England". Grand preparations were made to give His Royal Highness a fitting reception. His Highness the Maharajah attended by the Dewan and other officers left Trivandrum on the 28th November and arrived at Courtallam to receive His Royal Highness there just beyond the frontiers of his dominions. The Prince arrived at the Residency on the 3rd December and was received by the Maharajah with all due honour. His Highness then received the visit of his distinguished guest in his own palace. After visiting the large pagoda and the celebrated waterfall which was brilliantly illuminated for the night, His Royal Highness accompanied by the Resident and party started early next morning in search of game for their camping grounds on the hills, where every facility was afforded by the Travancore officers under command of His Highness the Maharajah. They returned to Courtallam on the 10th idem and returned to Tinnevelly the next day. Meanwhile His Highness started for Trivandrum. His Royal Highness the Prince was much pleased with the visit and wrote to His Highness the Maharajah to say so, expressing his acknowledgments of the attention shown.

In January 1890, His Highness the Maharajah undertook another long tour to Benares, Calcutta and Upper India. The Presidency capitals

and other important towns, historical places, and places of pilgrimage and of great religious sanctity were all visited and His Highness returned to his capital on the 23rd March. This was the longest tour undertaken in this period and was accomplished without any mishap or accident. In November-December of the same year, His Highness went on a pilgrimage to Ramesvaram, and this completed the religious tours throughout India undertaken by His Highness. On the 19th Medam 1067 (April 1892), His Highness performed the *Tulapurushadanam*; and the other coronation ceremony, *viz.*, *Padmagarbham* was performed in Makaram 1069 (January 1894).

Chief reforms. The first place must be accorded to the establishment of the Travancore Legislative Council, in accordance with Regulation II of 1063 passed for the purpose. A Council was formed composed of eight members, five official and three non-official, with the Dewan as Ex-officio President. All Bills should in the first instance be introduced into and passed by the Council and then submitted to His Highness the Maharajah for sanction. Provision was also made for inviting public opinion by the publication of the Bills before they passed the Council. On an emergency, a Regulation might be passed without reference to the Council, but it would have force only for six months. The first meeting of this Council was held in September 1888. It has worked for these sixteen years and on the whole with great success—a fact testified to by its late President, Mr. Krishnaswamy Rao, C. I. E., who spoke thus on the day he bade farewell to it (27th February, 1904):—

"This being the last meeting over which I preside, I beg to thank you most heartily for your invaluable services to the State, and for the uniform courtesy and consideration shown to me by one and all of you. During my long connection with this Council extending over thirteen years, what impressed me most is the perfect harmony that has characterised the relations between the official and non-official members. This is mainly due to the intimate knowledge of the manners and customs of the people and of the real needs of the country, which all of you possess in common and your intense solicitude towards the protection of the interests of the public without unduly hampering the action of the Government and its officers. Judging from the smooth working of the Regulations passed by the Council, you and your predecessors have every reason to be proud of the good work you have done in providing the State with laws on many subjects in a form best suited to its requirements. The late lamented Resident Mr. H. B. Grigg observed that the progress of a country depended upon its legislature and the educational policy of its Government. I have no doubt that if he had lived he would have felt gratified with the progress hitherto made in legislation to which you have devoted your intelligence, industry, experience, judgment, and above all your sympathy with the public weal. On the perusal of the proceedings of this Council connected with the much contested Religious Endowments Bill introduced by our friend Mr. Nagam Aiya and carried out successfully, a very competent authority complimented the Council on the high

level of debate maintained by the official and non-official members. The Council has fully justified its establishment under the auspices of His Highness the Maharajah, who, with his characteristic foresight and solicitude for the public good, has provided the State with a regular constitution for enacting laws."

Several beneficial enactments were passed in this period tending to the advancement and prosperity of the people. In 1062 M. E. (1886-1887), a Proclamation was issued relieving the people from the obligation to pay penalties on documents executed on unstamped cadjans at a time when cadjans bearing a Government stamp were required to be used. Though the use of stamped cadjans was abolished in 1043 M. E., (1867-1868), still the penalties incurred for breach of that law in previous years continued to be levied whenever documents written on unstamped cadjans were produced in evidence. Another Proclamation was passed in the same year relinquishing the right of Government to the arrears of fees due on transfers of *Sirkar Pattom* lands effected prior to 1060 M. E. (1884-1885).

The Stamp law was amended in 1063 M. E. (1887-1888). Under the old Regulation I of 1059, the penalty for non-payment of stamp duty was very high and was found to be a source of hardship to the public. The penalty was now reduced from ten to five times the unpaid duty, and the Division Peishcars were empowered to remit or refund the penalty in particular cases. Regulations VI, VII and VIII of 1063 provided for the better administration of the Opium and Salt monopolies and the revenue from Tobacco, as the law relating to them was hitherto indefinite and unsatisfactory, causing inconvenience to the people and loss of revenue to the State.

A Royal Proclamation was issued in the same year (1887 A. D.), relinquishing the right of the Government to an *adiyara* or succession fee, equal to one-fourth of the property left by a person under the *Marumakkathayam* law of inheritance, when he died leaving no heirs but only distant kindred to succeed to the property. The Proclamation also relinquished the fee leviable in the case of persons belonging to certain *Makkathayam* classes such as the Kalachetties, dying without issue but leaving children of their sisters to succeed them. This impost was an unequal burden pressing only on certain classes of His Highness' subjects, while all others were exempt from the payment of any succession duty.

A peculiar usage by which a *Jenmi* (landlord) was deprived of some of his rights in property through no fault or failing on his part was also abandoned during the year by a Royal notification. When a tenant holding lands of a *Jenmi* died heirless, the Government under the law of

escheat succeeded to the rights of the deceased not as tenants but in the position of sovereign; the land was assessed with full *Pattom* minus the rent due to the *Jenmi*, converted into *Sirkar Pattom* tenure and sold by public auction, thus depriving the *Jenmi* of his rights as landlord to the fees payable on periodical renewal of the lease, to enhanced rent at certain periods and other customary dues payable by the tenant on occasions of marriage, death, &c. This was a serious injustice towards an important class of His Highness' subjects and was therefore removed by the above notification. The notification declared that the Sirkar could step into the rights of the deceased tenant not as sovereign but as tenant only in its relations with the *Jenmi*, and to whomsoever the land was transferred, the transferee stood in the same relation to the *Jenmi* as the deceased tenant.

By far the most beneficent measure of the year was the relief granted to the *Viruthikars* from the duty of supplying provisions at certain fixed rates considerably lower than those ruling in the market, and of rendering certain gratuitous services in connection with the tours of His Highness the Maharajah, the members of the Royal Family, Tampurans, &c. In regard to this measure, the Resident Mr. Hammyngton wrote in his Review dated 24th May 1889 :—

"Under the head of disbursements on account of religious and charitable institutions, I am glad to notice a most commendable effort has been made to remedy what has been a source of oppression. The Vritticars are persons to whom lands are given on condition of their supplying vegetables, milk &c., on the occasion of certain ceremonies. These persons were not allowed to give up their lands and were compelled to give these supplies at a fixed rate, which was very far indeed below the market value of the goods. These are now paid a fair price and the goods are as far as possible purchased in the open market. This is only one of the many instances in which it will be observed that the present administration is carefully attending to the interests of the poorer classes of the population."

And he concluded his Review with the following observations :—

"In paragraphs 584 to 614 inclusive, the Dewan sums up the administration work of the year pointing out the objects and results of the various measures adopted, and a perusal of this summary cannot, in my opinion, lead to any but the most satisfactory conclusion regarding the beneficial intentions of the Maharajah and his minister, and their careful, intelligent and successful conduct of the administration. The financial condition of the State is in every way satisfactory, and the conduct of business in all departments has been carefully attended to and has made commendable progress."

The Madras Government in their G. O., dated 12th July 1889, reviewing the Administration Report of Travancore for 1063 M. E. (1887-1888) observed :—

"The year 1063 was from a financial point of view very notable. The general condition of the country was prosperous, trade was active; and the

revenue of the State exceeded the amount realised in the preceding twelve-month, by about five lakhs and was at the same time much the highest on record. ... In conclusion the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council has much pleasure in once more congratulating His Highness the Maharajah and his Dewan M. R. Ry. Rama Row, on a prosperous and successful year. The large revenue and activity in trade which characterised it may soon be followed by diminished receipts and comparative depression, but no fears for the continued prosperity of the State need be entertained so long as its Ruler and his Minister are heartily anxious for the public weal, sensible of defects and ready to profit by advice. These qualities are manifested in many passages of the Report now before Government and bespeak a wise and enlightened administration."

In 1064 M. E. (1888-1889), a Regulation was passed for the better management of the Anchal service and for the regulation of postage duties. Postage labels of the values of one, two, and four chuckrams and post-cards of the value of half a chuckram were introduced, greatly to the convenience of the public.

A Royal Proclamation was issued in the same year by which the grain portion of the assessment on paddy lands was fixed at a uniform ratio, *i. e.*, 25 per cent of the total assessment in the Quilon and Kottayam Divisions, and 50 per cent in the Trivandrum and Padmanabhapuram Divisions, with the exception of a few Proverties in the latter Division where the proportion of grain had to be slightly enhanced. Hitherto the proportion in which tax was received in kind was not uniform, varying not only in different Taluqs but also in different Proverties and villages in the same Taluq. Several petty and personal but oppressive taxes were also abolished. And with a view to induce capitalists to increase the cultivable area of the country by reclaiming the shores of backwaters, a notification was issued in the same year permitting the ryots reclaiming such lands to enjoy them free of tax for five years and on a moderate tax of about Rs. 1½ per acre thereafter till the time of the Survey and Settlement.

With a view to give a stimulus to the study of Native medicine in which the bulk of the population, especially in the rural parts, have great faith, and as an encouragement to Native practitioners, His Highness the Maharajah was pleased to sanction grants-in-aid to a few select Native *Vydians* to enable them to dispense medicines to the poor free of charge.

The female Normal School at the capital which was experimentally started in 1063 M. E. (1887-1888) was established on a permanent basis. The Government Industrial School was thoroughly reorganised and placed in charge of a Graduate Superintendent who had been sent to Madras at Government expense to study in the School of Arts there, and had undergone a successful course of training practical as well as theoretical. An

annual expenditure of Rs. 15,000 was sanctioned by Government towards the maintenance of the institution, the chief object being the development of the industrial resources of the country. The Dewan Peishcars were also instructed to summon the best workmen in their respective Divisions and induce them to turn out really artistic work in wood, metals &c., on approved patterns and send the articles to the School of Arts for public exhibition and sale. A Sanskrit College at Trivandrum was also established with a view to resuscitate and encourage the study of Sanskrit.

The Government Press was improved and arrangements were made for the more extensive introduction of printing in the correspondence departments of the Public Offices. A set of rules was passed on the lines of those in force in British India to protect public servants against being arbitrarily dismissed or suspended. Rules were also passed for the guidance of the Revenue officers in the appointment of *Tadastars* or assessors in connection with Revenue matters.

Regulation I of 1065 (1889-1890 A. D.) revised and amended the enactment constituting the High Court. The number of Judges was reduced from five to four, three of whom being competent to constitute a Full Bench, and a single Judge was empowered to hear and dispose of first appeals in Civil Cases, where a second appeal lay to the Royal Court. But this intermediate appeal was abolished in 1067 M. E., and a Full Bench of three Judges of the High Court was empowered to hear and determine all Civil appeals from the decisions of the District Courts in suits of the value of Rs. 2,500 and upwards, subject to the confirmation of their decree by the Royal Sign Manual. By Regulation II of 1065, the law relating to the Civil Procedure and Criminal Procedure was revised and re-enacted on the lines of the British Codes, but with some necessary adaptations.

The Medical Department also received its due share of reform in the year 1065 M. E. The Department was reorganised, the salary of the medical subordinates was increased and provision was made for recruiting the local service with men passed out of the Madras Medical College. More hospitals and dispensaries were opened. The office establishment of the Durbar Physician was strengthened, as also the menial establishments of some of the hospitals. The formation of a class of compounders was sanctioned. A Vaccine Depot was opened at Trivandrum and the number of vaccinators was increased and their salaries improved.

In 1066 M. E. (1890-1891) the Civil Courts' Regulation (I of 1057) was amended by enlarging the small cause jurisdiction of the Munsiffs from Rs. 20

to 30 and the final appellate jurisdiction of the Zillah judges from Rs. 50 to 60. The salaries of the officers and the clerical staff in the Huzur Cutchery were considerably raised. A re-arrangement of work was effected in the work of the Taluq Cutcheries, the Deputy Tahsildars who were hitherto simply in charge of the account section, being put in charge of the revenue branch under the orders and control of the Tahsildars. The Forest Department was strengthened with trained hands from the Imperial Forest School, Dehra Dun. An Honorary Director was appointed to the Government Observatory and a trained Superintendent was secured for the Museum and the Public Gardens. New lines of roads were opened in several places; new Cutcheries, Courts, school-houses, hospitals, customs-houses and Police stations were started, and several irrigation tanks deepened and repaired. In the same year 1066 M. E., the negotiations for financing the construction of the Railway from Tinnevelly to Quilon were concluded, the Travancore Government guaranteeing interest at four per cent on the capital required to construct the line within the Travancore limits for a period of fifteen years.

Dewan Rama Row continued as Dewan for the whole of 1067 M. E., and retired at the beginning of 1068 M. E. (August 1892) for a well-earned rest. In concluding his last Administration Report he observed: —

"As in the previous years of my administration, so during the one under Report (1066), I have most gratefully to acknowledge the cordial support extended to me by my Gracious Sovereign, than whom no one has taken a deeper and more watchful interest over the welfare of the people of the beautiful country which he rules. If from advancing years, I have to seek rest from the duties and cares of office, I shall ever in my retirement look back with pleasure and pride to the five years during which under his own eye and guidance, I served the Sovereign who called me to office as Dewan—service which I humbly trust has not been altogether barren of beneficial results to the subjects whose prosperity is so near his heart."

His Highness the Maharajah thus testified to Dewan Rama Row's worth on the eve of his retirement (14th August 1892):—

"I have received your letter of this day resigning the high office which you have held with much distinction during the last 5½ years. Though I am very sorry that the State should lose the benefit of your valuable services and long experience, I cannot bring myself to retain them and deny you the repose which your advancing years demand, and which you have so well earned by continuous hard and responsible work for upwards of forty years. In accepting your resignation, I wish to place on record my high appreciation of the zeal and fidelity with which you have served me and the country as my Dewan. It was the great esteem in which my predecessors had held you and the high reputation you had acquired as Dewan Peishcar in charge of the most important Divisions of the State, that induced me to select you as my minister, and place in your hands the interests of the State with so much confidence. How well you have fulfilled my

expectations is evidenced by the impress of your administration which you leave on the country. I shall not recount here the various measures of reform introduced during your administration and with what unremitting zeal and devotion to duty you have worked for the public good, and how with your ever watchful care and exertions you have raised the finances of the State and placed them on a sound and satisfactory footing. Thoroughly loyal to your Sovereign, true to the best interests of the State and deeply interested in the welfare of my subjects, you have done all that could be done to serve those interests and advance that welfare to the best of your means and power. The work you have done will live long after you. The Paramount Power has recognised your services in a marked manner and you are aware how highly I value them myself. It must be comforting to you to feel that you resign office leaving the country prosperous, the treasury replete, and the good wishes of the people following you into your retirement. Though your official connection with me ceases with this day, I may assure you that I will continue to take the warmest interest in all that concerns the welfare of you and yours. In wishing you peace, health and uninterrupted happiness, I pray that you may be long spared to enjoy the honours you have won and the reputation you have earned. In conclusion, I may assure you that I will always treat you with the same consideration and confidence as I have done hitherto."

The Resident Mr. Grigg concluded his Review of the Administration Report for 1067 M. E. (1891-1892) in these terms:—

"The report, the review of which I now close, bears additional witness of the good service which the late Dewan, whose service closed with the year, did for the State of Travancore, regarding which Mr. Hannyngton spoke in such well-deserved terms of praise in his review last year. Along almost the whole time of his administration, there has been marked improvement and progress—a result which I may add could never have been secured but for the countenance and co-operation of the present Maharajah, and unless the chief officers of the State had given the Dewan their cordial support."

In the earlier years of Dewan Rama Row's administration difficulties were created in his path by factious malcontents who attacked him and his administration most unscrupulously by anonymous petitions, newspaper criticisms and baseless memorials. They set up, what appeared at the time to be, a powerful agitation to discredit the Government in every way. The excitement became intense when Lord Connemara visited Travancore and His Excellency must have noticed it, for Mr. J. D. Rees, his Private Secretary, wrote in his book (*Tours in India*):—

"The post of minister in a Native State is not a bed of roses, and here we have a few discontented servants of the State assisted by the party which cries 'Travancore for the Travancoreans', just as on the rendition of Mysore we heard so much of 'Mysore for the Mysoreans'; in fact no opportunity is lost of appointing competent natives of the State to the public service, but it will be long ere the stranger Brahmin can be dispensed with here or elsewhere. Good men must be entertained when they can be found, from whatever part of India they may come. It was abundantly evident to the Governor that affairs of the State are, on the whole, efficiently and wisely conducted. None of the characteristics of an Oriental Court are absent here. There are family differences and jealousies, intrigues and counter-intrigues, good intentions and more or less successful

efforts to bring them into fruition. Yet it may be asserted that such unpopularity as the Maharajah and his minister have achieved with some sections or factions in the State is as much due to a determination in making appointments to choose the best men without fear or favour, as to any other cause. It is not only the Chinaman who in these days is hated for his virtues."

Before concluding this portion of the narrative, I would add the following extract from an able article on Travancore by Dr. R. Harvey, in the October number (1892) of the *Indian Magazine and Review*:—

"The condition of the people is being gradually ameliorated in various ways; by the making of roads, building of bridges and other useful engineering works, by the removal of harassing disabilities affecting particular classes of the people, by praiseworthy efforts to bring the more recent benefits of preventive and curative medicine within their reach, and by more efficient and impartial protection of the weak against the strong and unscrupulous, whilst as accompanying these measures and reinforcing them, must be noticed the equally laudable efforts of Government by a wise and liberal educative policy to remove the dense mass of ignorance and superstition in which the great mass of the people is enveloped, and of which they are at present frequently helpless victims."

Career of T. Rama Row, C. I. E. The exit of Dewan Rama Row from the official stage was after a life-long career of honest and honourable work rendered to the Sovereign and the State. He retired full of years and full of honours. He was the most popular Dewan of Travancore in recent times.

Rama Row was born in Trivandrum in the year 1831. He was the son of Sakharam Row, a former District and Sessions Judge reputed for his honesty and high character. Of this gentleman (Sakharam Row), the Rev. J. C. Whitehouse the school-master at Nagercoil, wrote in 1860 from his retirement at Dorking, Surrey, thus:—"You are now seeing both the propriety and the advantages of upright official conduct. Uprightness is associated with your father's name, and will, I trust, ever be connected with yours. I hope your father is enjoying good health. Give my kind remembrances to him when you have an opportunity. It must be a source of great pleasure to him to see you gaining steps of advance in office through your good conduct."

Rama Row was educated in the Rajah's Free School at Trivandrum and later on, in the L. M. S. Seminary at Nagercoil. The L. M. S. Seminary is proud of him as being one of its two *alumni* that became Dewans of Travancore; the other being N. Nanco Pillai who came immediately after Sashiah Sastri. He first entered the Travancore service as a clerk; finding that his claims for promotion were not recognised, he accepted an offer of a translatorship in the District and Sessions Court

at Calicut. Here he remained until 1857, when he was appointed with the concurrence of the British Resident as Tahsildar of Kalkulam. How Rama Row did his work as Tahsildar is borne out by the testimony of the European Missionaries who but a few years ago memorialised the British Government on the oppression of Travancore officials. Rev. F. Baylis wrote to him:—

"Until you came, a Tahsildar who was really anxious to attend to the complaints of the people, to act impartially and justly in all cases brought before him was a great rarity... ... all seemed to acknowledge that if they could only get their complaints really brought before you, you would attend to them and do justice. This is a high character considered how these things have been in Travancore."

After some years' service as Tahsildar in South Travancore, Rama Row was appointed Deputy Sheristadar in the Huzur and then First Sheristadar. In 1862 he was promoted as Deputy Peishcar and in the next year he was placed in charge of the Quilon Divison. The Resident Mr. F. N. Maltby wrote to Sir Madava Row:—"To the charge of employing some of your relations, it is a sufficient answer if they have proved more able than others in the discharge of their duties; and Rama Row especially has proved himself an excellent public officer." During his tenure of office in the Quilon Division, he strenuously urged the opening of the important Quilon-Shencottah trunk-road alongside of which the new Railway now runs. Mr. W. Fisher, British Resident, wrote to him on 6th April 1864 :—

"I have much pleasure in stating that as far as I had opportunities of observing your conduct, I have had every reason to be satisfied with it. I trust you will long continue to exhibit the integrity, intelligence, and industry which have earned and can alone maintain your character as a just and efficient magistrate and an able and hard-working revenue officer. Though I am leaving India never to return, I shall always feel a deep interest in Travancore, and shall be glad to hear of your success in life as one labouring for the improvement of the people and the country."

Mr. G. A. Ballard, a later British Resident, wrote to him in January 1874:—"The state of his District is perhaps the best testimonial a public man in your position can have, and I am glad that yours in this point of view is a good one. I hope to see it continually grow better still."

After sixteen years' work in the Quilon Division, Rama Row was transferred to the Kottayam Division where he continued as Dewan Peishcar until 1887. The headquarters of the District was at Shertallay, a most unsuitable and inaccessible place. Owing to his strong advocacy the headquarters was shifted to Kottayam, under which name the District is now known. For some years during his tenure of office here, he also held the office of Boundary Commissioner between Travancore and Cochin. As

a district officer for twenty-four years, he had earned the reputation of a most popular and enthusiastic administrator, associating himself zealously with the opening up of the country by roads and channels, building of Chutrams, planting of avenue trees, repairing temples and palaces, sinking of wells and tanks and proving himself in every way an active and honest official, a friend of the weak and the oppressed, and an uncompromising foe of the wicked and the dishonest. As a Revenue official, his talents were of a very high order and Dewan Sir Madava Row often publicly acknowledged them. In an official memo submitted to the Resident in 1863, he referred to Rama Row's work and antecedents in the following highly complimentary terms :—

"Rama Row was born in this country, is a subject of it in every sense of the word, received his education in the Maharajah's English School here, and was known to Their Highnesses the late and present Maharajahs, before I entered the Travancore service, fourteen years since. Rama Row derives strong claims from his merits also, which have been well known to General Cullen, to Mr. F. N. Maltby, and I believe to the present Resident, as well as to His late Highness, and His Highness the reigning Maharajah. Rama Row was employed by the late Dewan as a clerk in his Cutcherry in June of 1851, that is to say, while I was still tutor to the Princes. Finding, however, that his claims to promotion were not likely to be attended to in those times, he resigned the post and went to Calicut, where he was employed in the Civil Court as a translator. There his activity and diligence attracted the favourable notice of his European superior, and there is evidence to show that, had he continued in the British service, he would have risen to honour and distinction. In the meantime I was promoted to the post of Dewan Peishcar and put in charge of the Southern Division. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that I found public affairs in a truly deplorable condition in that Division. The Rev. Mr. Baylis, a London Missionary in the Southern Division, in writing to me offering his congratulations on the improved state of affairs, describes the previous condition of that part of the country in the following words:—'During the years 1851 and 1855 and up to the time you were settled here, this part of the country was thoroughly disorganised. The Sirkar officials generally were most corrupt taking advantage of their position to fleece the people in every possible way. Cases of house-breaking and highway robbery often attended with brutual violence, were very numerous, so that the inhabitants were in constant terror, for the perpetrators of these outrages had little fear of real punishment, having already made friends of the officials who should have been the protectors of the people, or having the means to do so. Complaints to the Police officers respecting the oppressions practised by the petty officials were generally treated with contempt and unheard.' In endeavouring to amend such a state of things, I stood much in need of an able and trustworthy servant who could set a good example to others. I could make no better selection than that of Rama Row, and I recommended him to both the Maharajah and Resident of the time. A vacancy of a Tahsildar having occurred in my Division, Rama Row was sent for and appointed to it. In a short time he proved himself the best Tahsildar in the whole country. He possesses both Native and European testimony to the excellence of his conduct of affairs. In 1857 Dewan Krishna Row died, and I was called upon to take charge of the administration. It is difficult to describe in a short compass the formidable difficulties I had then to contend with. Some idea of those difficulties, and also of the general character of the staff of officials I had to deal with, may be

gathered from a perusal of the memorandum attached to the Minute of Lord Harris, dated the 28th February 1859, and which will be found in the accompanying return to an address of the House of Commons. I stood much in need of an official or two by my side, on whose fidelity I could place implicit reliance. A vacancy in the Police Department of my Cutcherry occurred, and at my recommendation, His late Highness promoted Rama Row to it. In this position Rama Row's assistance was of much avail to me, and he established strong claims for promotion, which was however favoured by circumstances. Rama Row's immediate superior died, and was succeeded by Rama Row, with the consent of His Highness the Rajah and the Resident. Subsequently Raman Pillay Peishcar died and, as usual, the First Police Sheristadar was promoted to the vacancy. Rama Row's Neet as Dewan Peishcar is dated May last, and his present salary is Rs. 350. Rama Row has rendered and is rendering valuable services in his present post, and they have been honoured with the approbation of His Highness and are known to yourself."

In February 1878, Rajah Sir Madava Row again wrote thus about Rama Row to Mr. H. E. Sullivan, Acting British Resident, from Quilon:—

"I am here to-day on my way back to Baroda, and feel that I cannot leave the Quilon Division without saying a few words to you in favour of the administrative head of that Division—Rama Row—my valuable Assistant, while I was Dewan of Travancore, and still continuing to render the most valuable service to the State. Rama Row is one of those small band of good men who materially contributed to the success of the administration in my days. Indeed, Rama Row was the first and foremost of my Assistants. He is the son of a former public servant whose scrupulous honesty was proverbial and he is related to no less than four Dewans of important Native States. He was educated in the Maharajah's School, early entered His Highness' service, and rose from grade to grade by force of merits alone. He has held the arduous and important office of Dewan Peishcar for about sixteen years. He combines in a rare manner the qualities which go to constitute a valuable public servant, high principles, great natural and acquired intelligence, sound judgment, unfailing tact and incessant industry. I was indeed fortunate in securing the zealous co-operation of such a gentleman almost throughout my career in Travancore. Rama Row has won the good opinion of all classes of people—Natives and Europeans. He has been held in great esteem by the Maharajah and successive British Residents and Dewans. Dewan Sashiah Sastri, C. S. I., recorded very high testimony to Rama Row's worth: but it is a testimony by no means higher than deserved. The pre-eminently satisfactory condition of the Quilon Division on which Rama Row has presided for a number of years bears its own evidence in his favour. No one could have done more to increase the public revenues in a legitimate manner, and to promote the contentment and happiness of the people entrusted to his charge. In short, I hold the opinion that Rama Row has, amid many difficulties, proved himself an officer of rare merit and eligible for the highest position in the service. He is decidedly one of those officers who sustain and promote the reputation of the State and of its Sovereigns at all times and in all positions."

Mr. A. Sashiah Sastri, C. S. I., Dewan of Travancore, thus wrote to him in 1877 on the eve of his departure from Trivandrum:—

"My dear Rama Row,—Though I have often already had occasion to convey to you the high sense I entertain of your valuable services, still I cannot, on the

eve of my departure, refrain from writing a few lines, though in a hurried way, expressive of my high appreciation of your character, private as well as public. It has been a great pleasure to me to transact business with you. You have been, of all Peishcars, the foremost to suggest and carry out reforms in every branch of administration, to encourage honest, and to put down corrupt, subordinates. The result of your incessant and devoted labours is that the largest Division in the State is in excellent order, and its administration a blessing to the people. Your exertions to develop the resources of the country have proved successful. The numerous village roads you have opened out have improved communications and increased traffic to an extent unknown before. The substantial and comfortable chuttroms and rest-houses which you have erected on all the main newly opened lines attest to your forethought, and they are a blessing to the people. I would say much more, but have no time."

In 1886, the Government of Sir M. E. Grant Duff appointed Rama Row a Fellow of the Madras University. The same year His Highness the Maharajah recognised Rama Row's long and valuable services by appointing him Head Dewan Peishcar. Dewan Ramiengar wrote to Rama Row on the occasion, "I congratulate you on the well-earned increase to your salary and the title of Head Dewan Peishcar conferred on you in recognition of your long and meritorious services". In January 1887, His Highness was graciously pleased to appoint Rama Row as Dewan, which office he held up to August 1892. The various reforms in the administration which he was instrumental in bringing about have already been referred to. He went into retirement cheerfully with the consciousness of having served the Sovereign and the people loyally and to the best of his powers. In 1887, the Society of Science, Letters and Arts of London appointed him a member. In 1890, Her Majesty the Queen was pleased to confer on him the title of "Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire".

On the 5th June 1895, he passed away quietly in his pretty residence, Hill View, Trivandrum, enjoying but a brief respite of three years' rest after an arduous public service of more than forty years. Rama Row is remembered with grateful feelings by His Highness' subjects all over Travancore as a generous and warm-hearted administrator, imbued with profound loyalty to the interests of the State and sincere regard for the welfare of the subject population. He was a ripe Revenue official of great knowledge in the intricate details of the land tenures and land taxes of Travancore. He methodised the revenue system by a series of wise and thoughtful Revenue circulars. He was the friend and supporter of all the honest officials in the State, to whom he showed especial consideration. He hated corruption and dishonesty of every kind. Everything that conduced to the purity of the service or the welfare of the people readily appealed to his warm heart. Though he could not claim the privilege

of a liberal education, he was a true patron of arts and letters, and he devoted himself with zeal and assiduity to promote all industrial enterprises. He was the genuine friend of the agriculturist and the artizan—the two classes of the population for whose welfare he honestly laboured throughout his long official career. Towards his brother officials, he was modest, unassuming, courteous and considerate; to the Sovereign, he was a most devoted and loyal servant, and in society he was admired for his genial manners and sweet temper. He was passionately fond of music and though he could not compose musical pieces like his august kinsman and predecessor, Raja Sir Madava Row, he could enjoy music and himself sing to delight his inner circle of friends and admirers. He was a calm, cautious and moderate reformer. He hated fuss and noise of every kind. His Dewanship is memorable for the inauguration of the Travancore Legislative Council, a most useful and valuable institution which the people owe to the liberality and enlightenment of His Highness the present Maharajah. He earned for himself the enviable reputation of "the good Dewan Rama Row".

S. Shungrasoobyer, Dewan (1892-1898). T. Rama Row was succeeded by Mr. S. Shungrasoobyer, the Senior Dewan Peishcar then in charge of Settlement. This gentleman had risen from the lowest rung of the State ladder and had therefore a thorough knowledge of every department of the administration.

Chief events. In November 1892, His Excellency Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras, visited the country. In his Banquet speech at Trivandrum, His Excellency observed in very highly appreciative terms of His Highness' rule thus:—

"I have come down here by the most lovely backwaters through the country teeming with prosperity and all that makes life most comfortable and happy for those who live in it. I have come down to the capital of this country and here I have had the pleasure of making the acquaintance of His Highness and those with whom he is associated in the administration of the country. I can readily understand, from what I have seen, how it is that I have been able to see during my tour in this country evident prosperity and contentment, which is so manifest on all sides. From one part of the country to the other, I have been received with the most enthusiastic signs of loyalty and devotion which these people feel to the humble individual who addresses you now and who is merely himself the representative of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress. It is evident that the feelings, which have actuated the head of the kingdom of Travancore, actuate his own subjects from one end of it to the other. I can only say that it has given me most extraordinary pleasure and satisfaction to see the feelings which subsist throughout the country. ... ... In conclusion, I hope the happy and cordial relations now existing for so many years between the British Crown and the Travancore Government, may continue for many more years, so that both the Governments may go on working side by side in the

manner in which they have hitherto done, in the path of progress, peace and prosperity, such as, I am glad to see, are now in the Province of Travancore. I have had the opportunity this morning of seeing how much His Highness is interested in the particular processes of development in different ways. I have seen the various Schools and Colleges such as have come before my notice and was glad to find that, at all events, Travancore is not behind the rest of India in the manner in which she is taking up the cause of education. I look to that, most sincerely, as one of the means by which prosperity and enlightenment can come to the people. ... ... Though this is my first visit in this part of the country, there are evident signs, on all hands, of the most extraordinary prosperity— I may say prosperity so general and diffused, as perhaps does not exist in any other part of India. ... ... I have already alluded to the excellent manner in which he is administering the affairs of the country. It is not for me now to say more than what you have already known of him as his personal friends. You had the opportunity of knowing him longer than I do and therefore you will be able to give me more information than I can give you. I believe the same feelings actuate you as actuate me, and I assure you I propose this toast for the health of the most distinguished potentate in this part of Southern India, that thoroughly deserves everything that can be said in his favour in the manner in which we have seen him and heard him spoken of."

This visit was followed by that of His Excellency the late Sir James Dormer, Commander-in-Chief of Madras. In January 1893, His Highness the Rajah of Pudukotta paid a friendly visit to the capital. In the same month His Highness the Maharajah paid a return visit to the Governor of Madras, and in August following he visited Courtallam and other places. In November 1895, His Highness again proceeded to Madras to meet the Viceroy Lord Elgin. His Excellency arrived at Madras on the 3rd December, but owing to the lamented death of the *Elaya Rajah*, Prince Kerala Varma, at Trivandrum, His Highness was unable to take part in any public functions connected with the Viceregal visit and had to abandon his further stay there. His Highness after paying a private visit to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 6th, started from Madras on the 9th, and returned to his capital on the 20th, the departure and the return journey throughout being strictly private on account of the mourning.

In June 1897, the Diamond Jubilee of Her Majesty the Queen Empress was celebrated throughout the State. The Diamond Jubilee Public Library and the Victoria Orphanage were founded as memorials. About the middle of October 1897, His Excellency Sir Arthur Elibank Havelock, Governor of Madras, accompanied by Lady Havelock, paid a visit to Travancore and spent about a week in the State as His Highness' guest. His Excellency paid the following compliment to His Highness in his Banquet speech at Trivandrum :—

"At the beginning of Your Highness' administration, the Secretary of State and the Government of Madras expressed the hope that under your rule the

advancement and prosperity of the people committed to your care would suffer no diminution. This hope has been more than realised; for year after year, during Your Highness' reign the Government of Madras has had occasion to remark on the good results of your Government. It affords me sincere pleasure on this occasion to once more congratulate Your Highness on the excellent and solid progress which the last year has witnessed. This year has been specially noteworthy for the elaboration of important schemes and the commencement of others, all of which I feel sure will be ably and successfully carried out. I hope Your Highness will allow me to express my earnest hope that there are many years in store for you during which we may reckon upon you as a faithful and sincere friend of our beloved Sovereign, the Queen Empress, and during which you may continue to contribute to the happiness of this beautiful State of Travancore, so well described as the 'Land of Charity'."

Among domestic events, may be mentioned the demise of the Junior Rani, Parvathi Bayi, on the 15th October 1893 at the age of forty-three, which was followed by the death of her eldest son, Prince Kerala Varma, on the 5th December 1895 at the early age of thirty-two.

Mr. Shungrasoobyer in his Administration Report for 1068 M. E., (1892-1893), the first year of his administration, thus referred to His Highness' share in the government of the State:—

"In concluding the record of the first year of my administration, it behoves me to tender my very grateful acknowledgments to my Sovereign Master who so graciously called me to the important trust. His Highness' judicious guidance, steady support and generous confidence have been a source of strength and encouragement which cannot be looked for elsewhere in the discharge of my onerous responsibilities. There is no measure of public utility which has not received His Highness' ready and lively sympathy, if it has not emanated from his ever-growing solicitude for the advancement of good Government."

The Resident, Mr. H. B. Grigg, thus concluded his Review of the above mentioned Report:—

"It is abundantly clear from my remarks that there has been steady progress in almost all branches of the administration—progress due not only to the energy, capacity and devotion to duty of the Dewan, but also to the steady support he has received from His Highness the Maharajah, whose insight into the needs of his people and whose benevolent determination to develop their intelligence and increase their happiness deserve my cordial recognition. ... ... I have noted several defects and suggested various improvements in the administration, some of which I believe will be acceptable to the Government. Any criticisms I have recorded must not be held as detracting from the praise it has been my pleasing duty to express."

The Madras Government endorsed the above testimony in the following terms in their G. O., dated 2nd August 1894:—

"In conclusion, His Excellency the Governor in Council desires to express the gratification with which he has perused the remarks contained in the concluding paragraph of the Resident's letter, especially those referring to His

Highness the Maharajah. The good work carried out has justified His Highness' selection of M. R. Ry. Shungarasoobyer Avergal to fill the responsible office he holds and the administration of the past year augurs well for the future."

This was followed by a similar compliment in July 1896 in their G. O., reviewing of the Administration Report for 1070 M. E. (1894-1895), where they observed :—

"It is clear that, as remarked by the Resident, the year has been one of continued good government, of prosperity to the State, and of progress and improvement in many directions. The Resident bears testimony to the great personal interest taken by His Highness the Maharajah in all matters affecting the welfare of the people, as well as to the untiring zeal and devotion of the Diwan, M. R. Ry. S. Shungra Subbaiyar. His Excellency the Governor in Council congratulates His Highness the Maharajah on the results which have been achieved."

Chief reforms. Several important changes were introduced in 1069 M. E. (1893-1894), in the administration of the Educational Department. The offices of the Superintendent of District schools and Director of Vernacular Education were abolished. Three Inspectors of Schools with assistants and sub-assistants were appointed. An Educational Secretary to Government was appointed to check the work of the Inspectors and to carry on the correspondence of the Huzur in the Educational Department. A new Grant-in-aid Code with Educational rules was passed and the scale of salaries of the employees was revised. An English Normal School was opened at the Capital to train teachers. A Reformatory School was established for the benefit of juvenile offenders. The changes in the bye-laws of the Madras University necessitated the separation of the Law Class from the Arts College, and a Law College was accordingly established with the European Judge of the High Court as its Principal. The Sirkar High School for girls was raised to a Second Grade College and a Lady Graduate from England was appointed its Principal. An Agricultural Demonstration Farm and School was also opened and a scheme for the development of Agricultural education among the cultivating and land-owning classes set on foot. The Industrial School of Arts was reorganised, and an Archæological Department was established to collect inscriptions and conduct historical researches.

A new Sanitary Department was inaugurated and Town Improvement Committees were organised for the better sanitation of towns and registration of births and deaths. The Forest Regulation was amended and the department itself reorganised.

In 1070 M. E. (1894-1895), the *Viruthikars* were exempted from the supply of provisions to the temples and Oottupuras, and the *Viruthi*

service underwent a radical revision. In reference to this measure the Dewan writes :—

"While every measure bears as usual the stamp of His Highness' deep and abiding interest in the advancement of good Government, there was one in the year marking that interest conspicuously—a radical revision of the Viruthi service which, with the resistance of time-honoured traditions, it would have been impossible to undertake but for His Highness' insight into details and sympathetic appreciation of altered conditions."

In the same year, the Registration Department was thoroughly reorganised and reformed, and the old Regulation of 1042 M. E., was superseded by Regulation I of 1070 M. E., based on the latest British Indian Act.

In 1071 M. E. (1895-1896), a Prisons Regulation was passed for the better management of the prisons. Regulation V of the same year settled the long-standing disputes and differences between the landlord and tenant.

The Public Works Department was reorganised; considerable additions to the executive staff and office establishments were sanctioned in order to ensure greater efficiency and place the Department on a more systematic basis, and the Madras system of accounts was introduced. Old irrigation works were restored and extended and new works started. The Kothayar Project which when completed is calculated to irrigate an additional 50,000 acres of land, was begun. The Medical service was expanded in the same year, and in order to supplement the medical relief afforded by Government and promote private agency, the system of medical grants for hospitals, dispensaries and *Vydiasalas* * was instituted. Medical scholarships were sanctioned for the study of medicine in European Universities. A Women and Children's hospital was also opened.

A scheme of State Life Insurance was introduced with effect from the 1st Makaram 1073 M. E. (Jan. 1898), making it compulsory on all persons entertained since that date to insure their lives. The law relating to the Legislative Council was amended and the Council itself was reconstituted. Many other useful Regulations were also passed during this period.

Thus Shungrasoobyer's administration received its due quota of reforms and was warmly complimented by the Madras Government on its success. He was created a "Companion of the Indian Empire," and after retirement was honoured with a seat in the Madras Legislative Council. He retired from office in Minam 1073 M. E. (April 1898), after the unusually

* Sanskrit term for the dispensaries of Native medicine.

long period of forty-five years' service. In accepting his resignation of the Dewan's office, His Highness the Maharajah wrote to him :—

"Commencing public life about forty-five years ago, you advanced step by step until you reached the highest official position in the State, and your career from start to finish has been marked by indefatigable energy, unflagging zeal and steady devotion to duty. In the various responsible positions you occupied, you displayed the same high ability, intelligence and earnestness, the same avidity for work, mastery of details and grasp of principles and the same firmness, decision and force of character that characterized your later career and pointed to you as the fittest person in service to be entrusted with the important charge of the administration of the State. I have great satisfaction in cordially recognising the skill, ability, faithfulness and success with which you have discharged that trust. The last five and a half years during which you have administered the country with credit to yourself and advantage to the State, have certainly been a period of progress and prosperity. Various measures for the improvement of the administration and advancement of the State have been inaugurated. The prosperous condition of the finances attained not by increased burden on the taxation or neglect of the necessary improvements, but by the careful husbanding of the resources of the country, watchful control over the collecting agency and scrupulous avoidance of all needless waste, is a conspicuous feature of your administration."

The Madras Government observed in their G. O., dated 1st September 1899 :—

"To the Dewan the Hon'ble S. Shungrasoobyer, C. I. E., who retired early in 1898, the Travancore Government owes a debt of gratitude for his long and meritorious service characterised as it was, to quote the Resident, by 'singular zeal, discretion and success'. Proof of this success is contained throughout the Resident's present Review which deals with the statistics of five years."

Career of Shungrasoobyer, C. I. E. "In England we can boast of a long roll of names of men who, with no special training, with little of even ordinary education, owing nothing to birth and powerful connections, have silently trained themselves, till suddenly they showed themselves able to play a great part in the affairs of their country and to confer some signal benefit on mankind." * Such a man was Shungrasoobyer of Travancore. He was a self-made man of respectable parentage, though of poor educational attainments, as the Rajah's Free School at Trivandrum where he was educated, did not then afford any higher. By his wonderful application and perseverance in subsequent years, he made up for the defective school education of his boyhood. He was born in 1836. His maternal grandfather was a Pandit of the Appeal Court—an office which was coveted by the learned Brahmins of the day. After a short school-career, Shungrasoobyer entered the State service in the Educational Department as an acting teacher on a

* The (London) Times, 28th August 1879.

monthly salary of Rs. 5. This was in the year 1859. In a short time he distinguished himself there by his earnestness and diligence which soon attracted the notice of the then Maharajah, and, as a mark of Royal favour, His Highness presented him with a pair of ear-rings. Later on, that great Statesman, Rajah Sir T. Madava Row, appointed him as Deputy Sheristadar of Police in the Huzur Cutchery. His energetic discharge of duties as Police Sheristadar, especially his services in connection with the disturbances which arose in Shencottah, were highly appreciated. Next he was selected for the office of Director of Vernacular Education, and as observed by the Dewan, "the great and rapid success already achieved and abundantly promised by the Vernacular schools is largely attributable to his characteristic zeal, ability and intelligent direction". Of his labours in this Department, His late Highness wrote thus in the *Calcutta Review* of October 1872, which article we have freely used in the foregoing narrative:—"The whole department was till lately under the masterly management of Mr. Shungrasoobyer than whom the Travancore service does not contain an abler, more zealous or more conscientious officer." Soon after, he was appointed Deputy Peishcar and placed in charge of the Southern Division. The Division Peishcar was then head of the Police as well, and Shungrasoobyer successfully detected many cases of robbery and dacoity and put down crime with a strong hand. Sir Sashiah Sastri wrote, "In the whole of Travancore I know of no officer so full of intelligence and vigilance to repress as well as detect crime and keep the Police up to the mark". He was soon confirmed in the post of Dewan Peishcar. Shungrasoobyer discharged the high duties entrusted to him with great energy and ability. As His late Highness wrote to Dr. Thomson, "there is no tinsel about him. He is every inch of sterling worth." His Highness also wrote to Shungrasoobyer, "any lingering hopes I have for the future of the State rest in a very few men like you". At the beginning of the reign of His Highness the late Maharajah, the settlement of the boundary disputes between Travancore and Cochin was taken up, and Shungrasoobyer was deputed for the work. His able services as Boundary Commissioner were appreciated by His Highness' Government in the following terms:—"The patience, judgment and ability with which he has conducted the important task entrusted to him are deserving of all commendation." In an article in the *Calcutta Review* of April 1883, believed to be written by His late Highness on the Travancore-Cochin Arbitration, the following testimony is borne to his services and capacity:—"Extrordinarily intelligent thoughtful, patient, thoroughly upright and liberally educated, Shungrasoobyer has few equals in the service of any Native State; it delighted the audience to hear him argue before the Arbitrator on each intricate

point." When the late Dewan Ramiengar started the Revenue Settlement of Travancore in 1882, Shungrasoobyer was appointed Settlement Dewan Peishcar, Mr. Sashiah Sastri writing to him from his retirement, "Travancore has not one officer more fitted for it than yourself". During his ten years' administration of the Department, he completed the Settlement of the two Taluqs of Nanjanad and those of Trivandrum and Chirayinkil. In 1888 he was made an Official Member of the local Legislative Council. When Rama Row retired from the office of Dewan in 1892, Shungrasoobyer was elevated to the Dewanship.

He retired from the Dewanship in April 1898, when he had reached sixty-three years of age and had put in forty-five years' service, on a handsome pension of Rs. 800 per mensem. His Highness the Maharajah gracefully acknowledged his long and meritorious services, in the highly complimentary letter quoted above. In fitting recognition of his services, the Supreme Government made him a "Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire". Sir Arthur Havelock also appointed him a Non-official Member of the Madras Legislative Council, which position he held for two years. In 1901, in response to the invitation of the students of His Highness the Maharajah's College, he presided over the celebration of the 4th College Day, a pretty annual ceremonial instituted by the Principal, Dr. Mitchell, and the warm-hearted youths about him, in which all the past and present students of the College take part year after year. His Presidential address was much admired. It was characterised by care of expression and his usual originality of thought preferring the old thorough-going system of school studies in a few subjects which he had himself seen in his early days, and which he thought contributed to the real advance of society, and strongly condemning the system of cram so unfortunately rife in these latter days, to which he attributed the fall of the present generation of students in physical health and mental and moral calibre. It was a speech in every way worthy of the man, though of course it did not please all who heard him. He was always straightforward and outspoken in his views and had the courage of his convictions, seeking the approbation of the thinking few rather than the momentary applause of the vulgar crowd. In my Presidential address on the College Day gathering of the previous year, I spoke of him thus :—

"There was also another boy, whom I had in view, whose name also I had suggested, a little bit younger than the G. O. M. (Mr. T. Vedadrisadasa Mudaliar) though he is himself fast reaching the scriptural term of three score years and ten—a boy at whose feet I sat as a humble pupil some forty years ago, a boy distinguished by culture and wide experience of public affairs, who surely would have done honour to this Chair, as he has done honour to the school where he

was educated, to the community to which he belongs, to the country of his birth, and to the public service of His Highness the Maharajah from which he has recently retired. I mean the late Dewan, Mr. Shungrasoobyer Avergal."

Shungrasoobyer enjoyed his retirement for several years travelling about for the benefit of his health, but spending the major portion of his leisure in his pretty residence, *Sankara Vilas*, in Trivandrum. His leisure was employed in the reading of books or writing minutes on subjects of public interest; but latterly on medical advice he gave up reading and took to the playing of *Bridge*, an interesting game of cards generally patronized by Europeans, which seems however to have afforded him relief from ennui which his failing health and consequent incapacity for sustained work seem to have entailed. He died in September 1904. He was a most conscientious plodder and in his earlier years devoted a good deal of his time to mastering the minutiæ of official work, in which he soon became a recognised authority. He was a man of very regular habits, an abstemious eater and most careful in matters of personal hygiene. He led a simple life and though he did not parade his views on religion or social customs, he was genuinely orthodox and conservative in his ways. He had grasp and intelligence and in conversation he was agreeable, his talk being distinguished by a dry humour. He had read only a very few books, but the matter contained in them was brought out in evidence often in his conversations. He was considered obstinate by his official friends and superiors, but he had the strength of his convictions and honestly maintained them without troubling himself whether his listeners agreed with him or not. He was a slow worker, but put forth steady and sustained energies in all that he did. His life is an example of what moderation, self-study and perseverance may do for the Travancorean.

Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Rao, Dewan (1898-1904). In April 1898, Dewan Bahadur Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Rao, Chief Justice, was appointed Dewan in succession to Shungrasoobyer.

Chief events. The continued success of the Travancore administration and the Maharajah's "genuine identity of interest with the progress of good Government" were duly appreciated by the Imperial Government, and in recognition thereof, Her Majesty the Queen-Empress was graciously pleased on the first of January 1899 to grant, as a personal distinction, an addition of two guns to the salute of nineteen guns—the honour hitherto enjoyed by His Highness. A Public Durbar was held on the 28th January to receive the Viceroy's *Kharita* announcing the glad news. Lord Elgin wrote:—

"My Honoured and Valued Friend,—I am about to leave India on the termination of my Viceroyalty and I write to bid Your Highness a very cordial farewell. My direct connection with this country will now be severed, but I shall continue to watch with personal interest and solicitude Your Highness' career and the progress of your State. I was pleased to be able to obtain for Your Highness a mark of Her Majesty's appreciation of the good administration of your State."

Sir F. A. Nicholson, K. C. I. E., then British Resident, said:—

"But on this occasion, I have, as British Resident, a further and pleasing duty to perform; a duty which gives a special and important distinction to this particular Durbar. For, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, I have to offer to Your Highness in Durbar my sincere congratulations upon the personal mark of Her Imperial Majesty's confidence and esteem which was announced to Your Highness on New Year's Day and which is particularly mentioned in the Kharita just read. We recognise the full significance of the fact that His Excellency has himself obtained for Your Highness this rarely granted personal honour as a mark of Her Majesty's appreciation of the good order of the State under Your Highness' rule and of your incessant solicitude for its quiet but steady development. In repeating my congratulations to Your Highness, I will add my best wishes for a continuously happy and prosperous future."

To the above, His Highness the Maharajah replied:—

"I regard this rare distinction not only as a token of Her Majesty's special favour, but also as a proof of the interest which Her Majesty and Her Representatives take in the well-being of this ancient State, whose proud privilege it has always been to enjoy the friendship and protection of the British Government. While I sincerely rejoice at this, the latest of the many marks of Her Majesty's good-will to me and my House, I recognise in it my obligation to merit, by further endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of my people, the continuance of the same confidence and regard.

"I cannot adequately express my sense of the warm interest so kindly taken by Lord Elgin in obtaining for me this coveted honour; and I request you to be kind enough to convey to His Lordship my most grateful acknowledgments with the assurance of my firm and loyal attachment to the Throne and Person of Her Gracious Majesty."

The long-pending claims of the Punjar Chief regarding the Kannan-Devan Hills and the Anjanad Valley were amicably settled.

The construction of the long-contemplated Railway line from Tinnevelly to Quilon was actually begun in 1900, and funds for the same were supplemented by two advances from the Travancore Government aggregating to seventeen lacs of rupees, which amount was soon repaid.

On the 31st August 1900, His Highness with the concurrence of the British Government adopted into the Royal family two Princesses, Setu Lakshmi Bayi and Setu Parvathi Bayi, from the Mavelikara family which is closely allied to the Travancore House and from which three adoptions had been made in the past. A Public Durbar was held in the

evening of that day in the old Audience Hall in the Fort, when the adoption was duly announced by a Royal Proclamation.

In November of the same year, His Highness had the honour of receiving a visit from His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, accompanied by Her Excellency Lady Curzon. This was the first time that Travancore was ever visited by a Viceroy. Their Excellencies and suite arrived at Quilon on the morning of the 20th November and were received and welcomed on behalf of His Highness by a deputation of officers headed by the Dewan. After dinner the Viceregal party left Quilon and reached Trivandrum next morning and was received at the landing place by His Highness the Maharajah. After a stay of three days in the capital during which all the principal Public institutions were visited, Lord and Lady Curzon left for Tinnevelly much pleased with all that they had seen in their interesting tour. Referring to His Highness the Maharajah, Lord Curzon observed in his Banquet speech :—

"I know His Highness by repute as a kindly and sympathetic and diligent ruler, whose merits have been tested, and for whom the affection of his people had been continuously enhanced, by fifteen years of prosperous administration. I know him to combine the most conservative instincts with the most enlightened views. Has not the Government of India itself signified in the most conspicuous manner its recognition of his statesmanship and his services by the addition to his salute to which His Highness just now alluded.... ... ... I must be allowed to congratulate him upon the steps that have recently been taken, by renewed adoption, for the perpetuation of the ruling line. In due time, I trust that the expectations which have been aroused by this interesting event may meet with fulfilment, and that there may never be wanting in the Travancore State a succession of Princes, royally born, well nurtured, and qualified by instinct and training to carry on its ancient and honourable traditions. ... ... In one respect His Highness enjoys a position of peculiar responsibility; for he is the ruler of a community that is stamped by wide racial differences, and represents a curious motley of religions. In such a case a prince can have no higher ambition than to show consideration to the low, and equity and tolerance to all. In the history of States no rulers are more esteemed by posterity than those who have risen superior to the trammels of bigotry or exclusiveness, and have dealt equal mercy and equal justice to all classes, including the humblest of their people. In this category of princes His Highness, who has given so many proofs of liberality of sentiment, may attain a conspicuous place, and may leave a name that will long be cherished by later generations."

As a memento of the Viceregal visit, an annual prize of the value of Rs. 500 called 'The Maharajah of Travancore's Curzon Prize' was instituted in the Madras University to encourage original scientific research among Graduates.

A series of calamities befell the Royal family by the premature and unexpected demise of Prince Martanda Varma, B. A., on the 25th Kanni

1076 (11th October 1900), of Prince Rama Varma, the *Elaya Rajah*, on the 24th Edavam 1076 (6th June 1901), and of Rani Lakshmi Bayi on the 2nd Mithunam 1076 (14th June 1901). Of Prince Martanda Varma, Lord Curzon said that he was "an amiable and accomplished Prince, a man of culture, of travel and of learning, the first Graduate among all the Indian Princes who seemed destined to cast fresh lustre upon the name of the famous ancestor which he bore". Travancore also shared in the general grief which overwhelmed the British Empire by the sad demise of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress on the 22nd January 1901. In offering his condolences to His Majesty the King-Emperor, His Highness the Maharajah observed :—

"The Maharajah of Travancore has received with profound sorrow the mournful intelligence of the demise of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen Empress, and humbly begs to submit to Your Majesty and the members of the Royal Family his most sincere expressions of condolence in the great affliction that has befallen the Empire. Her Majesty was the embodiment of the highest qualities of Queenhood and womanhood. Her loss is deeply lamented throughout the civilised world and nowhere more deeply than in India for whose welfare Her Majesty always evinced such loving solicitude. The Maharajah begs to assure Your Majesty that the melancholy event caused profound sorrow throughout the State and hopes that Your Majesty will deign to accept this heart-felt expression of sympathy with his respectful homage and earnest prayer that the Almighty may grant Your Majesty strength to bear this deep affliction."

Early in 1078 M. E. (November 1902), His Highness received the visit of His Excellency Lord Ampthill, Governor of Madras. His Lordship visited several institutions in Trivandrum and was much pleased with all that he saw. Lord Ampthill expressed his high appreciation of His Highness in the following eloquent terms :—

"I think no one will disagree with me when I say that His Highness' character presents a rare and valuable combination of conservative instincts with enlightened and progressive views. ... ... Now it is under influences such as these that the whole mighty fabric of the British Empire has been built up. ... ... Here in Travancore many of the same influences which have made for the prosperity of England are at work on a totally different soil and among a totally different people. The people are pious, law-abiding, industrious and loyal. The country is rich in undeveloped resources. A rising generation of young men is growing in intelligence and enterprise under the fostering care of the State, and the Ruler of the land, who is revered with all the devotion which is accorded to an ancient and renowned Royal lineage, is striving diligently for progress and reform. Let but the youth of Travancore emulate the example of their Ruler; let them keep and hold fast to all the good things they have inherited, their piety, their loyalty, their patriotism, but let them at the same time strive to advance in every direction on which energy, industry, and enterprise hold out the prospects of honest reward. Thus on the foundations of sound administration, regular justice, personal security and religious toleration, which the Maharajah and his Dewans have done so much to establish, there will rise a new superstructure of commercial and industrial prosperity and increasing wealth. Ladies and gentlemen,—I am sure that you

all share my confident hope that the name of our illustrious host will for ever be associated with the commencement of such a new era in the history of Travancore and abide in the grateful hearts of future generations of his people."

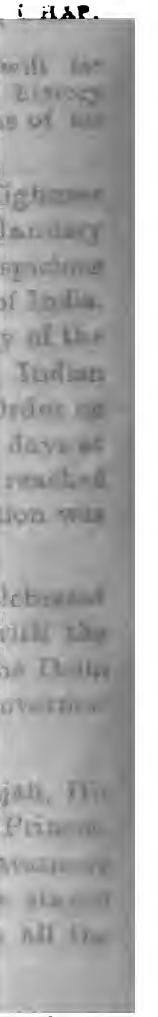
At the kind invitation of His Excellency the Viceroy, His Highness the Maharajah attended the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi in January 1903, acccompanied by the Dewan and other officers. On that auspicious occasion, His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India, was pleased to confer on His Highness the additional dignity of the "Knight Grand Commander of the Most Eminent Order of the Indian Empire." His Highness was invested with the Insignia of the Order on the 3rd January 1903. His Highness and party stayed for a few days at Madras to return the visit of His Excellency Lord Ampthill and reached his capital on the 21st January 1903, when a grand public reception was accorded to him by the inhabitants of Trivandrum.

The Coronation of His Majesty the King-Emperor was celebrated throughout Travancore in a befitting manner simultaneously with the Delhi Durbar. In the same year (1903), His Highness received the Delhi Durbar Medal awarded by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General.

In response to the invitation of His Highness the Maharajah, His Highness the Rajah of Cochin accompanied by two of the Junior Princes, the Dewan and a few other officers of the State, paid a visit to Travancore in January 1904 on his return from Ramesvaram. His Highness stayed three days at the capital and was accorded a hearty reception with all the honours due to his exalted position.

Progress. A scheme for placing a portion of the Nayar Brigade on a more efficient footing was sanctioned in 1076 M. E. (1900-1901) and came into operation in the next year. The two battalions that hitherto existed were amalgamated; the sixteen companies were reduced to ten with a strength of 910 of all ranks. This reduction provided 500 men for the new battalion, which was styled the First Battalion and is intended for purely military duties following as far as possible the economy and discipline of the British Native Infantry. Permanent lines for them as well as quarters for the officers commanding the battalion were also constructed and occupied.

A revised curriculum of studies was introduced into all the schools of the State in 1077 M. E. (1901-1902) and the schools were classed into four classes, *viz.*, High, Middle, Upper Primary and Lower Primary. In the



(A) H. H. The Rajah of Cochin. (B) G. T. Mackenzie, I.C.S. (C) H. H. The Maharajah of Travancore. (D) Miss A. M. Blandford.

1. N. Srinarayanen Tampi, 2. A. Govinda Pillai, B.A., B.L., 3. A. Srinarayanen Tampi, 4. S. Shungrasoobyer, C.I.E., 5. N. Pattabhirama Rao, B.A., 6 & 7. Two Princes of Cochin, 8. K. Krishnaswamy Rao, C.I.E., Dewan Bahadur, 9. Kerala Varma, C.S.I., Valia Koil Tampuran, 10. C. Venkobachari, Dewan Bahadur, 11. Miss L. M. Yardely, L.R.C.P.E., 12. Miss S. B. Williams, M.A., 13. T. Vedadrisadasa Moodeliar,

last two, the Vernacular was the medium of instruction, English being taught as a second language. The Vernacular Elementary Examination was abolished and the Travancore Middle School Examination based on the model of the Madras Government Examination was instituted both in English and Vernacular. A number of Technical scholarships for studies in European countries were founded and Technical Education was greatly encouraged. A History Chair was instituted in the Maharajah's College and a Physics Chair was sanctioned, thus raising the Trivandrum College to nearly the highest level of educational institutions in the Presidency. The Law College was reorganised, and a permanent staff of professors and lecturers appointed. A Survey School was opened as an auxiliary to the Survey Department to train the Revenue subordinates in surveying and measurement.

Among other changes may be mentioned the introduction of a Medical Code and a P. W. D. Code to guide the administration of these two important departments; the opening of a Medical School; the introduction of the money-order system in the local Anchal service and the reduction of rates of postage on letters and registration fees and the minting of new silver and copper coins on improved patterns, the old silver chukram coin being discontinued.

The Legislative Council continued to do useful work under the Presidentship of Mr. Krishnaswamy Rao, himself an officer of considerable judicial experience both in British India and Travancore. Regulation I of 1074 provided a general Penal Code for Travancore, thus repealing Regulation II of 1056 which introduced the Indian Penal Code and the Whipping Act as the penal law for the State. The other Regulations passed during this period were those *re*:—Wills, Negotiable Instruments, Guardians and Wards, Lepers, Dynamite, Printing Presses, Hindu Religious Endowments, and Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, &c. Of these, the Hindu Religious Endowments Regulation is a unique piece of legislation which has not yet found a place in the Statute-book of British India. It may however be remarked in defence of the British administration of India that a Native administration has in certain respects advantages over a British one; for the personal rule of a Native sovereign secures to the people a paternal Government, which can initiate legislation in keeping with the ancient traditions of the people without any fear of the motives of Government being misunderstood or impugned, even where legislation affects the social and religious prejudices of the people.

Retirement of Mr. Krishnaswamy Rao. Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Rao retired from the Dewanship in March 1904. In his Administration Report for 1078 M. E., he offered the following tribute of acknowledgment to His Highness the Maharajah:—

"During nearly twenty years that I have been continuously in the service of the State, first as Chief Justice of the High Court, then as Dewan, I have had the singular good fortune of enjoying His Highness the Maharajah's uniform kindness and cordial support. In the discharge of the very onerous and responsible duties that devolved on me since I assumed charge of my present office, especially those relating to several important events that occurred during this period, I was not a little relieved by the wise guidance of His Highness, whose intimate knowledge of even the smallest detail of the work of every department of the the State, calm and sound judgment and intense solicitude for the public good are seldom surpassed. I cannot adequately express my deep obligation and gratitude to His Highness for the confidence reposed in me and for the support heartily accorded to me."

In accepting Mr. Krishnaswamy Rao's resignation, His Highness the Maharajah wrote to him thus:—

"I have received your letter of the 4th instant tendering your resignation of the office of Dewan, and in accepting the same I wish to express my high appreciation of the valuable services you have rendered to the State during the past twenty years as Chief Justice and as Dewan. You are aware in what high estimation you were held by my uncle, His Highness the late Maharajah, who with his wonted keen discrimination and foresight selected you from among a host of Judicial Officers in the British Service as the one best fitted by his legal attainments, sound judgment and high character for the position of Chief Justice of the High Court of this State. How admirably you justified His Highness' selection has been warmly testified to by His Highness himself. I have watched with pleasure the excellent manner in which you presided over the Judicial administration of the State for nearly fourteen years. By your personal example of moral worth, vast legal experience, calm judgment and high sense of justice, you helped to raise the tone of the whole Judicial service and to command for the highest tribunal of the land the respect and confidence of a discerning public.

"You have endeavoured during the past six years to carry on the administration along lines of steady progress with a measure of success which is highly creditable to yourself. Not only have the growing demands of a progressive administration been carefully and judiciously met without enhancing the burden of taxation, but the foundations have been laid for the further development of the resources of the country with the aid of specialised scientific knowledge. Every Department has received your watchful and sympathetic attention, and its development has been fostered with due regard to the financial interests of the State. Your services in the Legislative Council have been truly invaluable. In every discussion, you brought to bear your intimate knowledge of the wants and conditions of the country, your legal learning, judicial experience, wisdom and tact; and the high level of efficiency the deliberations of the Council have attained, is due in no small measure to your connection with it. Your earnest solicitude for the public good, strict impartiality and fairness and high personal character have enabled you to earn the esteem and gratitude of all classes of my subjects. Your unswerving loyalty and high ideal of duty have always elicited my warmest admiration and regard."

Career of Mr. K. Krishnaswamy Rao, C. I. E. Among the retired Dewans of Travancore, Mr. Krishnaswamy Rao, C. I. E., is the only one now living. He was born of respectable parents, in September 1845, and was thus fifty-eight years old when he retired from Travancore. After passing the Matriculation, he entered Government service in October 1864 as Record-keeper in the Nellore District Court on an initial salary of Rs. 30. In 1867, he was promoted as Sheristadar on Rs. 100, "solely on account of the abilities he displayed in the discharge of the duties entrusted to him". In July 1870, he was appointed District Munsiff, when he earned a reputation for thorough honesty, quick despatch of work and soundness of judgment. In 1883, he was confirmed as Sub-Judge at Cocanada. He took an active part in all public movements, and when Sir M. E. Grant Duff Governor of Madras, visited Cocanada, His Excellency told him of the pleasure it gave him to hear good accounts of his work there. In May 1884, he was offered by the late Maharajah the post of Chief Justice of Travancore, which he accepted. The Madras Government approved of His Highness' nomination observing, "We know nothing but good of the gentleman you have selected and trust he will serve you long and well". The late Sir T. Muthuswamy Aiyar wrote to him:—"All the Judges think highly of you and several of them very highly. If you do well at Trivandrum, there is the Dewanship before you, in the same way in which there is the High Court Judgeship in the future." His Highness the Maharajah also wrote to him:—

"I do congratulate myself in having secured so worthy a man as the head of the Judicial administration. He has so much good sense and patience that I am sure he easily realises the peculiarities and difficulty inherent to a Native State and the great necessity to have always before him the maxim *festina lente*."

He continued as Chief Justice until April 1898, when he was appointed Dewan by His Highness the present Maharajah in succession to Mr. Shungrasoobyer. During the fifteen years he was Chief Justice, he gave great satisfaction and was instrumental in introducing several improvements and reforms in the Judicial Department. From 1891 to April 1898, he was a member of the Travancore Legislative Council, of which he became Ex-officio President when appointed Dewan. His services to the Legislative Council during this long period were of a valuable kind. In 1895, the Viceroy conferred on him the title of Dewan Bahadur. In November 1901, the King-Emperor conferred on him the honour of C. I. E. His Excellency the Governor writing to him said:— "Your good services as Dewan of Travancore have now received this well-deserved recognition".

The adoption of two Princesses into the Royal family was an event of great importance during his administration, on which His Highness the Maharajah wrote to him thus:—

"Your name will always be associated with that important event as you have chiefly contributed to the successful accomplishment of the adoption of two girls in the Royal Family. The great Murajapam and Lakshadeepam ceremonies were also celebrated with unparalleled success during the year. This is also in a great measure due to your piety, devotion, able management and zeal."

Sir Philip Hutchins, a retired Judge of the Madras High Court and member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, wrote to him from England:—

"The perusal of the Honours' list gave me the greatest pleasure when I found your name among the distinguished recipients; you well deserve the honour conferred upon you and I offer you my hearty congratulations. As I foretold, when you left the Bench, you had thoroughly established your ability as an administrator and proved the principle that good judges generally make good administrators. Of course my 'patronage' does not deserve the high place you are pleased to ascribe to it in furthering your career, but it is a source of much gratification to me that I was one earliest to note your capacity and bring it to the notice of the Madras Government."

In the personal and social side of his character, he was a favourite with the public, as is evident from the kind words spoken of him at the several farewell entertainments given him when he left Travancore. In the 'Sri Mulam Union Club' entertainment, the President said:—"Krishnaswamy Rao's amiable manners, kindness of heart, unostentatious behaviour, happy temperament, great tact and thorough politeness are too well known to you all for me to descant upon. He is in every sense a thorough gentleman." He spends his retirement in Madras in fair health and strength engaged in congenial occupations, occasionally taking part in public movements for which both by instinct and training he is so well fitted. His administration was characterised by care, moderation and judgment.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, Dewan. On the retirement of Dewan Bahadur Krishnaswamy Rao, Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, B. A., C. I. E., Senior Councillor and Revenue Commissioner of Mysore, was called in as Dewan. He received the Commission of appointment from His Highness on the 24th March 1904.

In the interim, Mr. V. Nagam Aiya, B. A., Senior Dewan Peishcar, officiated as Dewan.

Summary of results. During the two decades that have elapsed since His Highness' accession to the throne, it has been his constant

endeavour to promote to the utmost of his power and opportunities the prosperity of the State and the happiness of his people. Year after year, His Highness has received the congratulations of the Madras Government "on the continued prosperity of the State and the steady efforts made by His Highness to maintain an efficient administration". His Highness' rule has been marked, to quote their words again, "by wise guidance, sound judgment, and great solicitude for the public good". In no similar period of Travancore history have so many improvements and reforms been so quietly effected. Several useful schemes have either been inaugurated or completed since his accession to the musnud, and these have already begun to bear fruit. Such are the Kothayar irrigation project; the Parur and Kaipuzha reclamation schemes; the Kynakari and the Puthenvelikara bunds; the restoration of the banks of several rivers; the construction of several bridges across rivers and streams throughout the State; the introduction of the Railway; the thorough restoration of the old main lines of communication; the construction of several new ones; the opening up of the High Range and other mountain regions; the abolition of the *Viruthi* service; the remission of several obnoxious taxes; the organisation of a Sanitary Department including vaccination, vital statistics, rural sanitation and itinerant medical relief; the large extension of Medical aid; the medical grants to private dispensaries and Native *Vydiasalas*; the promotion and extension of the benefits of Education by the establishment of new schools and colleges both for boys and girls; the founding of Technical scholarships and the encouragement of Technical Education, and of free Primary Education to the backward classes; the offer to the public of agricultural loans on liberal terms; the holding of agricultural exhibitions and the establishment of agricultural schools; the introduction of a compulsory system of State Life Insurance; the reorganisation and reformation of nearly all the departments of the State; and above all, the establishment of the Legislative Council, the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly and the abolition conditionally of taxation in kind. The aggregate revenue of the State which at the end of 1060 M. E., *i. e.*, the year when His Highness ascended the musnud, was Rs. 6,678,705, has now (1079 M. E.) risen to Rs. 10,201,853, "a record revenue" to quote the Order of the Madras Government (6th April 1905), "indicative not of new burdens laid on the people, but of the ever increasing prosperity of a favoured territory under a prudent administration". This is a record of which any ruler might well be proud.

I may not perhaps judge of His Highness' wise and beneficent rule, which under God's blessing has so well prospered during these twenty

years, not only because, as an officer of Government, I do not feel myself competent to do so, but also because some distance of time must elapse before one is able to take a correct historical perspective of the events that have transpired under one's own eyes. I have therefore contented myself with a bare enumeration of the benevolent activities of the last twenty years, leaving it to the future historian to give the due meed of praise to the Gracious Sovereign who has been their author. It may however be added without impropriety that His Highness is a humane and well-informed ruler, most intelligent and practical, most punctual in all his engagements, calm, business-like, even-tempered, patient, forgiving, and above all genuinely solicitous of the welfare of his people. He is besides a most industrious worker and possesses a rare mastery over details of administration which often puzzles his ablest and most experienced officials. These estimable qualities of His Highness are known far and wide. He is perhaps too modest for these times and is content—especially in an age of fuss and bluster and advertisement all around—to allow his talents to lie hid under a bushel relying on the silent reward which good works may bring in due time, and leaving out of account altogether the fact that men and measures are generally judged ill in a hot scramble for bubble reputation which has in a manner to be induced, before being obtained. But "what will not time subdue"?

There is one other excellence in His Highness worthy of mention above all others, which is universally admired and which will probably bear more fruit in the years to come, *viz.*, his entire absence of 'side', and this trait in a Ruler of a country like Travancore, split up into sharp sects and factions and passing through a period of severe transition, owing chiefly I suppose to a profuse and indiscriminate spread of English education with its concomitant passion for democratic ideas and radical changes, is not one of a mean or trivial significance.

Lord Curzon, our late Viceroy, has borne the following high testimony to His Highness' qualities at the Trivandrum Banquet:—

"Ladies and Gentlemen, I have only in conclusion to thank His Highness for the very graceful allusion that he has made to Lady Curzon, who is just as enchanted with all that she has seen in Travancore as I am; and to ask you all to signify our gratitude for the hospitality extended to us, our interest in this fascinating spot, and our regard and admiration for its illustrious ruler, by pledging a full toast to the health and happiness of His Highness the Maharajah of Travancore."

At the Maharajah's College, Lord Curzon added:—

"It is very characteristic of the enlightenment and generosity of His Highness. ... ... The Maharajahs of Travancore have always been distinguished

for their patronage of learning. His Highness takes the keenest interest in the welfare of this College; and I have heard with pleasure, with reference to one of the fields of study mentioned just now, *viz.*, that of Scientific Forestry, that he is sending four pupils to study in the Forest School of the Government of India at Dehra Dun."

His Highness has now completed the first twenty years of his reign, during which, as already shown, the people have prospered in all directions; for he has been actuated by one feeling throughout his reign, of paternal solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, as he himself so happily expressed it on the occasion of a Public Durbar in 1897:—

"While I sincerely rejoice at this, the latest of the many marks of Her Majesty's good-will to me and my House, I recognise in it my obligation to merit, by further endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of my people, the continuance of the same confidence and regard."

To say that the whole population of Travancore whether educated or ignorant have centred their affections in him and fervently pray for his prosperity is not a mere conventional phrase. It is only half the truth, "for of no sovereign did the throne ever so much consist of the hearts of his people". I gave expression to this universal sentiment of affection and loyalty when, as Chairman of the College Day gathering of 1900, I addressed the *elite* of educated Travancore thus:—

"We are met under favourable circumstances to-day. His Highness the Maharajah, our gracious and benevolent Sovereign, than whom a greater patron of learning could not be conceived, has entered upon the forty-fourth year of his precious life and the sixteenth year of his bright and beneficent reign. As a small return for the numerous benefits which we have received at His Highness' gracious hands during these fifteen years, I ask you all to join me in offering our humble and heart-felt congratulations to His Highness on his attaining this birthday. There is but one feeling in the minds of us all on this happy occasion, and that is, that God may grant His Highness health and long life, vouchsafing to him every earthly blessing in the discharge of the duties of his exalted office. And a thought occurs to me, Gentlemen, that if the Viceroy's visit which has been graciously promised to us next month, as His Highness' honoured guest could have been advanced by only a few days—and Lord Curzon were here this afternoon and saw with his own eyes this vast assemblage of educated and cultured intellects in this small corner of the Empire, as the result of His Highness' paternal care for the education of his subjects, His Excellency would readily comprehend why Travancore has long claimed to be the unique Model Native State in all India."

The same grateful feelings of regard and esteem were expressed by the Syrian Carmelite Monks of Malabar in their congratulatory address * of the 17th August 1905, in which they said that they were but "faintly echoing the universal rejoicing which now takes place through the length and breadth of the land on this happy festival."

* On the occasion of His Highness' completing the twentieth year of his reign.

The Monks added :—

"Among constitutional changes, we beg to mention the establishment of a Legislative Council, the introduction of Town Improvement Committees in the principal towns, the creation of a High Court as the Supreme Court of Judicature and the formation of the Sri Mulam Assembly. In educational matters, the establishment of several English, Malayalam and Sanskrit Schools in various parts of Travancore, the opening of the Arts School, the awarding of scholarships to students to prosecute their studies in England and other foreign countries, the establishment of Technical Schools, the introduction of a liberal Grant-in-Aid system, free Primary Education to backward classes, and special attention paid to Female Education, are noteworthy events which have enabled Travancore to take a high place among the most progressive countries which make up the great Empire of India. With regard to general administration, Your Highness' long reign has been one of steady and continued progress exhibiting the most enlightened statesmanship. The advancement of the people in civilization and material comforts during the last twenty years under the benign sway of Your Highness cannot be surpassed, we firmly believe, by any other people in India during the same period, and it is our sincere conviction that it was due to Your Highness' august virtues."

They felicitously concluded :—

"We fervently offer our prayers to the Almighty God to bless Your Highness with long life, health and prosperity and to make Your Highness' reign even more glorious in the future than it has been in the past."

In this feeling of genuine gratitude and loyalty and devout prayer for His Highness' prosperity, the Carmelite Monks of Malabar are by no means singular. The occasion evoked universal rejoicings among all communities of people in Travancore, or as the Dewan remarked in his address to the Sri Mulam Popular Assembly (21st October 1905), "This year His Highness the Maha Rajah completed the twentieth year of His Highness' rule and the spontaneous outburst of loyalty that characterized the celebration of the auspicious event in every village and hamlet in Travancore, testifies to the strong hold His Highness has secured on the affection and regard of his devoted subjects." The whole population whether Hindu or Mahomedan, Christian or Jew, are but one in their love of their Sovereign, who they know and feel is one with them in interest, sentiment and nationality, and for whom they unitedly pray to the God of all religions, "May He bless Our King with health and long life!"

END OF VOL. I.

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